The Revelations of St Birgitta

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The Revelations of St Birgitta

A Study and Edition of the Birgittine-Norwegian Texts, Swedish National Archives, E 8902

By

Jonathan Adams

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

In memory of my beloved mother,
Nell Adams (Dutfield),
1938–2014

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Uppsala, June 2015

List of Abbreviations

Latin (L)

Liber I	Undhagen 1978.
Liber II	Undhagen and Bergh 2001.
Liber III	Jönsson 1998.
Liber IV	Aili 1992.
Liber V	Bergh 1971.
Liber VI	Bergh 1991.
Liber VII	Bergh 1967.
Liber VIII	Aili 2002.
Ex.	*Revelationes Extravagantes* = Hollman 1956.
SA	*Sermo Angelicus* = Eklund 1972.
RS	*Regula Salvatoris* = Eklund 1975.
Quat. Or.	*Quattuor Orationes* = Eklund 1991 (Greek letters Ξ, Δ, Θ and Λ refer to the manuscripts used in Eklund 1991).

Old Swedish

BU I–V	*Birgittas Uppenbarelser* = Klemming 1857–1858, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1883–1884.

Modern Swedish

Lundén I–IV	Lundén 1957–1959.

Other

acc.	accusative.
A&P	Collijn 1924–1931.
b.	bottom (of page); born.
comp. app.	comparative apparatus.
d.	died.
dat.	dative.
DV	Gejrot 1988.

gen.	genitive.
Gmc	Germanic.
Go.	Gothic.
Gr.	Greek.
KVHAA(H)	Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien(s Handlingar).
Lat.	Latin.
lt	left(-hand side).
MHG	Middle High German.
MLG	Middle Low German.
nom.	nominative.
Norw.	Norwegian.
ODan.	Old Danish.
OE	Old English.
OHG	Old High German.
OIce.	Old Icelandic.
ON	Old Norse.
OSw.	Old Swedish.
p., pp.	page number(s) in E 8902.
pl.	plural.
pres.	present (tense).
pret.	preterite.
rt	right(-hand side).
Scand.	Scandinavian.
sg.	singular.
Söderwall	Söderwall 1884–1918, 1891–1900, 1900–1918; Söderwall, Åkerlund and Ljunggren 1925–1953; Söderwall, Åkerlund, Ljunggren and Wessén 1954–1973.
vb	verb.
voc.	vocative.
WGmc	West Germanic.

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PART 1

Background

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CHAPTER 1

St Birgitta and Her *Revelations*

1.1 Why St Birgitta?

St Birgitta of Sweden, the country's only medieval visionary, continues to attract the attention of scholars from around the world. Whether viewed as saint, visionary prophet, mystic, or political figure, she has captured the imagination of people since the fourteenth century. During her lifetime she was influential in Swedish politics, spoke out on the Hundred Years' War, and became involved in the restoration of the Holy See to Rome. Scenes from her visions, particularly of the Nativity and the Resurrection, left a lasting impression on Western Christian iconography, while prayers associated with her, such as *Orationes Quindecim* [the Fifteen Oes], became popular in many countries in both the vernacular and Latin. She is the only Swede ever to have been canonised and was the country's first international bestseller writer.

Much of the recent research on Birgitta and her writings has been undertaken by Swedish philologists and, to a lesser degree, theologians. Her works have formed the basis of studies on Swedish language history and translation practice, and the vast literature produced or disseminated by the monastery she founded at Vadstena remains at the core of the medieval Swedish corpus. The influences of this Birgittine literature have also been uncovered in Old Danish and Middle Norwegian texts. Researchers from outside of the field of philology have written a number of works about Birgitta as a saint and visionary, as a mother, and as a pilgrim.

Until recently, few scholars outside Scandinavia focused their attention on St Birgitta or her revelations. In addition to the rather daunting size of the revelation text-corpus, a hindering factor for many has been that the vast majority of secondary material is written in Swedish.[1] However, the Latin manuscripts of Birgitta's revelations and related writings have all been published in reliable critical editions in the series *Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet*, making the entire corpus more readily accessible. Scholars can now set about delineating the interpretative, theological, social, and historical context into which these texts can be placed. The philologist, Bridget Morris, has had an absolutely central role in opening Birgittine studies to the English-speaking

1 Sahlin 2001, ix.

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academic community. She has published a comprehensive biography of the saint in English and, together with Denis Searby, a translation into English of all the *Revelations* based on the Latin versions that includes comparative notes to the Old Swedish traditions.[2] Morris has also written several articles on Birgitta and organised an international conference on vernacular translations of the *Revelations* in 1997.[3] A series of Birgitta conferences has also been regularly organised by the Birgitta Foundation (*Birgittastiftelsen*). There is as yet no critical edition of the Old Swedish texts, but Roger Andersson, Stockholm University, is currently working on a project that aims to publish editions of all the Old Swedish texts in the *Runica et Mediævalia* series and thus replace the inadequate edition by Gustaf E. Klemming from 1857–1884, which is based on an eclectic mix of manuscripts with no comparative apparatus and numerous silent textual amendments.[4]

1.2 The Life of St Birgitta

The primary source of information about the life of St Birgitta is her *vita*. Written by Prior Petrus Olafsson of Alvastra (d. 1390)[5] and Magister Petrus Olafsson of Skänninge (d. 1378)[6] shortly after her death, it exists in two versions—the "Process version" (Holm. A 14, Ottob. lat. 90, and Harl. 612)[7] and the "shorter version" (Ups. C 15).[8] Another important medieval source for Birgitta's life and family is the fifteenth-century chronicle, *De Genere et Nepotibus Birgitte* [On Birgitta's Family and Grandchildren], written by Margareta Clausdotter, abbess of Vadstena 1473–1486, and surviving in three manuscripts: Linc. B 70a, Holm. D 27, and Holm. A 80 (Birgitta Andersdotter's prayer book).[9] A number of modern biographies on Birgitta have appeared. The first in Scandinavia was written by Emilia Fogelklou in 1919, and was followed some years later by Johannes

2 Morris 1999b; Searby and Morris 2006–2015.

3 Proceedings of the conference held in Beverley, UK, are published in Morris and O'Mara 2000.

4 Andersson's edition of Book I was published towards the end of 2014.

5 On Prior Petrus of Alvastra, see *A&P*, 472–562.

6 On Master Petrus of Skänninge, see Schück 1873–1895, 295–312.

7 These manuscripts form the basis of Isak Collijn's standard edition from 1924–1931 (*A&P*).

8 On the versions of Birgitta's *vita*, see Ekwall 1965; Jönsson 1989; Morris 1999b, 8–9.

9 *De Genere et Nepotibus Birgitte* is published in Annerstedt 1968 [1818–1876], 207–216. It is a record of some of the oral traditions surrounding Birgitta and her family. Its accuracy is highly questionable: her informants remain anonymous, her approach is entirely uncritical, and there is no attention to chronology.

Jørgensen's two-volume work (1941). More recently Bridget Morris (1999b) and Birger Bergh (2002) have published detailed accounts of Birgitta's life,[10] and the reader is referred to Morris' bibliography for a comprehensive list of biographical works on Birgitta.[11]

One of seven children, Birgitta was born in 1303 in Finsta, near present-day Norrtälje in Uppland, to Birger Persson and his second wife Ingeborg Bengtsdotter, both members of the Swedish nobility. Birger was the *laghmaþer* [lawman] in the Tiundaland district in Uppland and involved in the codification of *Upplandslagen* [the Provincial Law of Uppland] towards the end of the thirteenth century as well as in the election of King Magnus Eriksson in 1319.[12] Ingeborg was descended from the Folkunga dynasty that had been ruling Sweden since the mid-thirteenth century, and she therefore had close links to the royal family of Sweden.[13] After the death of her mother in 1314, Birgitta was raised at Aspenäs in Östergötland, by her aunt, Katarina Bengtsdotter, who was responsible for much of Birgitta's education.[14] Two years later, aged thirteen, she was married to Ulf Gudmarsson, a magnate's son, who later became the lawman of Närke province.[15] Together they lived at Ulvåsa and during the course of their nearly thirty-year-long marriage they had eight children: four sons (Karl, b. 1321; Birger, b. 1323; Bengt, b. 1326; Gudmar, b. 1327) and four daughters (Mæritta, b. 1319/20; Katarina, b. 1330, later beatified; Ingeborg, b. 1332; Cecilia, b. 1334).

At some point in the mid-1330s Birgitta entered the royal court where she acted as mentor to the new queen, Blanche of Namur (d. 1363), daughter of a Flemish duke.[16] Little is known of her life at court, but around 1340 Birgitta undertook the thirty-day journey by foot to the shrine of St Olaf in Niðaróss

10 Other recent bibliographies include Nordahl 1997; Almazán 2000; Busk Sørensen 2005.

11 Morris 1999b, 179–192.

12 Birger Persson was descended from King Sverker, who in 1134 had founded the Cistercian monastery, Alvastra, on the shores of Lake Vättern. The monastery, named after his wife, Ulvhild, was to become Birgitta's home for a few years in the 1340s.

13 Morris 1999b, 32.

14 "Et requisitus iste testis de causa sciencie quadam domina Katherina matertera predicte domine Brigide, que ipsam dominam Brigidam ab jnfancia nutriuit et educauit [And the witnesses were asked about Lady Katarina, aunt of the aforementioned Lady Birgitta, who nurtured and educated Lady Birgitta from infancy]", *A&P*, 473. The phrase "ab jnfancia" may suggest that Birgitta had been fostered by her aunt even before the death of her mother; see Morris 1999b, 35.

15 The engagement of Birgitta and Ulf is the theme of one of several Birgitta-inspired wall-paintings found in Tensta Church in Uppland; see Söderberg 1951, 160 (plate 89); Nisbeth 2004, 237, 239 (fig. 39).

16 *A&P*, 528; Morris 1999b, 57–59.

(present-day Trondheim, Norway).[17] In 1341, Birgitta and her husband set out on a second pilgrimage, this time to Santiago de Compostela in Galicia to the shrine of St James.[18] The pilgrimage provided Birgitta with a first-hand view of religious life, customs, and institutions on the European continent and also of the ongoing Hundred Years' War between England and France, a conflict that came to make a lasting impression on her.[19] During the journey home Ulf fell ill and died shortly afterwards in the Cistercian monastery at Alvastra, Östergötland, where Birgitta and he were living after their return to Sweden. The precise year of Ulf's death—1344 or 1346—is the subject of ongoing disagreement among scholars and is important as it has a bearing on the dating of many of Birgitta's revelations.[20] Upon Ulf's death, Birgitta dispensed of her wealth and dedicated her life to serving God.

She continued living in buildings adjacent to the monastery, a strictly male house, and partook in the devotional life of the brothers, although her presence was, however, far from welcomed by all at Alvastra.[21] Just a few days after the death of Ulf, she received her "calling vision". In this vision, God—appearing both in human form and as a voice emanating from a bright cloud—told her that she was the bride (*sponsa*) of Christ and channel (*canale*) of the Holy Spirit.[22] He instructed her to speak to the canon of Linköping cathedral, Mathias Övidsson (d. 1350),[23] who subsequently became her confessor, and she was to report all her visions to him. It was also at this time that she received divine instructions to found a monastic order, the *Ordo Sanctissimi Salvatoris* [Order of St Saviour], for the purposes of which King Magnus and Queen Blanche bequeathed their palace and estate at Vadstena to Birgitta in 1346.[24]

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17 *A&P*, 14, 309, 579. Birgitta is commonly depicted in iconography as a pilgrim; see Lindgren 2002; Lindgren 2003, 167–176. On medieval pilgrimage to Niðaróss, see Rumar 1997.

18 *A&P*, 14, 309, 482, 579. On pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela from Scandinavia, see Almazán 1986; Krötzl 1987; Krötzl 1993; Ganz-Blättler 1990, which includes some Scandinavian sources.

19 On Birgitta and the Hundred Years War, see Morris 1999b, 79–82.

20 For more details about the death of Ulf and its date, see Ekwall 1973; Liedgren 1974; Ekwall 1976; Tjader Harris 1990, 240 n. 32; Jönsson 1993, 35–48; Morris 1999b, 60–61; Sahlin 2001, 16 n. 13.

21 See McGuire 1990; France 1992a; France 1992b; France 1993; Morris 1999b, 61, 72–74.

22 *Ex.* 47. On the precise meaning of *canale* here, see Piltz 1991, 451–452. Cf. *A&P*, 80–81. On Birgitta as a channel, see also Salmesvuori 2014, 63–92.

23 On Master Mathias Övidsson, see Strömberg 1943; Strömberg 1944; Piltz 1974; Piltz 1986; Salmesvuori 2014, 93–105.

24 *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, v (1865), 561–568 (no. 4069). On King Magnus' will and the Vadstena monastery, see Fritz 2003.

Birgitta is one of several well-known female visionaries of the fourteenth century, such as Catherine of Siena (1347–1380), Dorothea of Montau (d. 1394), and Margery Kempe (1372–*c*. 1438). However, she does not follow the course of traditional mysticism, in that she is not a passive bride who enters into a unitative experience with the Godhead, nor does she adopt the usual erotic metaphors found in the works of earlier mystics.[25] Although including very spiritual elements centring on the Nativity, the Passion, and the Virgin as *mediatrix* and mother, Birgitta's visions, unlike for example those of the conservative Benedictine polymath and mystic Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), were political in substance, calling for social reform and addressing the problems of her day. She aimed to transform all levels of society from a state of moral collapse to one of pious Christian renewal.[26] One of her tools for doing this was the Order of St Saviour, and several of her revelations describe how this order should be structured and run. Some of her revelations are directed to specific people, including acquaintances and leaders, such as the king of Sweden and the pope, whom she admonishes and offers advice.

In 1349, accompanied by her daughter, Katarina, and a small group of followers, Birgitta traversed a Europe that was in the throes of the Black Death to live in Rome, arriving there for the Jubilee celebrations in 1350. From the Eternal City she made two trips to Naples (1365–1367, 1370), where she befriended Queen Giovanna I (d. 1382),[27] and a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (1372–1373), thus completing the three most important long-distance pilgrimages, the *peregrinationes maiores* (Santiago de Compostela, Rome, and Jerusalem).[28] She also made shorter trips to other sites of pilgrimage in Italy: Milan, Pavia, Assisi, Ortona, Bari, Benevento, Pozzuoli, Salerno, Amalfi, and the Shrine of Saint Michael the Archangel on Mount Gargano.

During her time in Rome, Birgitta focused on improving the spiritual and moral state of the Church, which she saw as being in decay. She appealed to all layers of society—although principally members of the clergy and the nobility—to reform and turn to God. Furthermore, she campaigned relentlessly for the return of the papacy from Avignon to Rome.[29] After her death on 23 July 1373, she was initially buried at San Lorenzo in Panisperna (Rome),

25 On erotic metaphors in mysticism, see Petroff 1986, 13–18; Beer 1992. On Birgitta and the mysticism of her time, see Dinzelbacher 1991.

26 See Fogelqvist 1993.

27 Morris 1999b, 122–126; Morris 2009.

28 Repeated mention is made of these trips throughout *A&P*. See *s.v.* "Neapolis" and "Ierusalem" in the place-name index (*A&P*, 685 and 686 respectively) for full references.

29 On Birgitta, power, and authority, see Salmesvuori 2014.

but shortly afterwards her bones were translated back to Sweden, where some of her relics are to be found today in Vadstena.[30] According to the entry for 1391 in *Diarium Vadstenense*, Birgitta's relics performed a number of miracles in the years 1374–1376.[31] The Order of St Saviour received papal approval in 1378 and Birgitta was ceremoniously canonised by Boniface IX on 7 October 1391.[32] On 1 October 1999, she was declared one of the six patron saints of Europe by John Paul II.

1.3 *The Revelations of St Birgitta* (Latin Tradition)

According to her *vita*, Birgitta first experienced a divine revelation at the age of six,[33] and the phenomenon continued until her death. Mainly occurring during the thirty years of her widowhood after her "calling vision", they number nearly seven hundred and in their written form vary greatly in length from just seventeen words to over seven and a half thousand. The ways in which she received these revelations, both visions and locutions, varied as did the methods for recording them.[34] The *vita* describes two ways in which her revelations were recorded. The first was used when Birgitta was in good health. She would write the revelation down herself in Swedish, and then her confessors would

30 The translation of Birgitta's remains is described in Morris 1999b, 141–142; Pernler 2003. Medieval depictions can be seen on the walls of Tensta Church in Uppland; see Nisbeth 2004, 245–246.

31 "Item, tempore canonizacionis facta fuerunt multa miracula, de quibus pauca pono ad presens, quia alibi plura sunt conscripta [Moreover, many miracles were done at the time of her canonisation, of which I present only a few here as there are more written elsewhere]", *DV*, 126 (no. 65). These miracles are related in various collections used for the canonisation process as well as general reading. They are analysed and discussed in Andersson 1996, 242–243.

32 The Birgittine monastery had been recognised in 1370 by Urban V (in his bull of 5 August 1370), but this bull did not allow for Birgitta's "double" monastery or the running of the monastery as an institution for women; see Morris 1999b, 161. Further confirmation of the Order was received from Gregory XI in 1375, but not until Urban VI's bull (3 December 1378) was the whole Order—rather than just the monastery—recognised and Birgitta's Rule approved in its entirety. For histories of the Order, see Höjer 1905; Cnattingius 1963; Nyberg 1965.

33 *A&P*, 76.

34 Her confessor, Prior Petrus Olafsson, describes the various ways in which she experienced her visions in *A&P*, 484–485. See also Dahlerup, 1998, I, 340; Morris 1999b, 74; Sahlin 2001, 54–71.

translate it into Latin. This translation was subsequently checked by Birgitta against her original version.[35] Otherwise, when she was weak, she dictated her words in Swedish, and a confessor simultaneously translated them into Latin while a scribe copied them down. The scribe's Latin text would then be read back to Birgitta for checking when she had stirred from her ecstatic state.[36] We simply do not know, however, whether Birgitta's Latin was good enough to read and check these translations, and it is questionable whether the canonisation protocols concerning her linguistic abilities can be believed. For example, one report states that she needed an interpreter in order to communicate with Pope Urban V at Montefiascone because she did not know Latin grammar very well and did not understand what was said. Of course, it is also possible that Birgitta's passive skills (listening and reading) in Latin were better than her active ones (speaking and writing) and that the description in her *vita* of how her revelations were recorded is trustworthy.[37]

During her lifetime the texts of Birgitta's revelations remained as unsorted documents in Swedish and Latin.[38] But in accordance with her own wishes, they were prepared and edited shortly after her death by her confessor, the Olivaten hermit and former bishop of Jaén, Alfonso Pecha de Vadaterra (d. *c.* 1388).[39] Alfonso's principal objective was to make acceptable any areas of theological, political, or social controversy in the revelations. He ensured that the revelations did not contain any material that would compromise either Birgitta or her canonisation.[40] The legitimacy of the revelations and, indeed, Birgitta's canonisation was nonetheless called into question on several occasions.[41] A committee of theologians presented the Council of Basle (1431–1449) with 123 articles that they felt were heretical and should be censored. In 1434,

35 *A&P*, 84.

36 *A&P*, 84; Holm. A 58, fol. 129^{v}; published in Stephens 1847–1874, III (1874), 520: "Om sankt Katarina af Sverige".

37 On Latin literacy in medieval Sweden, see Öberg 1994 (especially p. 219 on Birgitta). Birgitta's ability to use Latin and her learning of the language are mentioned in *A&P*, 95, 545–546, and the evidence given at the canonisation process by Golicia de Ursinis (Nicholas Orsini) on this subject can be found in *A&P*, 232: "[…] quia nesciebat bene gramaticam nec intellexit bene li[n]guam dicti domini pape [(Birgitta) who did not know grammar very well nor did she understand well the language spoken by the pope". See also Colledge 1956; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 11–12.

38 Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 15–17.

39 *A&P*, 98. On Alfonso Pecha de Vadaterra, see Seidlmayer 1930; Colledge 1956; Jönsson 1989; Gilkær 1993.

40 Aili 1986, 83–88.

41 Morris 1999b, 152–159. On Birgitta and her critics, see Salmesvuori 2014, 107–132.

the Spanish Dominican, Cardinal Johannes Turrecremata (Juan de Torquemada) won legitimacy for all of Birgitta's revelations as well as her canonisation with his *Defensiones quorundam articulorum rubrorum revelationum sanctae Birgittae*.[42] The somewhat complex history of the Latin text has been described in detail by Carl Undhagen (1978) who divides the redactional history into five principal stages: 1) The First Alphonsine Redaction (1377–1378); 2) The Second Alphonsine Redaction (1380); 3) Redactions Enlarged by Supplementary Material; 4) The Canonisation Redaction (1391), and 5) The Ghotan Redaction (1492). However, opinion remains divided about the precise contents of each redaction.[43]

Today there are some one hundred extant manuscripts that fall into two main families: β, the older of the two, reflecting the Second Alphonsine Redaction, and π, the younger of the two, containing a great variety of arrangements.[44]

1.4 *The Revelations of St Birgitta* (Swedish Tradition)

In addition to the Latin corpus, there is a separate Swedish tradition. After the inauguration of the Birgittine monastery in 1384, the entire *corpus revelationum* was translated into the vernacular presumably for use by nuns unable to read Latin.[45] Unfortunately, the medieval sources tell us nothing about the reason for translating the corpus, and, in fact, some of the manuscripts belonging to this tradition (for example, Ups. C 61) do not seem to have been used at Vadstena monastery. We occasionally find a comment that is suggestive of the role of the Old Swedish version *vis-à-vis* the Latin. For example, after chapter 46 in the Old Swedish manuscript A 5a fol. 32^{vb}, we read the following:

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42 Turrecremata's defence appears in Holm. A 24, and the Ghotan (1492) and Kolberger (1500) printed editions of *Revelationes cœlestes*. Cf. also Mansi *et al.* 1960–1961, XXX (1961), cols 699–822.

43 For an account of the various arguments the reader is referred to Undhagen 1978, 1–37; Bergh 2003, 45–52; Aili 2003, 53–72. Aili includes the "Warsaw Manuscript" (Warsaw, National Library of Poland, MS 3310) in his discussion. This manuscript is the oldest extant Latin edition of Birgitta's revelations, perhaps written as early as 1379, and until 1993 was thought by Swedish scholars to have been destroyed in the Second World War. See also Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 17–22.

44 See the manuscript stemma in Bergh 1971, 66.

45 Wessén 1977; cf. Wollin 1991b, 415.

> hær næst six nakat aff p*re*stomen ok ær th*ett*a ey stor nytto alla kænnedombe lekama*n*nom at vita/ ok klærkane ælskæ meer at vita ok læsa latino thy for th*e*ra skuld sc*ri*fwas thæsso næsto cap*it*la a latino
>
> [Next something is said about priests and it is not of great use to give all knowledge to laymen, and clerics love to know more and read Latin. So for their sakes, these next chapters are written in Latin.]

The following chapters (47–49), in which priests among other things are admonished, compared to idolaters, and accused of rejecting Christ, are all written in Latin and thus presumably intended to remain as inaccessible knowledge to the *idiotae*.[46] Not all of Birgitta's *Revelations* were intended to be read and understood by everybody, and language was used as a means to create in- and out-groups in this regard.

Altogether there are more than a dozen extant manuscripts in medieval Swedish, some of which are fragmentary.[47] Although a large amount of the Swedish tradition appears to be a literal translation of the Latin, the translators may have used more than the Latin corpus in their work, including early drafts and notes in Swedish or Latin, details existing solely in the oral tradition, and possibly even Birgitta's own autographs.[48] The problem of discerning and distinguishing the voices of female visionaries from those of their confessors and scribes is extremely difficult and the revelations of St Birgitta are no exception[49]—they have undergone several layers of editing and translation by as many as four confessors (Master Mathias Övidsson, Prior Petrus of Alvastra, Master Petrus of Skänninge, and Alfonso Pecha de Vadaterra). It is thus a task thwart with pitfalls to try to locate and isolate Birgitta's precise thoughts and words, not least as today's values concerning individualism, authorship, and originality were not shared by our medieval ancestors.[50] It is best to view Birgitta's revelations as the result of a collaborative effort, the sum of several voices trying to convey a divine message revealed in Birgitta's visions. In trying to locate Birgitta's own voice, the task of the philologist is to identify those

46 The same chapters are also in Latin in RA E 8801, a direct copy of Holm. A 5a.

47 See section 2.1.

48 Westman 1911, 57; Morris 1999b, 7.

49 The collection of essays in Mooney 1999 explores the relationship between female visionaries and their male confessors and contains many useful insights for our understanding of the textual complexities of St Birgitta's revelations.

50 Sahlin 2001, 33.

sections in manuscripts that demonstrate a low level of editing; for example, they may appear less polished or lack supplementary material.[51] In some cases, we can see that changes were made by editors to make the text more accessible to an international audience. For example, Latin philologist Hans Aili discusses the case of a "vat of beer" (OSw. "ølkar") being changed to a "jar of wine" (Lat. "dolium vini") in Liber IV 24 in order to make the text more familiar to a continental European readership.[52] He also cites the change from a "tortoise" (Lat. "testudo") to a "snail" (OSw. "snighil") in Liber III 7 during the retranslation process from Latin into Swedish, presumably because a Swedish audience would not have known what a tortoise was, and the two animals share the characteristic of movement at a slow pace which is relevant in the context.[53]

One of the many vernacular texts that is of particular interest is the so-called "Birgittine-Norwegian text", E 8902 (formerly Skokloster 5 4°), which is today housed at Riksarkivet, the Swedish National Archives, in Stockholm. Dating from around 1400, the manuscript comprises an assortment of thirty-one of Birgitta's revelations, and it appears to have been written by Norwegian scribes adapting early Swedish and possibly Latin original texts. Many of the texts derive from versions that have not passed through the authorised Latin tradition and among them we find four passages that do not appear anywhere else. This independent strand of the vernacular tradition is thus of great interest to researchers in the fields of Birgittine history, philology as well as textual history, and it forms the basis of this book.

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51 However, editors were also responsible for making the text more vague or less striking when conveying Birgitta's message; see Moberg 1980; Aili 1986; Eklund 1984; Wollin 1991b; Morris 1996.

52 Aili 1986.

53 This latter substitution—snail for tortoise—can also be found in other non-Birgittine texts. For example, Henrik Harpestræng's Danish *Stenbogen* is a translation from the Latin *De lapidibus* by Bishop Marbodus of Rennes (1096–1123). Where Marbodus has "tortoise" (1585, fol. F2b "testudo"), Harpestræng has "snail" (NkS 66 8°, fol. 136^{v}, ll. 5–7 "snæghæl", and Thott 249 8°, fol. 74^{r}, ll. 9–11 "snigel"). Shared characteristics, such as movement at a slow pace and a shell-covering, seem irrelevant in this context (although the ability to lay eggs is important), and one is left wondering whether vernacular "snail" and Latin "tortoise" were simply used as the standard interchangeable terms by medieval Scandinavian translators (not just Birgittines) who were seeking to find familiar substitutes for unfamiliar creatures. On this substitution, see Riddle 1977, 76.

1.5 This Book

Gustaf E. Klemming, whose achievement in promoting, editing, and publishing Old Swedish texts is second to none, published an edition of E 8902 in 1875, but today it is obsolete having proved unsatisfactory in a several ways.[54] Firstly, there are a number of mistakes in the transcription. These are the result of Klemming's misreadings and his own amendments to the text. Secondly, difficult or uncertain readings are not discussed sufficiently, if at all. Thirdly, there are no comparative or critical apparatuses, and finally there is no comprehensive manuscript description. Nonetheless, as is also the case with many other Old Swedish works, Klemming did successfully make the manuscript more accessible to scholarly scrutiny, and a range of issues surrounding E 8902 have been being debated ever since.

The main aim of this book is thus to present a new interpretative diplomatic edition of E 8902 with a linguistic description that meets the demands of modern-day philologists.[55] Critical and comparative apparatuses accompany the transcription of the text and there is a commentary that contains references to theological, literary, and linguistic aspects of the text.[56] The book also includes a summary of previous research on the manuscript, from which it is possible to determine the principal areas of disagreement between scholars. In order to help place the manuscript in its historical and cultural context there are sections providing background information on Birgitta's revelations and Birgittine influence in Norway.

The importance of the manuscript for our understanding of the early Swedish Birgittine material is undisputed, but there has been much disagreement

54 On the inadequacies of Klemming's editions of the vernacular Birgittine manuscripts, see Andersson 2013, 332–333.

55 I use the term "interpretative diplomatic edition" as described in Foulet and Blakely Speer 1979, 44, and Haugen 2002. For an historical overview of editorial practices in East Norse philology, see Frederiksen 2013; Frederiksen 2015. On the various approaches to editing medieval Norse manuscripts, see Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2003.

56 Birgitta's spiritual life was immersed in the words and world of the Bible. She borrows biblical images freely often restructuring, conflating, or confusing various episodes, creating a text that bears only a passing resemblance to the original biblical source. For this reason it is often difficult to identify her sources with certainty. In addition to biblical sources, I have attempted to identify other possible sources or influences where I have felt there was a strong allusion, for example patristic works, classical and Norse mythology, and medieval literary works from abroad. Words or phrases that are dealt with by other scholars are also referenced in the commentary (chapter 11), but the language of the text *per se* is dealt with in the linguistic description (part III).

concerning when, where, and how, not to mention in which language, it was written. As so much of the external history of the manuscript is unknown, it is worthwhile to investigate aspects of the language of the manuscript to see whether that might cast some light on these questions. This has been done partly by means of a quantitative analysis of mixed linguistic forms to describe the level of Norwegian/Swedish language mixture[57] contained in the manuscript. The purpose of a quantitative analysis of the level and type of language mixture in the manuscript is primarily to measure the level of mixture throughout the manuscript with the intention of discerning whether the language in E 8902 is the result of non-conscious language mixture (that is, interference) or a conscious process of Norwegianising (that is a form of adaptation, perhaps for a specific audience). The language in this manuscript has tended to be regarded by earlier scholars as the rather haphazard interference of one or more Norwegian scribes working with Swedish texts. Although the language was frequently commented on, attention has principally remained focused on the importance of the texts as part of the pre-Latin Swedish tradition.[58] This has led to some fairly blanket statements about the type of mixture in E 8902, a situation that was not improved by the lack of both research into and accurate vocabulary for describing language mixture before the 1970s and 1980s. As the quantitative analysis in this book entails a limited number of features—and consequently words—there is also a more conventional analysis that includes some of the rarer words and forms.[59] In addition to the statistical approach,

57 Unless otherwise stated, "language mixture" in this study refers to a variety that is the result of contact between two languages, where elements (phonological, morphological, syntactical, or lexical) are taken from both contact languages and mixed. In this sense, it is being used with the same meaning as "interference". It should, thus, not be confused with "language mixing" proper, for which I have used the equally acceptable "language intertwining". A more detailed definition of types of language mixture and interference is provided in chapter 7.

58 Not until Lennart Moberg's article (1998) did work appear about the manuscript that concentrated solely on the language, rather than the content.

59 In order to be included in the quantitative analysis a word must contain one of the selected dialectal features, and in order for a feature to be included in the quantitative analysis it must occur in at least one in every hundred words. Therefore, to present a fuller picture of the language in the manuscript, I have also described less frequent forms (such as south-eastern features, so-called *Vadstenaspråk*-like features, ⟨a⟩ svarabhakti vowels, etc.), although they do not form part of the statistical analysis. On the importance of such qualitative features in linguistic studies, see McEnery and Wilson 1996, 62–63; Haan 1999, 15.

I also look at some features of the language not addressed by other scholars (for example, hapax legomena and loanwords). By means of these two linguistic investigations some of the questions surrounding the manuscript can be addressed, including the number of scribes, the date and place of composition, and the language of the original texts.

CHAPTER 2

Textual History of the Vernacular Scandinavian Manuscripts

Given the popularity of the Birgittine Order in Northern Europe,[1] it is hardly surprising to find translations of St Birgitta's revelations or excerpts thereof in several languages, including German, Polish, Czech, Spanish, and Portuguese. Birgitta's revelations in medieval Scandinavian vernaculars have survived in over twenty Swedish manuscripts (this figure does not include E 8902 or GkS 1154 fol. which I categorise below as Norwegian manuscripts) and in a handful of Danish fragments. Birgitta's revelations seem to have been unknown in Iceland, although Icelanders would probably have been familiar with the saint as there were contacts between Munkeliv (the Birgittine monastery in Bergen) and Icelandic scribes.[2] There is similarly no evidence of Birgittine veneration from the Faroe Islands.

2.1 Extant Swedish Manuscripts

The Swedish manuscripts of the revelations can be divided into three groups.[3] One group consists of those manuscripts from an early tradition that predates and is thus independent of the Latin translations.[4] Only Birgitta's auto-

1 On the spread of the Birgittine Order, see Nyberg 1965; Nyberg 1991; Morris 1999b, 168–173.

2 Also, according to Cormack (1994, 86 n. 48), knowledge of the Swedish saint may account for the spelling of the name in *Vilkinsbók* (1397). Occurrences of the name Birgitta in medieval Iceland (and Norway) can be found in Lind 1905–1915, *s.v.* "Brigit", cols 167–168, and *s.v.* "Brigitta", cols 168–169.

3 On the Swedish manuscripts, see [Lager]bring 1758, 70–108; Geete 1901, 19–39; Geete 1903, 99–101 (no. 286); Steffen 1909; Westman 1911; Wessén 1926; Kraft 1929; Wessén (Märta) 1949; Högman 1951; Ståhle 1956; Gussgard 1961; Wessén 1968–1976, II (1968), III (1976); Moberg 1980; Wollin 1981–1983; Andersson-Schmitt and Hedlund 1988, 339; Andersson-Schmitt and Hedlund 1989, 31–33; Wollin 1999b, 407–434; Morris 1991; Carlquist 1992; Wollin 1992; Andersson-Schmitt, Hallberg and Hedlund 1993, 330; Morris 1993; Morris 1996; Carlquist 1997; Wiktorsson 1998; Kettner 1999; Lindell 2000; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 22–24; Carlquist 2007; Andersson 2014, 11–17.

4 Remnants of a pre-Latin tradition that can be detected in later vernacular texts are discussed below.

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graphs, of which there are two fragments, belong to this group (Holm. A 65a + b, known as E).

The second group, sometimes called α,[5] comprises those manuscripts that belong to the earliest translations from Latin, made around the 1380s. These translations are rather literal and unidiomatic, and their language corresponds closely to their Latin originals in terms of participle constructions, relative clauses, and use of the subjunctive. They also make less use of hendiadys or doublets[6] than do later texts and are characterised by an archaic vocabulary.[7] To this group belong: Holm. A 110 (G); *some* revelations from Book VII in Holm. A 3 (K); Holm. A 5b (L); *parts* of Ups. C 61 (M), and Ups. C 835a.

The third group contains later translations into Swedish from after the period *c.* 1400–1420. The language of these translations has been revised and is quite different to that of groups 1 and 2.[8] In addition to some other more fragmentary manuscripts, these three important manuscripts belong to this group: Holm. A 33 (A); Holm. A 5a (B), and E 8801, formerly Skokloster 136 fol. (C). This third group is sometimes divided into two groups, α_1 and α_2, depending on the extent and types of revision.[9] The extant manuscripts containing Birgitta's revelations in Old Swedish are listed over page with comments and references.[10]

Although no complete pre-Latin-tradition manuscript has come down to us, there are examples in manuscripts of the Swedish tradition that pre-date and have primacy over the Latin. Richard Steffen discussed the possibility that some "spoken-style" elements or the unusual ordering of material in the

5 See section 9.2.4 for more on this.

6 By "doublet", also known as "word coupling", is meant a device in which two or more words are strung together to create a stylistic effect. One of the words is usually redundant or the doublet could be expressed more succinctly in just one word. Doublets can be antithetical ("he works *day and night*"); synonymous ("today is *bright and sunny*"), or enumerative ("he wouldn't do it for *love or money or fame or fortune*"). On these types of constructions, see Bendz 1965; also Scheel 1923, 68–70; Diderichsen 1931–1937, 324 n. 1; Seip 1934, 159; Thorén 1942, 122–138, 130 nn. 1–2; Skautrup 1968, II, 68; Petersen 1991, 33–36; Adams 2013b, 150–156.

7 Ståhle 1956, 1; Gussgard 1961, *passim*; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 47, 56, 76; Wollin 1991b, 421–426; Carlquist 1992, 41; Carlquist 1997, 35–44.

8 Wessén 1968–1976, III, 44.

9 See section 9.2.4 for more on this.

10 It should be noted that there are also single Swedish revelations that occur in, for example, prayer books and in some of the theological miscellany manuscripts in the C Collection of Uppsala University Library.

Swedish text could be remnants of a pre-Latin (that is, independent) tradition.[11] In other words, there are sections in the Swedish text that may derive from Birgitta's own original notes, early vernacular documents or an oral tradition without any recourse being made to the Latin translations.[12] Although some of Steffen's arguments are rather far-fetched—he states, for example, that there is insufficient evidence to show that the Swedish text is in the main translated from Latin[13]—some of his ideas have recently come into favour.[14] Nowadays it is generally accepted that although the vast majority of the Swedish text is translated from Latin, there are scattered and isolated sections—often just a few words—that have survived in a Swedish form independent of the Latin.[15] It is important to remember that the Swedish vernacular tradition has a history that runs alongside the evolving Latin tradition. Below is an overview of the extant Swedish manuscripts:

A Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 33 (*c.* 1450)
Contents: Books I–III. Three leaves are missing.
Edition: *BU* I.
Literature: Westman 1911, 48; *BU* V, 145–146.

B Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 5a (1400–1425)
Contents: Books I–VIII. The text is complete apart from some chapters in Books I and IV. Book I 47–49 in Latin.[16]
Edition: *BU* II–III (Books IV–VIII only).
Literature: *BU* V, 146–148; Wessén 1976, 16–17; Wiktorsson 2004, 292–304.

11 Steffen 1909, 314–331; cf. Westman 1911, 47–62.

12 By "oral tradition" I am referring to Birgitta's followers' unrecorded memory of things that the saint had said or described during her life. I am not suggesting that this tradition was in any way structured or even recognised, but merely that a tradition of oral stories and sayings about Birgitta must have existed. The fifteenth-century chronicle about Birgitta and her family by Margareta Clausdotter, *De Genere et Nepotibus Birgitte*, draws explicitly on just such an oral tradition.

13 Steffen 1909, 323.

14 See Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 23.

15 Hollman 1956, 102–103; Moberg 1980, 193; Eklund 1984; Aili 1986; Wollin 1991b; Morris 1993; Wollin 2004, 331.

16 See section 1.4 (pp. 10–11).

C Stockholm, Riksarkivet, E 8801, formerly Skokloster 136 fol. (1400–1425)
Contents: Books I–VIII. A direct copy of Holm. A 5a. Book I 47–49 in Latin.
Edition: Unpublished except for excerpts in *BU* I, 19–22, 264–266.
Literature: Wessén 1926; Wessén 1968–1976, III, 10–16; *BU* V, 148–189; Wiktorsson 2004, 304–307.

D Lunds universitetsbibliotek, Mh 20, "Codex Bergmanianus" (*c.* 1420)
Contents: Just eleven lines remain of four revelations and three meditations. Contains Book IV 131, Book VI 118, *Ex.* 63 and *Ex.* 49, as well as four revelations not found in any other Swedish MS, and three meditations not found elsewhere.
Edition: [Lager]bring 1749–1758; *BU* IV, 123–131—these editions preserve these (now lost) seven pieces.
Literature: Westman 1911, 61–62; Morris 1996.

E Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 65a + b (1367 + 1361)
Contents: a) Book IV 49; b1) Book VIII 56; b2) Book IV 141. These two fragments (a and b) are the only extant autographs by Birgitta.
Edition: *BU* IV, 177–185.
Literature: Westman 1911, 31–35; Högman 1951.

F Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 44 (1400–1450)
Contents: Large sections of Book VIII.
Edition: *BU* IV, 279–419.
Literature: *BU* V, 175–176.

G Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 110, "Codex Oxenstierna" (*c.* 1385)
Contents: Book I 8, 28, 31, 36, 42, 52, 53, 58; Book IV 110. The oldest extant MS in Swedish containing revelations.
Edition: Geete 1901, 19–39.
Literature: Wessén 1968–1976, III, 26–50; Carlquist 2002, 59–63.

H Stockholm, Riksarkivet, E 8902, formerly Skokloster 5 4°
– See under "Extant Norwegian Manuscripts" below.

I Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, C 50, fols 151v–152r, 170r–171v (1450–1500)
Contents: *Sententiae* taken from throughout the revelations, and a short excerpt from Book VIII 2–7, 56.
Literature: Geete 1900, xxii; Geete 1903, 99 (no. 286); Andersson-Schmitt and Hedlund 1988, 339.

K Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 3 (1502)
Contents: Excerpts from various revelations in Books I, VI and VII used for *lectiones*.
Edition: Carlquist 2006.
Literature: Carlquist 1992, 41; Carlquist 1996, 25; Carlquist 2007.

L Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 5b (before 1452)
Contents: Books I 55—IV 25 with some gaps. From the same manuscript as Holm. A 24.
Edition: Facsimile in Wessén (Märta) 1949 with introductory discussion.
Literature: *BU* V, 154; Collijn 1918, 129; Wessén 1926; Ahlberg 1942, xvi; Ståhle 1956.

M Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, C 61 (*c.* 1500)
Contents: Parts of Books III–VIII. The youngest extant MS in Swedish containing revelations.
Edition: Morris 1991 for Book V; Lindell 2000 for Book VII.
Literature: *BU* V, 154–156; Ståhle 1956; Gussgard 1961; Bergh 1971; Wollin 1981–1983, I, 4–6; II, 47–49; Andersson-Schmitt, Hallberg and Hedlund 1989, 31–33.

N Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 24 (*c.* 1450)
Contents: Some chapters from Book V and fragments of the Rule of St Saviour. This parchment sheet was sewn into the cloth cover. From the same manuscript as Holm. A 5b.
Edition: Ståhle 1956.
Literature: Collijn 1918, 140; Morris 1991.

A 54 Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 54 (*c.* 1450)
Contents: Selection of several revelations from Books I, IV–VII used by the priest in Hagebyhöga.
Literature: Kroon 1953, 23–26; Carlquist 1997.

C 835a Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, C 835a (*c.* 1400)
Contents: a1) Book III 15–16; a2) Book III 21–23; b1) Rule of St Saviour 1–4; b2) Rule of St Saviour 20–23. These four pages of parchment had been used in a book's binding.
Edition: Gussgard 1961, 94–114.
Literature: Gussgard 1961; Andersson-Schmitt, Hallberg and Hedlund 1993, 330.

Frag. 1a Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Fr 11637 (late fourteenth century)
Contents: Part of Book VI 39. From the same manuscript as Fr 30196 and Fr 30197.
Literature: Andersson 2013, 347; Andersson 2014, 16 n. 36.

Frag. 1b Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Fr 30196, Södermanlands handlingar, Julita fragment (late fourteenth century)
Contents: Part of Book VI 39. From the same manuscript as Fr 11637 and Fr 30197.
Literature: Andersson 2013, 347; Andersson 2014, 16 n. 36.

Frag. 1c Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Fr 30197, Södermanlands handlingar (late fourteenth century)
Contents: Parts of Book VI 89, 90–92, 93. From the same manuscript as Fr 11637 and Fr 30196.
Literature: Andersson 2013, 347; Andersson 2014, 16 n. 36.

Frag. 2a Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Fr 11670, Stavsundsamlingen (fifteenth century)
Contents: Parts of Book I 45–46, 49; Book IV 132. From the same manuscript as Fr 2885.
Literature: Dverstorp 2013, 330; Andersson 2013, 347; Andersson 2014, 16 n. 36.

Frag. 2b Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Fr 28855, Östergötlands handlingar [Visby landsarkiv] (fifteenth century)
Contents: Parts of Book IV 22–24, 52–58. From dust jacket of Landskapshandlingen Östergötland 1604 no. 15. From the same manuscript as Fr 11670.
Literature: Wiktorsson 1998, 94–98; Andersson 2013, 347; Andersson 2014, 16 n. 36.
Edition: Wiktorsson 1998, 95–96.

Frag. 3a Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, Aftagne fragmenter, 13a, no. 830 (late fourteenth century)
Contents: Part of Book VII 14. Fragment found in Ösel reg. 1b.
Literature: Gelting 1984, 46–48; Gelting 1988, 18–20; Andersson 2013, 347.

Frag. 3b Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, Aftagne fragmenter, 13a, no. 851 (late fourteenth century)
Contents: End of Book VII 14 with closing doxology. Fragment found in Ösel reg. 1b. Previously unidentified.
Literature: Cf. Gelting 1984, 46–48; Gelting 1988, 18–20.

Frag. 3c Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, Aftagne fragmenter, 13a, no. 856 (late fourteenth century)
Contents: Beginning of Book IV 130. Fragment found in Ösel reg. 1b.
Literature: Gelting 1984, 46–48; Gelting 1988, 18–20; Andersson 2013, 347 (NB the wrong fragment number is used here).

Germ. 726 Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Germ. fol. 726 (1487–1496)
Contents: Rule of St Saviour, *Ex*. 1–46, 65, Prior Petrus' additions.
Literature: Wessén 1965; Andersson 2014, 16–17.

2.1.1 *Swedish Retranslation*

When translating the Latin revelations into Swedish, the scribes may have made use of pre-Latin Swedish documents and the oral tradition mentioned above, which resulted in the meeting of a number of texts and traditions at various levels. Each level could leave a trace (often in just a few lines of the text), which results in an intricate web, which can be extremely difficult—if not impossible—to disentangle.[17] The origin of the Old Swedish revelation texts has been described graphically by Lars Wollin thus:[18]

17 Wollin 1991b, 417.

18 Wollin 1991b, 423 fig. 2; Wollin 2004, 332.

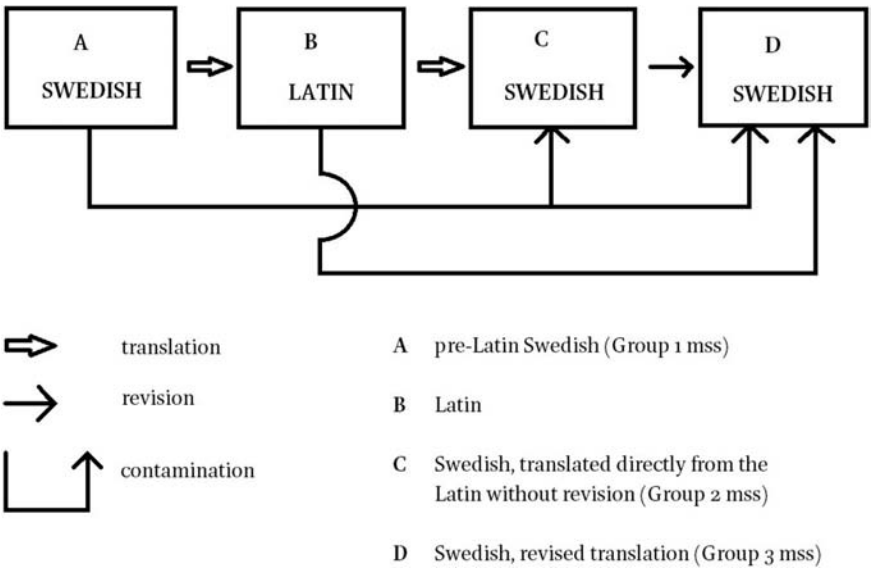
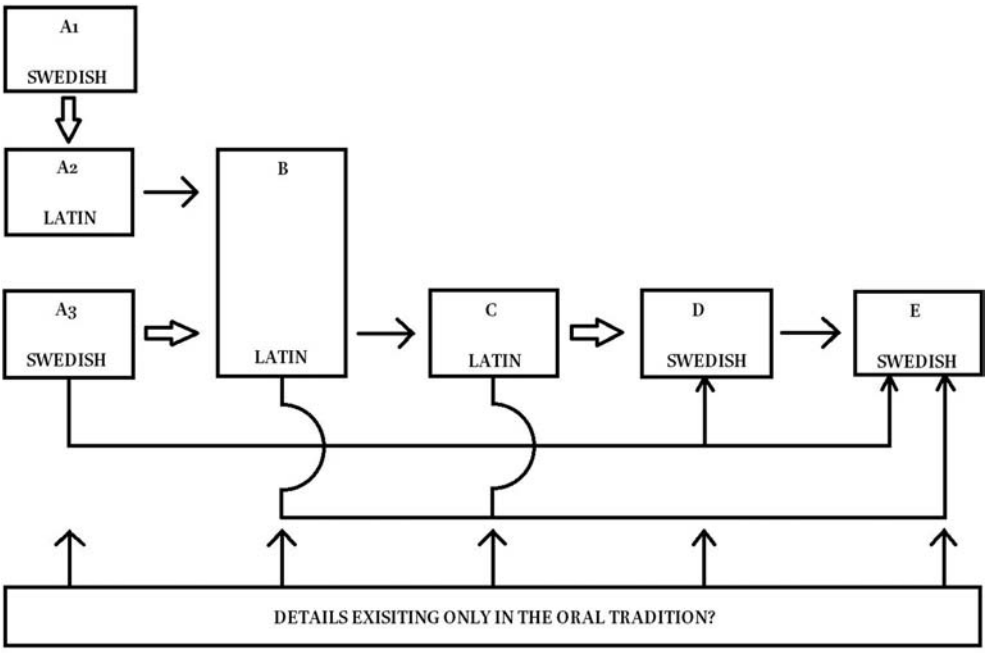


FIGURE 1 *The origin of the Old Swedish revelation texts* (*after Wollin*)

When looking at fig. 1, it is important to realise that the earliest Latin translations also comprised the simultaneous translations made by Birgitta's confessors into Latin from her dictations in Swedish (that is the text was first composed in Latin, not Swedish). Birgitta is said to have checked each of these translations herself. It is impossible to know which visions were recorded by dictation and which were written by Birgitta in Swedish,[19] but these dictated Latin texts must have been incorporated and used alongside Swedish notes and Birgitta's autographs in the first Latin translations.

Wollin has expanded the Swedish part of his diagram (C and D), but the complex redactional history of the Latin texts (B) is not illustrated. This simplification ignores the fact that the post-Alphonsine Latin redactions may well have been revised and enlarged through the use of early Swedish-language material available at Vadstena. In addition to this, any stage of the early redactional work may have been influenced by an existing oral tradition. A revised version of the diagram looks like this:

19 Morris 1993, 23.



translation
revision
contamination

A First draft Latin or pre-Latin Swedish

1. Birgitta's dictation in Swedish

2. Simultaneous translation into Latin by a scribe

3. Birgitta's own notes in Swedish (Group 1 mss)

B Latin, up to and including the Second Alphonsine (1380)

C Latin, enlarged and supplemented versions after 1380

D Swedish, translated directly from the Latin without revision (Group 2 mss)

E Swedish, revised translation (Group 3 mss)

FIGURE 2 *The origin of the Old Swedish revelation texts* (*revised version*)

It is difficult to know to what extent the translators had access to or made use of the pre-Latin Swedish texts (A_3) when translating from Latin to Swedish.[20] For example, the Swedish translation of Liber IV 141, whilst containing clear Latin influence, follows Birgitta's own autograph (Holm. A 65b) in a detailed

20 Högman 1951; Liedgren 1961; Eklund 1984; Aili 1986.

way.[21] This suggests that the translators of this section did make use of original documents, perhaps even Birgitta's own handwritten versions. The extant examples of a Swedish tradition independent of the Latin are few, but are of great importance. They can be used to see how Birgitta's words were edited and translated by her confessors, and they provide an insight into her own language use.

The texts which in their Swedish version demonstrate greater originality than their Latin version, and thus belong to an earlier stage in the transmission of the Birgittine corpus, include the Julita Fragments (RA Fr 11637, 30196, 30197),[22] the Birgitta Autographs,[23] the *Quattuor orationes*,[24] and scattered revelations from the eight books and the *Revelationes extravagantes*.[25]

It is extremely difficult to evaluate the status of the Swedish translations, as so little is known about the circumstances under which they were produced. Who were the translators? How many were there? How did they work? Were the translations only undertaken in the monastery or elsewhere too? It is thought that the bulk of the revelations in Latin had been translated into Old Swedish by 1390, so this was clearly a massive undertaking.[26] Our present-day recognition of all this intertextual contamination has, however, only served to make the field of investigation much more opaque and offers us little prospect of being able to make certain, clear-cut statements about the status of these vernacular texts.

In his recent research, Jonas Carlquist (2007) has presented a new way of analysing the Swedish translation tradition. He finds the chronological division into two linear stages—early and late—as unfortunate and more of a hindrance than an aid. Instead, Carlquist prefers to explain textual differences from a social perspective by considering the manuscripts' intended users. Although some of the group 2 manuscripts can be linked to Vadstena

21 Högman 1951, 259.

22 Högman 1951; Liedgren 1961, 101–106; Moberg 1980, 193–211.

23 Wessén (Märta) 1949, xxv–xxviii; Högman 1951.

24 Westman 1911, 59–61; Eklund 1984, 5–24.

25 Westman 1911, 48–62; Hollman 1956, 104–106, 233–234; Aili 1986; Morris 1996, 167–186.

26 "Als Pioniereinsatz im neuen Kloster muß diese Übersetzungsaufgabe gewaltig gewesen sein. In heutigem Druck handelt es sich um etwa 1500 Seiten Text, und man ist jetzt der Ansicht, daß der Hauptteil in gutem Vadstenaschwedisch schon vor 1390 vorgelegen hat [As a piece of pioneering work in the new monastery, this translation task must have been immense. In today's printed versions we are talking about 1500 pages of text, and it is now the view that the main part of it was presented in good Vadstena Swedish before 1390]", Wollin 1987, 206.

(Holm. A 110; Holm. A 5b; Holm. A 3), at least one cannot (Ups. C 61). Similarly, although most group 3 manuscripts do not appear to have a Vadstena provenance (Holm. A 5a; E 8801), at least one does (Holm. A 33).[27] Carlquist suggests therefore using the terms "vadstenatradition [Vadstena tradition]" and "sekulär eller [...] profan tradition [secular or (...) profane tradition]" in order to avoid talk of a chronological development.[28] This is an important contribution to our understanding of the Swedish tradition, although its consequences have yet to be fully realised in Birgittine scholarship.

2.2 Other Scandinavian Manuscripts

2.2.1 *Old Danish*[29]

With the establishment of the two Birgittine monasteries in Denmark, one at Maribo on Lolland in 1418 and the other at Mariager in Jutland in 1446, Denmark's Birgittine tradition begins. Considering the influence of St Birgitta and her centre at Vadstena, as well as the existence of these two houses in Denmark, one might expect to find extant manuscripts of her revelations translated into Danish. However, there is no such complete extant translation. A few traces are all that remain of what once must have been a flourishing tradition—just 600 short lines of text scattered over twenty-seven pieces of parchment dating from the mid-fifteenth century.[30] There is no reason to believe that these Danish fragments were translated from or with the help of Swedish texts.[31] Although of interest in their own right, the Danish fragments are not of relevance to our manuscript, as they do not originate in the pre-Latin tradition, and they do not contain any revelations found in the Birgittine-Norwegian texts.

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27 Carlquist 2007, 373–376.

28 Carlquist 2007, 374.

29 On the Old Danish Birgittine texts, see Brandt 1857, 103–104; Hammerich 1863, 353; Diderichsen 1931–1937, 77–121, 293–334; Diderichsen 1935–1936; Friis Johansen 1959; Dahlerup 1998, I, 341–344; Adams 2000; Frederiksen 2001, 94–95.

30 Danish versions of the *Revelationes* are also preserved as quotations (*concordantia auctoritatum*) in the sermon manuscripts GkS 1390 4° and C 56. The manuscripts are translations from Swedish, so the quotations are likewise translated from Swedish (retranslation tradition), not Latin.

31 Diderichsen 1931–1937, 323–324. In a short study of my own (2000), I showed that the texts have a close affinity with the Latin versions, and that the Danish and the Swedish translators of the Latin versions applied different strategies and approaches to their material.

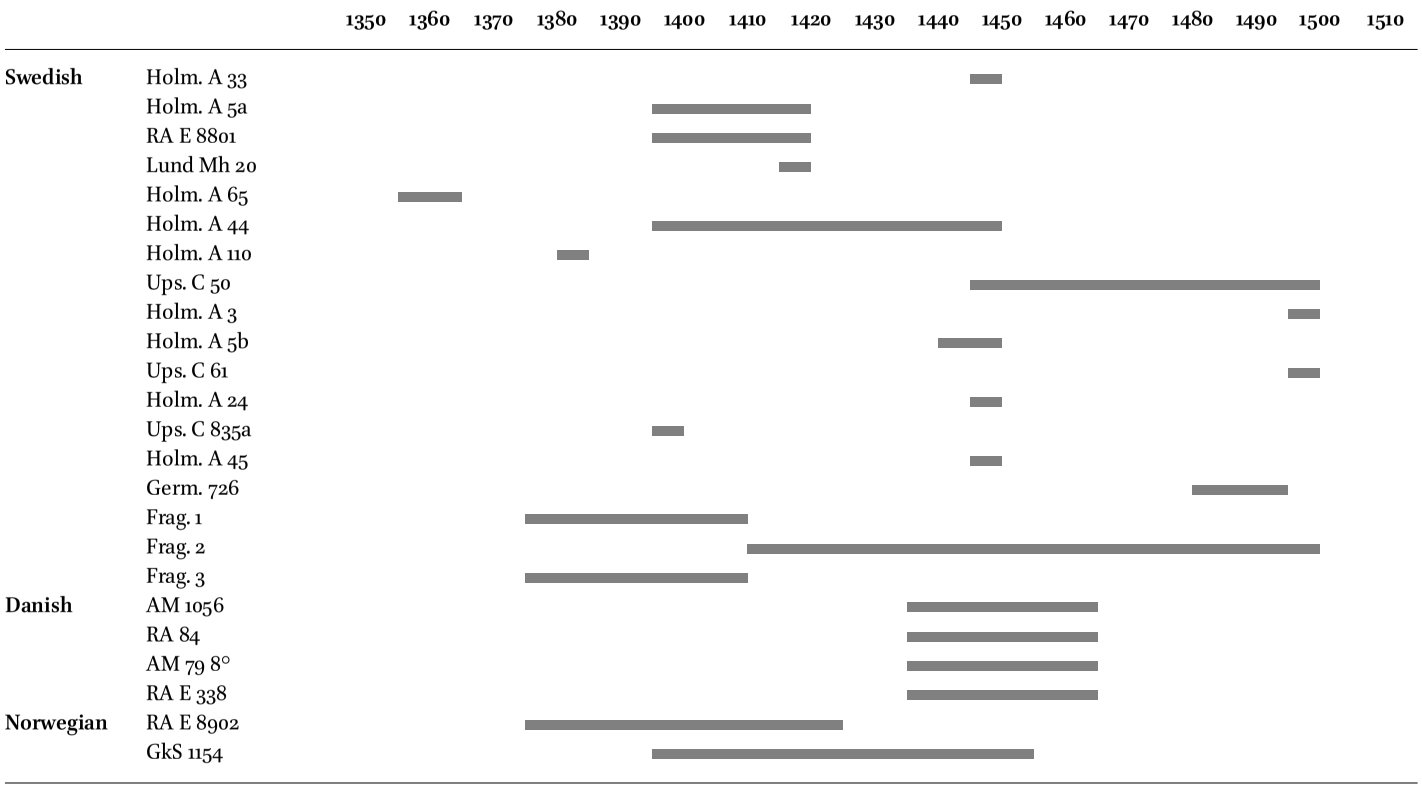

FIGURE 3 *Comparison of datings for Birgittine manuscripts in Scandinavian vernacular*

2.2.2 *Middle Norwegian*[32]

There are just two Norwegian examples of Birgitta's revelations, *viz*. E 8902 and the nine rules for judges written inside GkS 1154 fol. My placing of E 8902 under the heading "Middle Norwegian" does not follow the traditional classification of this manuscript, which places it under Old Swedish. It has been classified as Middle Norwegian because it was copied by Norwegian scribes, was written in a type of language typical for late fourteenth-/early fifteenth-century Norway, and was in my view intended for a Norwegian audience. It is surprising that although E 8902 is included in the list of Swedish manuscripts by Swedish scholars, the short text in GkS 1154 fol., the language of which has a considerably more Swedish appearance and feel, has been ignored by them. It is of great interest that Birgitta's nine rules for judges were considered of importance to the users of this luxuriant volume of the Norwegian national law, and its inclusion is clear evidence of the subtle ways that Birgitta's spiritual and religious influence was penetrating the Norwegian national institutions even before the establishment of the Birgittine monastery in Bergen. The revelation in the manuscript is dealt with fully elsewhere, and as it does not occur in E 8902, it is of no further relevance to this study.

2.3 Summary

Of those manuscripts in Swedish, Danish or Norwegian that predate or are contemporary with E 8902 (see fig. 3), the following contain revelations that are also found in the twenty-five sections of E 8902 and that have been used in the comparative apparatus. They all belong to the Old Swedish tradition:[33]

32 On the Middle Norwegian Birgittine texts, see *BU* v; Storm 1885; Kålund 1900, 27–28; Westman 1911; Gödel 1916; Kraft 1929; Flom 1937, 16; Sandvei 1938; Seip 1934; Seip 1937; Seip 1946; Seip 1947a; Seip 1950; Seip 1954a; Seip 1955; Seip 1956; Seip 1967; Wessén 1968–1976, II (1968); Rindal and Berg 1983, 18–19; Wollin 1991b; Gilkær 1993, 223; Moberg 1980; Gilkær 2000; Adams 2008a, 13–35.

33 On this division into sections and the content of the manuscript, see section 5.3.

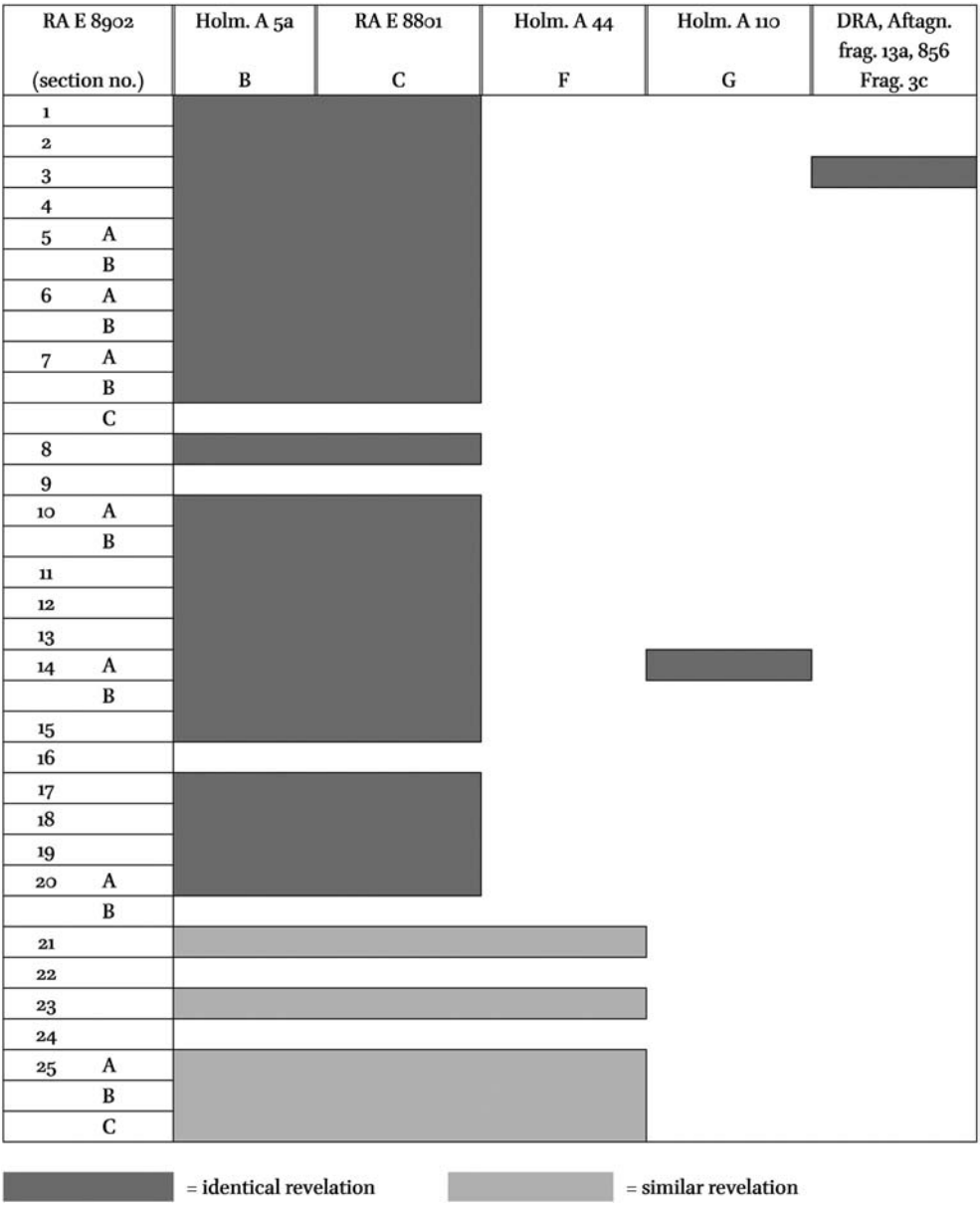

FIGURE 4 *Revelations common to both E 8902 and other contemporary manuscripts*

The importance of E 8902 within the Scandinavian tradition is difficult to underestimate and rests on three principal foundations:

1) Its rarity as a Norwegian, or at least Scandinavian non-Swedish, rendering of the *Revelations*;
2) Its relatively early date of compilation;
3) Its complete, non-fragmentary nature.

CHAPTER 3

Birgitta and Norway

3.1 Towards Nordic Union in the Fourteenth Century: Royalty and the Nobility

During Birgitta's lifetime and the following five centuries, Norway was in a state of union, first with Sweden and then with Denmark.[1] The kingdoms of Sweden and Norway were united in 1319 when the three-year-old Magnus Eriksson (1316–1374) succeeded his grandfather King Hákon V (1270–1319) in Norway and was almost simultaneously elected king of Sweden by the Swedish nobles.[2] At first he was too young to govern, so his mother, Ingeborg, and later the Swedish council of the realm (*rikesins raþ*) ruled on his behalf. Magnus himself was regent from 1332 until 1364, when he was deposed by his brother-in-law, Albrekt II Duke of Mecklenburg (*c.* 1318–1379), whose son, Albrekt III ("the Younger"; *c.* 1338–1412), was subsequently elected king. Norway, however, had been ruled by Magnus' son, King Hákon VI (1340–1380), since 1355. In 1363, Hákon married the king of Denmark's daughter, Margrete Valdemarsdatter (1353–1412), thus forging an alliance between the two kingdoms. The principal aim of this alliance was to crush aristocratic resistance in Sweden and lend support to Magnus Eriksson. However, when Magnus was deposed by the Swedish nobility in a revolt almost immediately after the creation of this Dano-Norwegian alliance, there ensued a period of dynastic struggle between the two royal houses for the kingdoms of Scandinavia. Aged five, Margrete and Hákon VI's son, Olaf (1370–1387), inherited the Danish throne upon Valdemar Atterdag's death in 1375. Just four years later, when Hákon VI died, he became king of Norway, and thus Denmark and Norway were united under one crown

1 On these unions, see Koht 1956; Bagge and Mykland 1987, 11–82; Authén Blom 1992; Grinder-Hansen *et al.* 1996; Ulsig 2003; Olesen 1996.

2 Magnus Eriksson was the son of Hákon V's daughter, Ingeborg (1301–1361), and the king of Sweden's brother, Erik Magnusson (1339–1359). Erik Magnusson, who appears as the hero in *Erikskrønikan*, made full use of his Norwegian connections in creating his own "empire" from provinces in Norway (Båhus), Sweden (Västergötland, Värmland, and Dalsland), and Denmark (northern Halland), and also in leading an uprising of the nobility against his own brother, King Birger (1280–1321), leading to his removal and the election of his son, Magnus Eriksson, as king of Sweden.

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and ruled by Margrete acting as regent. During the 1380s, Margrete tried to win the kingdom of Sweden, at first for her son, then for herself, and finally for her sister's grand-son, Erik of Pomerania (1381/82–1459). In 1389, Albrekt III was defeated and captured, and seven years later, Erik of Pomerania was crowned in Kalmar as king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.[3]

This royal Union of Kalmar had, however, been preceded by a long period of increasing cooperation between the aristocratic families of Scandinavia. Indeed, the fourteenth century in Scandinavia is marked by a growing self-awareness amongst the nobility that stretched beyond national boundaries. During the evolution from feudalism to monarchy, Danish, Swedish and Norwegian nobles pulled together to protect their own interests rather than those of the king[4]—at a national level the nobility had already been instrumental in the overthrow of a king; now they began to act transnationally. The glue that held these inter-Scandinavian aristocratic bonds together was marriage—by marrying the daughters of noblemen in neighbouring countries noblemen were able to acquire lands and interests across national borders.[5] These interests could then be inherited by (or sold to) other "foreigners" without the involvement of the local population or the king of that country. Birgitta thus lived through a time when her own class was gaining power, challenging the rule of the monarch, and cooperating with their peers across national borders.[6] It is no wonder that many of Birgitta's revelations concern the nobility.[7]

However, the late fourteenth century was not a period of expansion for the Norwegian nobility. A decline in their power began with the Black Death in 1349–1350 that wiped out approximately two thirds of the noble families of Norway, either directly through the disease or through the subsequent years of

3 Margrete's close links with the Birgittine movement had almost certainly helped her gain the Swedish crown for Erik; see Etting 1996, 251.

4 This reached a climax in the following century when, in August 1476 and again in August 1482, a special programme for aristocratic union was formulated at Kalmar (Olesen 1996, 40–41). These programmes aimed at limiting the monarch's power and strengthening the influence of the nobility.

5 Similar developments were taking place elsewhere in Europe; for example, extensive intermarriage between the Polish and Lithuanian nobility (resulting in the union of Poland and Lithuania under Władysław V Jagiełło in 1386), and the nobility of England and Scotland around the time of Edward I. As mentioned above, Erik Magnusson, through his aristocratic connections, was able to create his own small "multinational" empire out of territories in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

6 Gilkær 1993, 177–192.

7 See especially Libri I "prologus", 29, 55–56; II 8–12, 20; III 27; IV 36, 74; *Ex*. 56.

poverty and hardship.[8] The weakening of the nobility's power is reflected by the growing number of Swedish-Norwegian marriages, most often Norwegian on the female side, suggesting difficulty finding a suitable match at home, rather than the desire to acquire lands abroad. Also relations between the king and nobility seem to have been more harmonious in Norway than in Sweden or Denmark, probably because the king's service was still an important source of income for the nobility. The number of Norwegian aristocratic families continued to fall which meant that it was often difficult to assemble enough noblemen to represent the country at inter-Scandinavian policy meetings.[9] By the sixteenth century, after years of decline and massive German and Danish immigration, the native Norwegian nobility was extinct having been replaced by foreigners.

As an exclusively aristocratic institution, one should also bear in mind the Birgittine Order's role as a pan-Scandinavian movement. The sisters at the monasteries in Vadstena, Maribo, Mariager, Munkeliv and Nådendal (Naantali) were noblewomen drawn from throughout Scandinavia. Priests and abbots were sent to houses in neighbouring countries and books were loaned between libraries.[10] Both queens Margrete and Philippa (daughter of Henry IV of England and married to Erik of Pomerania) entered the monastery in Vadstena as *sorores ab extra* (tertiaries), acts of great symbolic importance, which demonstrated the close relationship between the Order and the unionist monarchs.[11]

3.2 Birgitta's Own Personal Contacts with Norway

Birgitta's own links with Norway are not entirely clear.[12] She certainly visited Norway around 1340 when she undertook a pilgrimage to the shrine of St Olaf in Niðaróss,[13] and this Norwegian saint also appears in her visions.[14] The royal

8 Ulsig 2003, 648.

9 Ulsig 2003, 648.

10 On book loans between Vadstena and Munkeliv, see Kulseth 2003.

11 Philippa's entry to the order is described in *Diarium Vadstenense*, where it also says that she was honoured by being allowed to lift Birgitta's femur; see *DV*, 168 (no. 238). Her presence at the monastery is mentioned in a number of other entries—see *s.v.* "Philippa" in the index of names (*DV*, 343) for full references.

12 Nyberg 1996, 249.

13 *A&P*, 14, 309, 579.

14 "Sed nec memoria eius erit vt dilecti mei Olaui [But his memory will not be like that of

union between Norway and Sweden during her lifetime almost certainly meant that she would have met Norwegians of high standing after she moved to the Swedish court in 1335 to serve Blanche, who was, after all, queen of both Sweden and Norway. It is, however, among Birgitta's children that we can best detect Norwegian connections.

3.3 Birgitta's Family Connections with Norway

The children and descendants of Birgitta had apparently strong links with Norway.[15] These family connections to the Norwegian nobility—although by no means an essential requisite for the spread of Birgittine influence in Norway—would surely have facilitated the promotion of Birgitta and her works there. In addition to the revelations and her *vita*, the principal sources of information on Birgitta's family and descendants are materials relating to her canonisation and her daughter Katarina's beatification, and are thus far from impartial.[16] Occasionally we can also find references to Birgitta and her family in diplomatic materials, but these are sparse and cannot be used to corroborate the Birgittine sources.[17]

According to Margareta Clausdotter's colourful fifteenth-century account, *De Genere et Nepotibus Birgitte*,[18] there were no links with Norway among Birgitta's ancestors, but in writing about the saint's children, Margareta reveals some close connections between them and Norway. Birgitta's eldest daughter, Mæritta (b. 1319/20), married twice: her first husband was a Norwegian and her second a Swede who settled in Norway. Birgitta's eldest son, Karl (b. 1321), was married three times: his second wife, Gyda, with whom he had no children,

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my beloved Olaf]", *Ex.* 27: 2. Interestingly, the Danish St Knut never appeared to Birgitta, even though through her mother's line (the Folkunga dynasty) she was related to St Ingrid, a daughter of St Knut. In fact, judging from her revelations, she had little interest in Denmark (except with regard to Skåne).

15 Annerstedt 1968 [1818–1876], 207–216; Collijn 1942–1945; Engen 1955; Silfving 1955, 69; Liljeholm 1955a; Liljeholm 1955b; Morris 1999b.

16 See Morris 1999b, 3–9 for an overview of all the sources. On the use of hagiographical sources in Scandinavian historical research, see Krötzl 2001, 204–206 and accompanying references. For an account of Birgitta's biographical works, see Ekwall 1965 and Wollin 2000. On materials relating to the life of her daughter Katarina, see especially Collijn 1942–1945.

17 Morris 1999b, 9.

18 See section 1.2.

was Norwegian. It is likely that these two of Birgitta's children, their spouses and children were keen advocates for the Birgittine movement in Norway.

Mæritta's first marriage to Sigvid Ribbing sometime between *c.* 1337 greatly displeased Birgitta despite having been arranged by her husband, Ulf.[19] Sigvid was related to Knut Porse (d. 1330), a Danish nobleman and the object of much criticism from Birgitta.[20] However, after Sigvid's death (*c.* 1345), Mæritta remarried and became the wife of Knut Algotsson, whom she followed into exile in Norway in 1357.[21] It is during this time that Mæritta was entrusted by the kings of Denmark and Norway with the raising of the ten-year-old queen-to-be, Margrete Valdemarsdatter, shortly after the young princess had been wedded to King Hákon.[22] Mæritta brought Margrete up in Dalsland together with her own daughter, Ingegærd Knutsdotter (d. 1412), who was to become the first elected abbess of Vadstena in 1384, a position she held for eighteen years.[23] Mæritta was a pious woman who had undertaken a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, so we can surmise that Margrete's upbringing was a religious one. It was certainly a disciplined home as we read in *De Genere et Nepotibus Birgitte*: "Oc hænde thæt offta; at drotningen oc syster Ingegærdh fingho badha aff eno rise [And it often happened that the queen and Sister Ingegærd were both beaten with the same whip]".[24] This religious and disciplined upbringing would have left its mark on the future queen.[25] Birgitta, through Mæritta, was probably Margrete's model for womanhood,[26] and Margrete became a generous supporter of the Birgittine movement.

De Genere et Nepotibus Birgitte states that Mæritta had three children with Knut Algotsson:[27] Ingrid Knutsdotter, who married the nobleman Gaute Eiriksson[28] and died childless; Ingegærd Knutsdotter, who became abbess of Vad-

19 *DV*, 133 (no. 100); Annerstedt 1968 [1818–1876], 209–210. Birgitta refers to Sigvid Ribbing as "the bandit" ("latroni illi", Liber VI 97).

20 See, for example, the revelation in E 8902 that begins on *p.* 79: 25 where he is called "the serpent" ("ormen"). On Porse's campaigns, see Olesen 2003, 713–716.

21 Koht 1956, 10.

22 There is a certain irony in this course of events. Birgitta had been a sharp critic of the engagement between the six-year-old Margrete and Hákon; see Etting 1996, 251.

23 Etting 1996, 251. The relevant section from *De Genere et Nepotibus Birgitte* (Linc. B 70a) is published in Annerstedt 1968 [1818–1876], 210–211.

24 Annerstedt 1968 [1818–1876], 2111.

25 Koht 1956, 10–11.

26 Damsholt 1996.

27 Although in AM 191 fol. and Linc. B 70a, we read that Mæritta had just two daughters. See Annerstedt 1968 [1818–1876], 210.

28 According to Engen (1955, 65) and Silfving (1955, 73–74).

stena and died childless, and Katarina Knutsdotter, who married the nobleman Ogmund Finnsson, who ruled Norway twice as the king's representative—from 1366 to 1371 for Hákon VI Magnusson, and from 1380 to 1386 for Olaf Hákonsson and his mother Margrete. Katarina died childless. However, some Norwegian scholars have also put forward the case for a fourth child for Mæritta, a daughter called Ramborg.[29] Ramborg appears in a letter dated 20 January 1408 (Stavanger), where a decision that her three children are the rightful heirs to Katarina Knutsdotter's estate is recorded.[30] There has been disagreement about the precise meaning of this judgement; indeed, one might even question whether we can be sure that this "Katrina Knutz dottor" is in fact Birgitta's grandchild Katarina. What is interesting is that there is a possibility that Birgitta had a grandchild in Norway who did have children and continued the saint's line in that country.[31] Mæritta's final resting-place is unknown, but *De Genere et Nepotibus Birgitte* in Holm. D 27 suggests Norway: "Æn huar Fru Meritta doo eller ligger thet kunnom wy ey finna; vtan som wy kunne troo, at hon ligger j Norge, førty at henna warilse war ter mykit [But where Lady Mæritta died or lies buried we are unable to discover. However, we can believe that she lies buried in Norway because her presence there was great]".[32]

The most flamboyant of Birgitta's children and her favourite,[33] Karl, married three times. His second wife was a Norwegian woman, Gyda.[34] Upon her death, she bequeathed a bridal crown to Birgitta that was so valuable it could financially support Birgitta and her household in Rome for an entire year.[35] Gyda also appears in the *Processus seu Negocium Canonizacionis B. Katerine de Vadstenis* as the wife of Karl.[36] Here we read that whilst at prayer the Virgin Mary appeared to Gyda instructing her to follow the example of her sister-in-law, Katarina, and to dress more modestly and to amend her behaviour. This Norwegian noblewoman was clearly an ardent supporter of her mother-in-law.

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29 Engen 1955; Silfving 1955, 69.

30 *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, I (1849), 443–444 (no. 614).

31 During the summer of 1954, some of the supposed Norwegian descendants of Birgitta went on a pilgrimage to Vadstena, an event that caused a sensation in the Swedish media (Liljeholm 1955b).

32 Annerstedt 1968 [1818–1876], 210.

33 He is described as "domino Karolo filio eius magis dilecto [Lord Karl, her most beloved son]" in *A&P*, 264–265.

34 The chronicle tells us nothing more than this woman's name and country of birth: "the andra heet fru Godha, hon war fødh i Norghe [the second one was called Lady Gyda. She was born in Norway]"; Annerstedt 1968 [1818–1876], 210–211.

35 Morris 1999b, 50, 101.

36 See Collijn 1942–1945, 69 (Gøda), 146 (Gøøda), 152 (Gøødhe), 175 (Gøøda).

3.4 The Birgittine Movement in Norway and Munkeliv

The Benedictine Monastery of St Michael, popularly known as Munkeliv, situated on Nordnes in Bergen had a long and turbulent history.[37] It was founded by King Eystein I some time during his reign (1103–*c.* 1122) and is one of the first mentioned buildings in Bergen.[38] During the following two centuries it expanded to become the wealthiest monastery in Norway. The Black Death arrived in Norway in the mid-fourteenth century and caused the number of Benedictine brothers at Munkeliv to dwindle and income fell sharply. The situation improved slightly at the beginning of the fifteenth century when the Swede, Sten Stenarsson, obtained papal approval from Innocent VII to become abbot at Munkeliv in 1406.[39] In *c.* 1412 Stenarsson invited a number of Birgittine monks from Vadstena to stay at Munkeliv as his guests, and he soon won support from the bishop of Bergen, Aslak Harniktsson Bolt, to transform the monastery into a Birgittine house. In 1420 at the Birgittine monastery in Maribo, Aslak Bolt met with King Erik who agreed to allow the transfer. Aslak Bolt sent an application supported by a statement from Abbot Sten Stenarsson and a letter of recommendation from King Erik to Pope Martin V in 1421,[40] and his final papal approval was granted in 1426.[41] However, despite the protests of some of the resident Benedictine monks, the monastery may have been functioning as a Birgittine establishment from as early as 1421.[42]

It has been argued by Wessén and Gilkær that the Birgittine-Norwegian texts were instrumental in the transference of Munkeliv to the Birgittine Order.[43]

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37 Munch 1845; Lange 1856, 263–315; Höjer 1905, 269–278; Nyberg 1965, 123–128; Gunnes 1990; Gunnes 1991, 221–230; Helle 1995, *passim*.

38 The discovery in 1853 of a king's head made of marble, and inscribed "Eystein rex", northeast of the site of Munkeliv supports the connection between this king and the monastery. From *Orkneyinga saga* (ch. 44) it would seem that Munkeliv was founded whilst King Eystein's brother, King Sigurðr, was on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1107–1110. This chapter makes no mention of any church or monastery, but states that Eystein was the sole ruler at that time as Sigurðr was visiting the Holy Land. On the early history of the Munkeliv, see Lange 1856, 263–285; Johnsen 1965; Helle 1995, *passim*.

39 On Sten Stenarsson, see Seierstad 1962 with accompanying references.

40 *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, IV (1858), 585–587 (no. 809), 588–589 (no. 810), 589–591 (no. 811), and 592–594 (no. 813).

41 *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, XVII (1902), 328–330 (no. 415), 354–355 (no. 449), and 933–935 (no. 989).

42 Gunnes 1990, 115.

43 Wessén 1968–1976, III (1976); Gilkær 1993; Gilkær 2000. See sections 4.8 and 4.11.

Wessén is somewhat cautious stating that the collection of revelations "kan ha varit en åtgärd för att propagera för planerna [can have been a measure for propagating the plans]".[44] However, Gilkær is more forthright concerning the connection between Munkeliv and E 8902:[45]

> The date of the manuscript, the fact that the flyleaves have been made out of two leaves of a Norwegian cadastre of church property [...], and the language, which includes numerous traces of Norwegian, all point to the very probable supposition that the "Birgittiner-norske" texts can be related to the transference of the Norwegian Benedictine abbey, Munkeliv, to the Birgittine Order at the beginning of the fifteenth century [...] The "Birgittiner-norske"; texts could thus be understood as a collection of texts which was addressed to the Norwegian nobility in an attempt to gather support for the new Birgittine abbey.

However, there are several problems with this theory. The dating of the manuscript is not certain (scholars suggest 1379–1425, a span of more than 45 years) and the church cadastre leaves are from the diocese of Oslo—it is difficult to see how this links either to Bergen or to the nobility.[46] The revelations do indeed seem to address the nobility, but that in itself does not mean that E 8902 should be viewed as part of a fund-raising exercise for Munkeliv. The Norwegian nobility was in decline and unlike the Swedish and Danish nobility who were approached by the Birgittines for support in establishing monasteries in Vadstena, Maribo, and Mariager, they were not economically well off. E 8902 is rather poorly constructed, written in haste, and very plain—hardly an inspiring piece to persuade the nobility to part with its dwindling wealth. It was possibly part of a general call for spiritual renewal among the Norwegian nobility, a group that had, after all, been decimated in number by the Black Death and was in economic collapse.[47] Alternatively, the manuscript might have been tailormade for an individual rather than aimed at an entire social class. This individual would obviously have had an interest in Birgitta, the spiritual renewal of society, and the collaborative role of the Church and the nobility.

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44 Wessén 1968–1976, II, 99.

45 Gilkær 2000, 81–82.

46 The origin of flyleaves can, however, hardly be used as evidence for the origin of the manuscript. However, see section 5.6.

47 Indeed, one of the first revelations in E 8902, *viz*. Book VIII 57 in section 4, deals with the Black Death and how it was brought upon the people by their wicked behaviour as an Old Testament-style retribution by God.

We might consider the prominent political and ecclesiastical figure Aslak Bolt as a possible owner of this collection.[48] Born into one of the leading noble families in Norway in the mid-fourteenth century, he served Erik of Pomerania, perhaps as a chaplain, before becoming bishop of Oslo in 1407 (where he could easily have laid his hands on some folia from an old church cadastre to use as flyleaves).[49] No sooner had he taken this post than he was transferred to Bergen where together with Sten Stenarsson, he worked hard for the conversion of Munkeliv into a Birgittine house.[50] Aslak Bolt was devoted to St Birgitta. In addition to his establishing the Birgittines in Bergen, we know that when he was promoted to archbishop of Niðaróss in 1428 he took with him a book of Birgitta's revelations and possibly the manuscript GkS 1154 fol. with Birgitta's rules for judges scribbled onto the first page.[51] Aslak Bolt played an important role in the politics of the day and was keen to strengthen ties with Sweden rather than Denmark.[52] In 1426 he had brokered a treaty between Norway and Scotland and throughout his life he fought for the rights of the Church. Shortly before his death in 1450, he became involved in the political wranglings following the death of Christopher of Bavaria, lending his support to the Swedish king, Karl Knutsson, whom he wished to see elected as king of Norway. In 1449 it was Bolt who crowned Karl as king of Norway.[53] Of course, it is impossible to know who commissioned or owned E 8902, but Aslak Bolt is the most likely candidate. His interest in Birgitta and support for the Birgittine movement in Norway, the mention of the "liber reuelacionum Birgitte" among his belongings, his possible ownership of GkS 1154 fol. with its Birgittine texts, and the dating of E 8902 do not make it possible to identify him unequivocally as the manuscript's owner, but there is a strong case for doing so.[54]

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48 For background information on Aslak Harniktsson Bolt, see Bull *et al.* 1923–1983, I (1923), 291–294, *s.v.* "Aslak Bolt"; Dybdahl 1999; Jørgensen 1997, IX–XI.

49 On the Bolt family, see Sollied 1940. His time with Erik of Pomerania is mentioned in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, X (1880), 133 (no. 173): "ipse archiepiscopus seruiuit domino Erico illustri regi Norwegie [the archbishop served Lord Erik, illustrious king of Norway]".

50 Gunnes 1990; Gunnes 1991.

51 Seip 1956, col. 559. The wording in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, V (1861), 410—"liber reuelacionum Birgitte", rather than "libri […]"—would suggest that this was a single book of (selected) revelations rather than the entire collection of revelations. On GkS 1154 fol., see Adams 2008a.

52 Jørgensen 1997, X.

53 The rather complicated events surrounding Karl Knutsson's coronation and Aslak Bolt's involvement are summarised in Dybdahl 1999, 395.

54 Coincidentally, the language of at least one other manuscript associated with Aslak Bolt,

The Birgittines fared poorly in Bergen.[55] In *Diarium Vadstenense* we read that there were quarrels between the abbess and the brothers in 1440[56] and a murder in the monastery in 1450.[57] On 1 September 1455, the German traders in Bergen rioted and murdered the bailiff, Olaf Nilsson, in front of the altar of Munkeliv's church.[58] In addition to Olaf, the Germans murdered sixty others in Munkeliv, including the king's son and brother as well as many leading churchmen in Bergen, not least Bishop Torleif. The massacre climaxed with the burning down of the monastery. The Germans were heavily penalised for the atrocity and ordered to pay 5000 marks for the monastery's reconstruction.[59] In the meantime (1455–1479), the Birgittine monks were housed at the Cistercian monastery of Hovedøya in Oslo.[60] After the monks' return to Bergen, new conflicts emerged in the 1490s, in particular between the abbess and the confessor general. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, priests from Vadstena made several trips to Munkeliv to try and help the struggling monastery.[61] Indeed, Munkeliv had long been dependent on Vadstena, and the mother abbey had to send a constant supply of reinforcements to the monastery. By the end of the fifteenth century there were probably very few Norwegian monks there at all—the majority were Swedes or Danes[62]—although most of the nuns were Norwegian. However, by 1530, what was formerly the wealthiest monastery in all Norway was bankrupt. In 1531, the bishop took up residence at Munkeliv converting the monastery into his own palace. The nuns, of whom just a few were

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viz. the cadastre *Aslak Bolts jordebok* (Det Norske Riksarkivet, München perg. 4292), also contains a Norwegian-Swedish language mixture similar to that in E 8902. See section 9.2.2.

55 Gunnes 1990, 116–120.

56 *DV*, 203 (no. 502).

57 *DV*, 221–222 (no. 608).

58 Helle 1995, 700–701; Dahlbäck 2003, 611–634. Olaf Nilsson's wife, Elisa Eskilsdatter, wrote a letter of complaint to the Hanseatic authorities in Lübeck in which she requested help in recovering her stolen goods. The letters provides a good eye-witness description of the events of 1 September 1455. See *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, III (1855), 603–605 (no. 830).

59 Nonetheless, in 1523 the Germans again rampaged through the town murdering many of its citizens and the Scots who were trading there. See Helle 1995, 766; Dahlbäck 2003, 628–629.

60 See Fischer (1935, 56–57) on how the transference of a double monastery—a monastery housing both monks and nuns—to Hovedøya affected the Cistercian monastery.

61 *DV*, 225 (no. 631), and *DV*, 237 (no. 702).

62 Gunnes (1990, 119) points out that the few names that we have of the Munkeliv brethren and confessors general (Ketil Bengtsson, Lavrans Olavsson, Lavrans Nilsson, Jon Karlsson) are all Swedish rather than Norwegian.

left, either moved to Vadstena or remained at Munkeliv, only to be pensioned or expelled by Lutherans during the Reformation just a few years later.[63]

3.5 Summary

The manuscript E 8902 was produced at a time of huge political and social upheaval in Scandinavia and may have been commissioned and owned by the Norwegian Bishop Aslak Bolt. Although Birgitta's own connections with Norway are rather obscure, her children and grandchildren had close ties to the country through marriage. At the end of the fourteenth, beginning of the fifteenth century, when E 8092 was compiled, there was growing interest in Norway in the Birgittine movement, which resulted in the establishment of Munkeliv as a Birgittine house in 1426. Although E 8902 might not have played any direct role in the transfer of Munkeliv to the Birgittines, it might well have comforted and inspired one of the men behind the move, Bishop Aslak Harniktsson Bolt.

63 *DV*, 309 (no. 1140).

CHAPTER 4

Summary of Previous Research into the Manuscript

Over the last two centuries, there have been nearly twenty publications which, in part at least, describe or discuss the Birgittine-Norwegian revelations. Because some of the works in themselves are so detailed in their linguistic description and because all of the issues they raise are going to be considered later, I provide a detailed discussion and summary of each of these publications. The development of the key issues is followed chronologically, and the items are ordered in accordance with their appearance in the publication itself. The various *Leitmotive* associated with E 8902, and discussed to greater and lesser extents by the scholars below, are: date and place of composition, the number of scribes, the nature of the language of the manuscript, and the originality of the Birgittine-Norwegian revelations.

4.1 Gustaf E. Klemming (1883–1884 [*BU* IV; BU V])

The publication between 1857 and 1884 of Klemming's *Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser efter gamla handskrifter*, a monumental achievement, marks the first printed edition of Birgitta's revelations in Old Swedish. The fourth volume of this work contains an edition of the Birgittine-Norwegian texts, referred to by Klemming as "Stycken på Birgittiner-norska".[1] He provides a list of his editorial corrections[2] and dates E 8902 to the first quarter of the fifteenth century.[3] Klemming discusses the manuscript in the fifth volume of his edition of St Birgitta's revelations,[4] and although his discussion of the manuscript is introductory, Klemming's opinions continue to cause debate today. He identifies one of the most difficult problems concerning the manuscript, namely the number of scribes. Klemming states that there were two scribes, possibly three, involved in the copying of the manuscript: "boken är för övrigt hopkommen

1 *BU* IV, 423–522. Klemming does, in fact, use two different names for the language of the texts in his titles alone; on the title page he writes "Birgittiner-norska", whilst elsewhere he uses the term "Birgittin-norska".

2 *BU* IV, 529–532.

3 *BU* IV, 524.

4 *BU* V, 175–176.

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genom två skrivares samarbete […] De 3 första raderna på s. 24 äro förmodligen af en tredje hand [the book has moreover been compiled through the collaboration of two scribes (…) The first three lines on *p.* 24 are probably by a third hand]".[5] Klemming's evidence for this is that one scribe's hand is "mera vårdad och jemn [more careful and even]", and is responsible for the greater part of the manuscript, whilst the second scribe's hand is "gröfre och sämre [rougher and worse]". According to Klemming, scribal hand 2 appears on the following pages:

***BU* IV (page: line)**	**E 8902 (page: line)**
434: 28 (war. gaf æk)–437: 21 (ræinsat ok)	18: 5 (war. gaf. æk)–23: 19 (ræinsat ok.)
445: 11 (salæn)–446: 16 (ungdoom.)	35: 1 (salæn)–36: 22 (ungdoom.)
448: 4 (sagdo)–448: 25 (þ*æ*tt hær)	39: 1 (sagdo)–39: 24 (þ*æ*tt hæi-)
510: 4 (ær gudlik*i*n)–512: 25 (diewlen)	111: 2 (ær. gudlik*i*r)–114: 22 (diewlen.)
522: 5 (Sa*n*nalika)–522: 21 (þolomodh)	127: 14 (Sa*n*nalika.)–128: 5 (amen)

Klemming's third scribe appears on just three lines of text:

***BU* IV (page: line)**	**E 8902 (page: line)**
437: 21 (ok verdogh)–437: 23 (vm lik)	24: 1 (ok verdogh)–24: 3 (vm lik[n_sæ])

He mentions the use of insular ⟨f⟩ throughout the manuscript, implying that the scribes involved were all Norwegian.[6] Klemming goes on to say that there are four pieces that cannot be found in the Latin or Old Swedish version,[7] and

5 *BU* V, 175–176.

6 The insular ⟨f⟩ in Norway was slowly replaced during the fourteenth century by the miniscule Latin ⟨f⟩. It disappears entirely during the fifteenth century, only to make a brief reappearance during the sixteenth century. See Munch 1924, 107; Vágslid 1930, 118; Seip 1954b, 118; Svensson 1974, 203–204.

7 *BU* IV, 458–461, 465–467, 487–488, 498. The equivalent sections in E 8902 are: Section 7C, *p.* 51: 27–*p.* 56: 3; Section 9, *p.* 60: 16–*p.* 61: 27; Section 16 *p.* 83: 22–*p.* 84: 23, and Section 20B *p.* 97: 4–*p.* 97: 14.

suggests that they stem from some fragmentary pages kept at Vadstena.[8] He does not explicitly state any place of compilation for E 8902, but as he suggests the original text comprised fragments in Vadstena, he seems to consider Vadstena the "natural home" of the manuscript.

Klemming uses the *ex libris* inscription on the inside of the front cover, "Joh. Messenij" to state that the manuscript belonged to Johannes Messenius (1579–1636), and he suggests that ownership of the manuscript later went to Arnold Messenius (Johannes' son), who in turn gave the book to Per Brahe the Younger. Klemming thinks this to be likely since we know that Arnold Messenius gave Per Brahe the Younger a copy of Birgitta Andersdotter's prayer book.[9]

Thus, although Klemming's limited discussion makes no analysis of the language, apart from calling it "Birgittin(er)-norska", he does make a number of important points. In conclusion, Klemming's findings are:

1. The text was copied by two or three Norwegian scribes.
2. The compilation was made in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.
3. There are four sections which appear to stem directly from Swedish originals.
4. The probable place of compilation was Vadstena Monastery.
5. The manuscript was owned by Johannes Messenius, who gave it to his son, Arnold, who in turn gave it to Per Brahe the Younger.

4.2 Robert Geete (1903)

In his *Fornsvensk bibliografi*, Geete also uses the term "birgittin-norska" to describe the language in the manuscript, but offers nothing new on the manuscript: "H. Cod. Skokl. 5, 4:o (fr. börj. 1400-t.; inneh. spridda uppenb., 25 st., på birgittin-norska) [H. Codex Skokloster 5 4° (from the beginning of the fifteenth century; contains scattered revelations, 25 sections, in Birgittine-Norwegian)"].[10]

8 *BU* v, 176.

9 *BU* v, 176.

10 Geete 1903, 99–101 (no. 286).

4.3 Knut B. Westman (1911)

In *Birgitta-studier*, Westman makes the first detailed examination of the Birgittine-Norwegian texts.[11] His interest lies principally in the relationship between E 8902 and the Latin and Old Swedish texts. By means of comparative analysis, Westman argues that not only the four short pieces noted by Klemming, but three quarters of the text originate from Birgitta's very own notes.[12] He shows that sections 1–5 are dependent on Latin texts, and appear to have been translated without reference to any Swedish notes, whereas sections 6–25 are independent of the Latin and are earlier than the Latin and Old Swedish retranslation traditions. Westman's evidence for this is found in the Latin's being less clear and more muddled than the E 8902 version; the Latin also lacks or dilutes information and deletes or changes some metaphors.[13] Other Old Swedish versions (that is, the retranslations) invariably follow the Latin. However, Westman warns against considering the Birgittine-Norwegian texts to be identical with Birgitta's own words. In spite of their anteriority compared with the Latin and Old Swedish, they do contain mistakes, "den norska texten är felaktig [the Norwegian text is defective]";[14] these errors are for the most part due to the copying and misreading of the originals. Westman believes that they do not prove that there were other copies between the original and the Birgittine-Norwegian texts:

> Man ser, att det här väsentligen är fråga om avskrivarfel, till vilkas förklaring man knappast ens torde behöva antaga, att det ligger en eller flera avskrifter emellan originalet och den norske texten. Det är inte värre saker än vad en direkt avskrivare av originalet, som samtidigt sätter om detta i en något annan språkform, skulle kunna vara i stånd till.[15]

11 Westman 1911, 63–72.

12 Westman 1911, 72.

13 Lars Wollin has argued that this does not necessarily mean that the Latin version is secondary: "Dessutom går avvikelsen ofta i motsatt riktning: i andra partier av just den birgittinnorska texten (dvs av dess här aktuella, senare och större, 'originalsvenska', del), liksom i Autograferna, är det tvärtom gärna den latinska versionen som företer en 'åtstramning', både stilistiskt och innehållsmässigt, av den svenska [Furthermore, the discrepancy often goes in the opposite direction: In the sections of the Birgittine-Norwegian text itself (i.e. the relevant, latter and greater 'original Swedish' part), just like in the Autographs, it is on the contrary the Latin version that exhibits a 'tightening' of the Swedish in terms of both style and content]", Wollin 1991b, 428.

14 Westman 1911, 68.

15 Westman 1911, 68.

> [We see that this is essentially a question of scribal error, which in order to explain we hardly need to assume that there are one or more copies between the original and the Norwegian text. It is no worse than what a direct copyist of the original who, while putting it into a slightly different linguistic form, might be able to do.]

Westman believes that the unusual ordering of the material in E 8902, as well as the conflation of some revelations, may sometimes be dependent on the original, although sometimes it may be because of secondary or accidental changes:

> Ett särskilt omnämnande förtjäna avvikelserna från den sedvanliga kapitelindelningen. Ibland äro flera kapitel sammandragna till ett, ibland meddelas endast fragment av ett kapitel, förenade med element från andra håll. Sådana företeelser kunna stundom vara ursprungliga, stundom åter äro de säkerligen sekundära och tilkomna av tillfälliga skäl.[16]

> [The deviations from the usual chapter structure deserve special mention. Sometimes several chapters are condensed into one, sometimes only fragments of a chapter are communicated, combined with elements from elsewhere. Such practices can sometimes be original, sometimes however that are surely secondary and due to accidental reasons.]

The linguist and philologist Otto von Friesen's opinions on the language of the manuscript are also reported by Westman:

> Enligt prof. O. von Friesen, som välvilligt underkastat texterna en preliminär språklig undersökning, är detta endast skrivna, aldrig talade idiom en blandning av svenska och norska, uppkommen genom att norska birgittiner avskrevo svenska texter. Till grund ligger svenskan, men den har blivit uppblandad med norska former och influerad af norska skrivvanor. I Danmark finns vid samma tid en fullständigt analog birgittin-danska.[17]

> [According to Prof. Otto von Friesen, who kindly subjected the texts to a preliminary linguistic survey, this is only a written, not a spoken idiom, a mixture of Swedish and Norwegian, arisen through Norwegian Birgittines

16 Westman 1911, 69.

17 Westman 1911, 63 n. 3.

> copying Swedish texts. The foundation is Swedish, but it has been mixed up with Norwegian forms and influenced by Norwegian scribal habits. At the same time in Denmark, there is an entirely analogous Birgittine-Danish.]

Unlike Klemming, Westman believes that it is not impossible that some of Birgitta's autographs were sent to the house at Munkeliv as a gift, and that these would have provided the scribe (that is *one* scribe) with easy access to the originals.[18] He dates the manuscript to the beginning of the fifteenth century.[19] In conclusion, Westman's findings are:

1. Three quarters of the texts stem directly from Birgitta's autographs without intervening Latin translations.
2. The ordering of these fragmentary notes was the work of the Norwegian scribe.
3. The manuscript was compiled at the beginning of the fifteenth century.
4. The language of the text was never used for speaking and only existed as a written idiom.[20]
5. The language comprises a mixture of Swedish and Norwegian.
6. This mixture came about because a Norwegian scribe copied Swedish originals.
7. Swedish forms the basis of this mixture, with Norwegian forms and influences from Norwegian scribal practice.
8. Birgittine-Danish forms an exact analogue to Birgittine-Norwegian.
9. The place of composition may have been Munkeliv with material being sent from Vadstena.

4.4 Vilhelm Gödel (1916)

In his overview of medieval Swedish literature, Gödel briefly mentions E 8902 in the context of Birgittine literature that was not composed in Vadstena:

> Så är säkerligen förhållandet med den i Norge funna järteckenpostillan och det i Vallentuna tillvaratagna runfragmentet av Jungfru Marie kla-

18 Westman 1911, 71 n. 5.

19 Westman 1911, 63.

20 Points 3 and 4 were made by von Friesen in a personal communication to Westman.

> gan, liksom det är fullt visst, att den birgittinspråkiga Cod. Skokl. 156 fol. [*E 8822*] är skriven i Norge, förmodligen i Bergen, varifrån också den på samma blanddialekt avfattade upptecknigen av Uppenbarelserna i Cod. Skokl. 5, 4:o [*E 8902*] torde härröra.[21]
>
> [This is certainly the relationship between the miracle sermon collection found in Norway and the runic fragment of the *Virgin Mary's Lament* recovered in Vallentuna, just as it is completely certain that Codex Skokloster 156 fol. (= E 8822), written in Birgittine language, was written in Norway, probably in Bergen, from where the copy of the *Revelations* written in the same mixed dialect in Codex Skokloster 5 4^0 (= E 8902) most probably originates.]

Gödel, thus, describes the linguistic variety of the texts as a mixed dialect, and, like Westman, sees Bergen (that is Munkeliv) as the most likely place of composition.

4.5 Salomon Kraft (1929)

In chapter two of *Textstudier till Birgittas Revelationer*, Kraft presents his findings on the language of the Birgittine-Norwegian texts. He agrees with both Klemming and Westman that the language is a mixture of Swedish and Norwegian, where a Swedish original has been copied by (Klemming's) three Norwegian scribes. He takes issue, however, with a couple of Westman's examples of how E 8902 stems from lost original Swedish texts and warns of the dangers of comparing the Latin and Swedish texts when we know so little about the development of the Swedish texts. However, he does say "[s]jälvfallet undergrävas ej av dessa invändningar WESTMANS för övrigt på starka skäl baserade slutsatser [Obviously, Westman's conclusions, based on strong foundations, are not undermined by these objections]".[22]

Kraft also has a very different hypothesis concerning the place where the manuscript was compiled. He admits that it is undeniably tempting to accept the suggestion by Westman[23] and Gödel[24] that the manuscript was composed

21 Gödel 1916, 47.

22 Kraft 1929, 44.

23 Westman 1911, 71 n. 5.

24 Gödel 1916, 47.

at the Munkeliv monastery in Bergen. He points to the Swede Sten Stenarsson, who had been a monk at Vadstena and who later helped to secure Munkeliv for use by the Birgittines, but nevertheless argues that "[h]ögst osannolikt är emellertid, att de Birgitta-autografer, som legat till grund för större delen av skoklosterhandskriftens text, kommit till Norge genom Stens försorg [It is, however, highly unlikely that the Birgitta autographs, that formed the basis for most of the Skokloster manuscript's text, came to Norway through Sten's work]".[25] The manuscript's flyleaves are from a cadastre from the diocese of Oslo, and Kraft finds it too far-fetched to suggest that the text was composed at Munkeliv in Bergen and then sent to the diocese of Oslo, for example the monastery on Hovedøya, for binding. He notes that although the manuscript does contain a great many Norwegianisms (*norvagismer*), this is not proof that it could not have been composed at Vadstena, since we know that there were Norwegian monks there, at least before the establishment of the Order of St Saviour in Norway in the first half of the 1420s. However, the unfinished appearance of the manuscript, whose final ten sections have not been fully rubricated, would suggest that it was not composed in Vadstena, but in Norway. These facts and the Oslo flyleaves lead Kraft to propose that the manuscript was composed somewhere in the diocese of Oslo, which was a centre for Birgittine devotion in Norway. He goes even further in suggesting that Birgitta's autographs were owned by her grand-daughter, Katarina Knutsdotter (Ribbing). Katarina was the sister of Ingegærd (the first elected abbess of Vadstena, 1384–1402), and married to the chancellor of Norway, Ogmund Finnsson from Ryfylke near Stavanger. Like Klemming, he also notes that the book was owned by Johannes Messenius who had connections with Norway.

Another important contribution made by Kraft is his claim that the first five sections were not translated from Latin, but copied from early Swedish translations of the Latin:

> Genom den av mig verkställda granskningen av de svenska Uppenbarelsecodices har fastlagts, att de fem första styckena i det »norska» manuskriptet verbaliter återgå på den svenska text, som uppstått vid översättningen från latinet. Denna har företagits c:a 1380, alltså vid den tid, då priorn Petrus deponerade tilläggsmaterialet i Vadstena kloster.[26]

25 Kraft 1929, 46 n. 1.

26 Kraft 1929, 45–46.

> [The examination of the Swedish Revelation codices performed by me has established that the first five sections in the "Norwegian" manuscript go back word-for-word to the Swedish text that arose through the translation from Latin. This (translation) was undertaken *c.* 1380, that is about the time Prior Petrus deposited supplementary material at Vadstena monastery.]

The Swedish retranslations contain various *additiones*, but E 8902 lacks these. Therefore, the Birgittine-Norwegian texts must have been translated at a time when the Swedish retranslation had not yet been completed, in other words *c.* 1379–1380.

Kraft disagrees with some of Westman's observations concerning the ordering of sections in E 8902. The order of the sections is described as secondary by Westman and the conflation of some revelations into a single section as "en underlig kombination [a strange combination]".[27] Kraft can see no reason for assuming that the ordering in E 8902 is secondary—indeed, it might well have primacy over the later Swedish and Latin versions.[28]

As the first five sections are copies of the earliest Swedish retranslation whilst the remaining twenty sections go back to the original texts of Birgitta, a comparison of these texts and the Latin versions will—according to Kraft—shed light on the work of Birgitta's confessors in shaping her revelations. A summary of Kraft's conclusions:

1. The entire text is translated from Swedish—no part of it has Latin as its source language text.
2. The lack of *additiones* allows us to date the manuscript to *c.* 1379–1380.
3. Three quarters of the texts stem directly from Birgitta's autographs.
4. These autographs were brought to the diocese of Oslo by Birgitta's granddaughter Katarina Knutsdotter.
5. These autographs were used by Norwegian scribes in the compilation of much of E 8902 somewhere in the Oslo area.
6. The ordering of these fragmentary notes was the work of the Norwegian scribe.
7. This ordering may be primary in places.
8. The texts show us what sort of changes were made by Birgitta's confessors in the preparation of the first Latin editions.

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27 Westman 1911, 69.

28 Kraft 1929, 48.

4.6 Marius Sandvei (1938)

Sandvei is the first Norwegian to discuss in detail the manuscript, which he dates to the beginning of the fifteenth century. He begins with a discussion of the term "birgittinerspråk [Birgittine language]" and the difficulties in using this type of terminology. Sandvei points out that because of the lack of research into these mixed language forms, we are unsure of how to refer to them:

> Men terminologien har ikke vært konsekvent. De språklige dokumenter som viser slike blandingsformer, har hittil vært meget lite undersøkt, og man har derfor ikke riktig visst hvad man skulde kalle denne språkformen. Slike blandingsmål er jo heller ikke så lette å karakterisere med ett navn. Vi kan bare tenke på alle betegnelsene for riksmålet i Norge, riksmål, dansk-norsk, norsk-dansk, bokmål.[29]
>
> [However, the terminology has not been consistent. The language documents showing such hybrid forms have so far been very little studied, and therefore we have not properly known what to call this language form. Nor are such mixed languages so easy to characterise with one name. We need only think of all the terms for the national language *riksmål* in Norway: *riksmål*, Dano-Norwegian, Norwegian-Danish, *bokmål*.]

Sandvei takes issue with Otto von Friesen's comments about the language of E 8902.[30] Sandvei disagrees that the language is essentially Swedish that has been mixed together with Norwegian forms and has been influenced by Norwegian orthographical norms. He does not agree that the Swedish forms are dominant nor that the Norwegian forms are incidental and due solely to a Norwegian scribe—"der er norvagismene så tallrike, og særskilt i hand 2, så pass konsekvent gjennemført at ikke bare hele setninger, men lange stykker er helt norske [The Norwegianisms are so numerous, and especially in Hand 2

29 Sandvei 1938, 40. Skautrup also makes a similar point concerning the term "birgittinersprog [Birgittine language]" in a Danish context and scholars' readiness to apply terminology without an adequate investigation of the text: "Og uden at nærmere at have undersøgt disse svenskpåvirkede texter har man om deres sprogform tidligere ofte anvendt betegnelsen *birgittinersprog* [And without having examined these Swedish-influenced texts more closely, the term *Birgittine language* has earlier often been used about their linguistic form]", Skautrup 1947, II, 39.

30 Otto von Friesen's remarks are recorded in Westman 1911, 63 n. 3.

so thorough, that not only whole sentences but long passages are completely Norwegian]".[31]

After summarising Klemming, Westman and Kraft, as well as correcting several of Klemming's readings, Sandvei lists the features he feels are Norwegian elements in the manuscript:[32]

1. The use of insular ⟨f⟩.
2. The diphthongs /ei/, /au/, /øy/.
3. The pronoun *ek*.
4. U-umlaut: a > ɔ / __C_0[u] (e.g. *oll*, *ollum* and *stodhum* are the only forms quoted by Sandvei).
5. I-umlaut: (a, o, u) > (æ, ø, y) / __C_0[i] in the present tense of strong verbs (e.g. *gængr*, *blæsir*, *kømbir*).
6. Specific forms (e.g. *þæna*,[33] *wondhir*, *stutthir*, *umkolkastadæ*, *trwr*).
7. An odd ("pussig") diphthongisation: e > ei / __ŋ (e.g. *læingæ*, *hæingændhæ*, *æinkte*).
8. Infinitives in *-o* for verbs with short syllables (e.g. *komo*, *þolo*, *skodho*), but notes that this is also a feature in contemporary Swedish texts.
9. Negation with *eig*.
10. Svarabhakti vowel: ⟨u⟩ is used 2 or 3 times; ⟨a⟩, ⟨æ⟩ and ⟨e⟩ are also found, but the grapheme ⟨i⟩ is the most frequent.
11. East Norwegian weakening of final unstressed vowels.

Sandvei shows how these features when combined can give us entire sentences in what would seem to be in a Norwegian form.

He also lists a number of Swedish forms, which in his view interfere with the Norwegian:

1. Forms
   a) Some 12–15 isolated occurrences of the pronoun *iak, jak.*[34]
   b) The monophthongised forms *øghon, øron, øghonen, øghonin, øronen.*
   c) The dative plural definite suffix *-omen.*
   d) The preterite forms *hiolt, uppehioldo, fiol.*

31 Sandvei 1938, 43.

32 Sandvei 1938, 45–48.

33 That is, the verb *þiæna* [to serve].

34 The form *iak* actually appears 4 times (*p*. 8: 20; *p*.13: 22; *p*. 17: 6; *p*. 36: 15); and *jak* appears 7 times (*p*. 27: 8; *p*. 111: 6; *p*. 114: 2, 3, 5, 7, 8).

	e) The infinitive *se*(*e*).	
	f) The suffixes in *omøghilikit, redhoboen.*	
2. Words	A number of lexical items, such as *ehuru, sargha, oþæk, huarist.*	
3. Epenthesis	∅ > p / m __ n	∅ > b / m __ r ∅ > d / n __ r
	∅ > b / m __ l	∅ > d / l __ r

Sandvei points out that the non-occurrence of features such as i- or u-umlaut, or the fact that monophthongisation has taken place in some words does not mean that these are Swedish forms. They are just as much part of East Norwegian dialects: "Språkgeografisk hører jo Vest-Sverige og Øst-Norge sammen [Of course, in terms of language geography, western Sweden and eastern Norway belong together]".[35]

Sandvei agrees with Klemming's division of the text among three scribal hands, but from his list he omits—without explanation—E 8902, *p*. 39: 1–24 (*BU* IV, 448, ll. 4–40), which according to Klemming was also by Hand 2.[36]

Hand 1 is described as very traditional in phonology and morphology, and is characterised by Swedish features. When compared to the other Old Swedish texts there are few other differences than:

Hand 1	**Old Swedish Version**
ek	*jak*
hwilkin	*hulkin*
-heit	*-het*
-leik	*-lek*
þeim, *þe*(*e*)*m*	*thom*

There are some sporadic Norwegian features, but Hand 1 is primarily characterised by its Swedish linguistic traits.

Hand 2 is a larger and less careful. Words are often abbreviated differently, and open vowels are more frequent:

35 Sandvei 1938, 49.

36 Sandvei (1938, 50) also incorrectly reproduces the page and line numbers in Klemming for Hand 2—434: 27 (should read 434: 28), and 522: 7 (should read 522: 5).

Hand 2	Hand 1
nā	*nam*
þtt	*þz*
æk	*ek*
æit	*e(i)t*
þæim	*þe(i)m*
kærlæik	[no example provided][37]

Weak vowels are also more common in unstressed final positions. Sections of Hand 2 contain many more Norwegian forms that are used consistently, not sporadically. He concludes that Hand 1 is that of a Swede and Hand 2 that of a Norwegian:

> Er H 1's svenske preg ikke til å ta feil av og altså storparten av hs. skrevet av en svenske, er H 2 likeså tydelig i en vesentlig norsk målform og høist sannsynlig skrevet av en nordmann.[38]
>
> [If Hand 1's Swedish traits are unmistakable and the majority of the manuscript consequently written by a Swede, then Hand 2 is just as clearly in a considerably Norwegian linguistic variety and most probably written by a Norwegian.]

Sandvei's comments on Hand 3 are somewhat mysterious. He says that use of the pronominal form *þwy* (Hand 1 *þy*, Hand 2 *þwi*) is characteristic for Hand 3, yet this word does not appear in the three lines he attributes to Hand 3 (*viz*. *p*. 24: 1–3). However, the forms *þwẏ* (*p*. 24: 10) and *þuẏ* (*p*. 24: 12) appear close-by, so Sandvei may well have confused the forms.

Sandvei argues that the language in Hand 2 supports Kraft's proposal that the manuscript was copied somewhere in the diocese of Oslo. The language varies little from the variety found in East Norwegian manuscripts from the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Sandvei, using Didrik Arup Seip,[39] explains the influence of Swedish on Norwegian as coming about through the Birgittine movement and the mixed

37 Hand 1 usually writes this word as *kærleek*, e.g. E 8902 *p*. 2: 2; *p*. 5: 17 and 24, and *p*. 12: 1.

38 Sandvei 1938, 50–51.

39 Seip 1955, 215.

language used when Birgittine writings were transmitted into other Scandinavian languages. The conditions for Swedish influence on Norwegian at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century are many:

1. The Union with Sweden.
2. The Sweco-Norwegian area of Østlandet under Hákon VI and Magnus Eriksson.
3. Queen Margrete's foster-mother was Mæritta Ulfsdotter, Birgitta's daughter, which led to a strengthening of the Birgittine movement in Norway.
4. The requirement to preach each Sunday in "syno modher maale [their mother tongue]"[40] meant, according to Sandvei, that the mixed Birgittine-Norwegian language used in the Norwegian Birgittine monastic environment by the Norwegian and Swedish monks was used also in preaching.
5. The Norwegian language was in a period of massive internal change. The morphology was becoming greatly simplified, and the Black Death had decimated the literate population leaving Norwegian without any living written norm.[41]

Point 4 above is particularly surprising. Sandvei is suggesting that Birgittine-Norwegian became a spoken language for Birgittine monks in Norway:

> Og morsmålet, det måtte for de birgittinske munkene som virket i Norge, nettop bli en slik blandingsform som den vi finner i våre to hss. Deres morsmål måtte bli «birgittinernorsk». Eftersom den som skrev eller talte, var svenske eller nordmann, blev språket farget av deres egentlige morsmål slik at snart svensken, snart norsken gav de fleste elementer. Gjennem sine prekener og skrifter nådde de birgittinske prestmunker videre kretser og kunde på den måten påvirke deres språk.[42]
>
> [And the mother tongue for the Birgittine monks who were active in Norway must have actually become the sort of mixed language that we find in our two manuscripts (E 8902; E 8822). Their mother tongue had become Birgittine-Norwegian. Seeing as whoever wrote or spoke was Swedish or Norwegian, the language was coloured by their actual mother tongue so that at times Swedish, at times Norwegian gave the most ele-

40 Lindström 1845, 72.
41 Sandvei 1938, 53.
42 Sandvei 1938, 52.

> ments. Through their sermons and writings, the Birgittine monks reached broader circles and could in that way influence their language.]

The five points listed above together with the similarity between Norwegian and Swedish in terms of consonantism and vocalism would have meant that it was easy for Swedish to influence Norwegian. Sandvei believes this culminated in the emergence of a "mellemform [inter-form]", that is, Birgittine-Norwegian. However, after the union with Denmark, it is Danish that begins influencing Norwegian, and Swedish influence comes to an end:

> Birgittinernorsken blev derfor bare et skrevet idiom, som for en kort tid, 50–75 år, fikk innflytelse på norsk skriftspråk, først i de geistlige skrifter som direkte har sammenheng med birgittinerbevegelsen, senere også i skrifter av mer profant innhold.[43]
>
> [Birgittine-Norwegian therefore only became a written idiom, which for a short time, 50–75 years, influenced Norwegian written language, first in ecclesiastical writings that had a direct connection to the Birgittine movement, later in writings with more profane content.]

Sandvei does not seem to be troubled by the contradiction in his argument. On the one hand he says that the mixed language was spread by the monks' preaching for whom Birgittine-Norwegian was their everyday working language; on the other hand he agrees with Otto von Friesen that Birgittine-Norwegian was just a written idiom. A summary of Sandvei's conclusions:

1. The term Birgittine-Norwegian needs to be defined more clearly.
2. The Swedish forms in the manuscript are not dominant.
3. The Norwegian features are consistent.
4. The language is typical of eastern Norway.
5. There are a number of reasons for possible Swedish interference in the language of the manuscript.
6. This interference is not necessarily merely due to a Swedish original.
7. The manuscript dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century.
8. There were three different scribes: Hand 1 was that of a Swede; Hand 2 that of a Norwegian; Hand 3 is inconclusive.

43 Sandvei 1938, 53.

9. The various scribal hands demonstrate differences in phonology and lexicon.
10. The place of composition was somewhere in the Oslo area.

4.7 Didrik Arup Seip (1934; 1937; 1946; 1947; 1950; 1954b; 1955; 1956; 1967)

Several articles and chapters by Didrik Arup Seip refer to E 8902, but he never discusses the manuscript in detail. On the whole he agrees with Kraft's findings. Considering the evidence of the two flyleaves, Seip finds that the manuscript's most probable place of composition is south-eastern Norway; and he agrees there were three scribes involved in its copying.[44] Seip offers a variety of possible dates for the manuscript:

1. He agrees with Kraft's dating to *c.* 1379–1380.[45]
2. Sometime between 1380–1400.[46]
3. Before 1400.[47]
4. During the beginning of the fifteenth century or around 1400.[48]

He views the manuscript as evidence of the interest in Birgitta during the 1370s as well as being propaganda for the founding of Birgittine monasteries

44 Seip 1937, 34–35.

45 "Men Kraft har med gode grunner hevdet at innholdet i den norske kodeks 'visar på en textsituation från c:a 1379–1380' [But Kraft has with good reasons claimed that the content in the Norwegian codex 'demonstrates a text situation from *c.* 1379–1380']", Seip 1937, 34.

46 Seip 1954b, 113. Here he describes the manuscript after discussing Bishop Eystein's cadastre, written 1388–1401. Later he discusses it together with other manuscripts from the fifteenth century. Wessén has also picked Seip up on this point and suggests that a more precise dating may only be possible through comparison with the style and writing habits found in Norwegian diplomas; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 87 n. 29. However, Seip considers the language of religious texts to be different to that of diplomas: "Det viser sig altså at Norge tar del—om enn kummerlig nok—i den vanlige litteræra utvikling i tiden. […] Språket i denne litteraturen er sterkt påvirket av svensk, mens diplommålet enda for det meste er upåvirket [It thus shows that Norway participates—albeit rather miserably—in the usual literary development of the time. (…) The language in this literature is greatly influenced by Swedish, while the language of the chancery remains for the most part unaffected]", Seip 1937, 41.

47 Seip 1956, cols 558–560.

48 Seip 1954b, 117–120.

outside Sweden after 1379. As there were three different scribes, the manuscript must have been written in a place where there were several "skrivekyndige [able to write]", in other words a monastery, a cathedral, or a chancery. Like Sandvei, he uses the flyleaves as evidence that the manuscript is likely to have been composed in the Oslo area. Seip also believes none of the original to have been in Latin. He claims that Westman is wrong in his belief that the smaller part of the manuscript is translated from Latin—it is translated from Swedish (which in turn has been translated from the Latin; cf. Sandvei and Kraft on this point).[49] However, in a later article Seip says: "En del av dette norske håndskriftet er visstnok oversatt fra latin og har ikke noe svensk grunnlag [Part of this Norwegian manuscript is certainly translated from Latin and does not have any Swedish basis]".[50]

Seip does not view the manuscript as an example of a "skandinavisk blandingsmål [mixed Scandinavian language]"; it is rather the result of the mixture of originals on the one hand and scribal habits and spoken language on the other.[51] Seip agrees with von Friesen's assessment of the language—that it is essentially Swedish, but mixed with Norwegian forms and influenced by south-eastern Norwegian scribal habits.[52] Thirty years later, Seip would again seem to have changed his view. Now believing a fifth of the manuscript to be translated from Latin, rather than from Swedish, he says that the linguistic form is Norwegian.[53]

The hands do show different levels of mixture, with Hand 2 being the least Swedish. The Swedish was not corrected ("rettet") where it corresponded to the language of south-eastern Norway (for example, lack of i-umlaut in the present tense of strong verbs, no palatal umlaut in past participles, forms without diphthongal spellings, and "iu" for "io").[54] We see the old Norwegian "norm" being revised under the influence of the Swedish "norm". Yet the traditional Norwegian norm is still strong enough to give us the first person singular form

49 "Språket peker overalt mot *svensk* forelegg; neppe noe kan være direkte oversatt fra latin som Westman antok [the language everywhere points to a *Swedish* original; hardly any could have been translated directly from Latin as Westman claimed]", Seip 1937, 35 n. 1.

50 Seip 1967, 240.

51 Elsewhere, Seip is also keen to stress that texts containing a mixed Swedish-Norwegian linguistic variety are not examples of attempts to fashion a "skandinavisk fellesspråk [common Scandinavian language]", Seip 1937, 36.

52 Seip 1937, 35.

53 Seip 1967, 240.

54 Seip 1937, 35.

"æk" or "ek" throughout. Seip makes no reference to the eleven occurrences of *iak* and *jak*. Some examples of south-eastern Norwegian forms, which cannot be Swedish are:

1. the svarabhakti vowel *a*:[55] *kærlæikar*, *føtar*.
2. diphthongal spellings: *læidaz*, *bæinæn*, *æit*, *skræidh*, *veit*, *heidher*, *þæim*; *audmiukt*; *høyr*.
3. *-hæit*: *þrefallikhæit*, *gladhlikhæit*.

Apart from the usual "-hæit" suffix, the form "-hæid" is also found (E 8902, *p.* 20: 16). Seip presents this spelling as an example of voicing (t > d / __ #) and a dialectal feature. He suggests *Båhuslensk*—the linguistic variety in Bohuslän—as the possible source,[56] but warns that it would be imprudent to try and read too much into this single example. A summary of Seip's conclusions:

1. The place of composition was around Oslo.
2. The manuscript can be dated to between *c.* 1379 and the beginning of the fifteenth century.
3. Sections 6–25 were translated from Swedish fragments.
4. Sections 1–5 were (a) translated from the earliest Swedish retranslation, or (b) translated from the Latin translation.
5. There are three hands.
6. The level of interference varies between the different hands.
7. The language is typical of south-eastern Norwegian.
8. E 8902 is one of many texts demonstrating Swedish forms which should be seen in the context of the Birgittine movement's religious and cultural influence.

4.8 Elias Gustaf Adolf Wessén (1968)

Wessén's seventy-nine-page essay of 1968 comprises the first full treatment of the language of E 8902. Wessén, like Klemming, suggests that the manuscript was owned by Johannes Messenius, who gave it to his son Arnold, who in turn gave it to Per Brahe the Younger. He highlights the manuscript's plain,

55 This is a rather surprising claim as ⟨a⟩ is precisely the svarabhakti vowel that Birgitta used in her autographs.

56 Seip 1937, 36.

undecorated appearance ("enkelt och anspråkslöst intryck") when compared to other Swedish and Norwegian manuscripts of the time.[57] He therefore believes it is unlikely to have been written for the library of any great person, nor does it seem probable that Vadstena itself would have sent such a modest book in an unfinished state to a Norwegian monastery, for example Munkeliv. It would not have been suitably fitting for Birgitta's memory.

On the question of the number of scribal hands, Wessén's opinion is that Klemming and Sandvei could be right, but are probably not. He describes their two-scribe theory, but points out that their Hand 2 followed Hand 1's lead by using the same linguistic forms—even in the matter of inconsistencies. According to Klemming and Sandvei, the two scribes changed over at new pages, rather than at new chapters, which must mean that they had little interest in the text itself. If their interpretation of the data is correct, it shows that the system of copying was purely mechanical, and done from an assembled and ordered collection of revelations which had been arranged for copying. Thus, the places they changed over had nothing to do with the original.

Wessén finds this scenario presented by Klemming and Sandvei difficult to accept for two reasons. The first is that it is often very difficult to see where one of their hands ends and the other begins; in several places Wessén can see no change, and if compelled to do so, would place the change elsewhere to Klemming—unfortunately he does not say where these places are. He considers the way that the proposed changes of scribe took place most unusual, particularly their apparent dependence on external factors. Secondly, there appears to be no visible difference in the way both scribes copied the manuscript. They demonstrate a number of orthographic inconsistencies with words being spelt differently even on the same line. It would be strange if two writers working in this way managed to follow almost the same practice of Norwegianising.[58] Wessén's view that Hand 1 and Hand 2 used largely the same forms—thus implying that they were in fact one and the same person—is baffling. Even a rudimentary glance at the sections concerned shows significant palaeographical and linguistic differences. However, Wessén believes that it is more likely that the manuscript was written by one scribe working at speed. The numerous mistakes in copying probably mean the manuscript was compiled hastily, and there was not time for proof-reading.

He agrees with Klemming's dating to the early fifteenth century, but suggests that a comparison with the styles and handwriting in Norwegian diplomas

57 Wessén 1968–1976, II, 85.

58 Wessén 1968–1976, II, 87.

would give a more accurate dating.[59] He notes the use of insular ⟨f⟩ and ⟨þ⟩ point to a Norwegian scribe, although the latter grapheme may also be due to its use in the original.

Wessén does not believe that the language is Norwegian and finds the term "birgittinnorska [Birgittine-Norwegian]" completely unsuitable. The language is Swedish with numerous, haphazardly introduced Norwegian elements:

> Språket är svenskt, men med många talrika, mycket oregelbundet införda norska inslag. Det är ett rent skriftspråk, individuellt och ganska nyckfullt utformat. Den norske skrivaren har skrivit av en svensk förlaga för att användas av norska läsare. En översättning till norska har han icke velat åstadkomma. Men han har i stället "förnorskat" språkformen, så som det under arbetets gång har fallit honom naturligt. Några principer har han knappast haft, i varje fall icke konsekvent följt. […] En handskrift av denna art representerar naturligtvis icke något annat språk än sitt eget, icke någon skrivartradition, ännu mindre någon talad språkform.[60]
>
> [The language is Swedish, but with numerous, very irregularly inserted Norwegian elements. It is a purely written language, individually and rather whimsically shaped. The Norwegian scribe has copied a Swedish original to be used by a Norwegian reader. He has not wanted to make a translation into Norwegian. But instead he has "Norwegianised" the linguistic form, as seemed natural to him during the work. He has hardly had any principles, in any case (he has) not followed them consistently. (…) Of course, a manuscript of this type does not represent any language other than its own, not a scribal tradition, still less a spoken linguistic form.]

Wessén's view is, thus, strikingly at odds with Sandvei with reference to the classification of the linguistic variety in E 8902 (Sandvei classifies it as Norwegian with some Swedish elements), and the medium of this linguistic variety (Sandvei calls it the working language of the Birgittine monastic movement). Nor does Wessén's list of twenty-one Norwegian and Swedish features agree with Sandvei's list of such features.[61]

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59 As discussed above Seip disagrees with Wessén here (Seip 1937, 41).

60 Wessén 1968–1976, II, 88–89.

61 Wessén (1968–1976, II, 90–95) makes a number of mistakes in his list of words in sections 4–21. The following is a list of the section number, followed by the word and page: line reference in *BU* IV provided by Wessén, followed by my own observations:

In discussing the make-up of the manuscript, Wessén, in contrast to Kraft, says that the first five sections were translated from Latin. Wessén agrees with Westman and believes that the remaining texts are based on Birgitta's own originals deposited at Alvastra by Prior Petrus in 1380. He also favours Vadstena as the place where the manuscript was written. He has two reasons for this. Firstly, he believes that there are two sources, both of which would have been available at Vadstena: copies of an early "retranslation" undertaken at Vadstena and copies from Birgitta's own notes. Secondly, he believes the linguistic form also points to Vadstena. Had the manuscript been produced in Norway, the Norwegianisation would have been more complete. The language suggests that the text was written hurriedly by a Norwegian monk sent to Vadstena.

He finds the only reasonable and probable solution to be that the manuscript was produced on the initiative of the Norwegians but in the scriptorium of Vadstena.[62] The manuscript may also have been connected to Sten Stenarsson, the procurator of Vadstena 1398–1402, who became the abbot at the then Benedictine monastery at Munkeliv. He was one of the champions of the creation of a Birgittine monastery at Munkeliv.

The remainder of Wessén's chapter deals with Birgitta's style as an author and the content of the revelations with particular reference to metaphors and Birgitta's use and portrayal of the nobility. A summary of Wessén's conclusions:

1. The Birgittine-Norwegian texts belong to the pre-Latin tradition.
2. The manuscript is from the early fifteenth century.
3. The manuscript was owned by Johannes Messenius, who gave it to his son, Arnold, who in turn gave it to Per Brahe the Younger.
4. There was most probably just one scribe.

4	*kømbir* 449: 32	Klemming has "komb*i*r". E 8902, *p*. 41: 14 has "komb*i*r".
4	*kømbir* 450: 10	Klemming has "komb*i*r". E 8902 *p*. 41: 23 has "kømb*i*r".
4	*vaxte* 463: 30	The word appears on line 32 of that page (not line 30).
5	*diofla skari* 510: 18	These words appear on lines 18–19 of that page (not line 18), and are written by Klemming as "diofla skar*e*".
14	*dombir* 507: 10	The word appears on line 11 of that page (not line 10).
14	*dombir* 506: 29	There is no such word here. The nearest "dombir" is "viisdombir" 510: 2 (not listed by Wessén among his examples of consonantal epenthesis).
18	jfr också […] 457: 10	This phrase "vtan mæn skulde hona nytia" has already been quoted by Wessén in this section.
21	Likaså *w* ur	Wessén provides no line reference for this example. The word can be found on 491: 11 (E 8902, *p*. 88: 19).

62 Wessén 1968–1976, II, 98–99.

5. The manuscript was written in a hurry by a Norwegian scribe.
6. The language is Swedish with numerous, haphazardly introduced Norwegian elements.
7. Vadstena was the place of production.

4.9 Lars Wollin (1991b; 2004)

Wollin's articles do not deal solely with the Birgittine-Norwegian texts, but look at the text tradition of the revelations and the relationship between them with special reference to translating, paraphrasing, and reworking.

Wollin dates E 8902 to the beginning of the fifteenth century.[63] He says that the language is Swedish with a large number of Norwegianisms. One or two Norwegian scribes reworked a Swedish original, but we do not know where.[64] He also claims that one fifth of the material goes back to a very early Latin text while the rest seems to be based on Swedish texts that are primary to the Latin and might go back to Birgitta's original notes. A summary of Wollin's conclusions:

1. The language is Swedish with a large number of Norwegianisms.
2. We cannot be certain of the place of production.
3. There were one or two Norwegian scribes.
4. The texts date from *c.* 1400.
5. Sections 1–5 are translated from Latin, the rest is reworked from Swedish material.

4.10 Lennart Moberg (1998)

Moberg's article is the first thorough linguistic account of the language in E 8902 since Wessén's work of 1968. His article supports the findings of Kraft and others in that it aims to show that the texts were not directly copied from Birgitta's original autographs but that there was at least one intervening text.

Moberg describes Birgittine-Norwegian as a mixed language which only existed in a written form. Its most striking characteristic is its lack of con-

63 Wollin 1991b, 419. However, he also dates it to the end of the fourteenth century: "Det torde ha skett i första omgången i slutet av 1300-talet [It presumably happened during the first wave in the late 1300s]" (p. 422).

64 Wollin 2004, 331.

sistency. Norwegian and Swedish are mixed unmethodically. Moberg finds Wessén's description of the language to be the most accurate: "Språket är svenskt, men med talrika, mycket oregelbundet införda norska inslag [The language is Swedish, but with numerous, very irregularly inserted Norwegian elements]".[65] This type of language is not unique, however, and can also be found in E 8822 (= Cod. Skokl. 156, from *c*. 1450), which contains religious texts and part of *Herr Ivan*,[66] and Linköpings stifts- och landsbibliotek T 180 which contains a sermon collection.[67]

The manuscript should be dated to the beginning of the fifteenth century. On the question of the number of scribes, Moberg says there are clear signs that there were (at least) two scribes, but does not elaborate further.[68]

Moberg discusses the Norwegianisation of the text in terms of phonology, morphology, lexicon, and syntax. He also highlights some areas where scribal errors have been made, most probably due to the manuscript's being written quickly—subject-verb agreement is wrong, and the ending *-ilse* in the dative plural has become *-ilsæm*, and not *-ilsom*, through analogy with the Swedish relative pronoun and conjunction *som* which is Norwegianised to *sæm* in E 8902.

Moberg believes that the Birgittine-Norwegian texts are not copied directly from Birgitta's originals. His principal evidence is that Birgitta's two extant autographs have a very marked draft-like appearance—there are spelling mistakes, crossings out, additions, and amendments. It would be too much to expect the Norwegian scribes to produce the correct text they do based only on these types of drafts. Similarly, Birgitta's rather idiosyncratic orthography, for example the use of ⟨a⟩ as a svarabhakti vowel and the use of ⟨f⟩ for intervocalic /v/, has not rubbed off on the Norwegian scribes.[69] The Birgittine-Norwegian texts also sometimes use ⟨th⟩ for both ⟨þ⟩ and erroneously for ⟨t⟩. The scribes appear to be confused. Although the practice was widespread in Sweden, Birgitta herself never used ⟨th⟩ for ⟨þ⟩, and a Norwegian would never use ⟨th⟩ for ⟨t⟩. This *th*-feature must be due to the orthography of texts that come between Birgitta's own notes and the Birgittine-Norwegian texts. Moberg believes that there was a least one intervening stage of copying between Birgitta's original notes and the Birgittine-Norwegian texts. The alternation between ⟨t⟩ and ⟨th⟩ is also a

65 Moberg 1998, 10; Wessén, 1968–1976, II, 88.

66 On E 8822, see Bandlien 2013.

67 On the sermons in T 180, see Andersson 1993, 54–59.

68 Moberg 1998, 10.

69 The appearance of ⟨a⟩ as a svarabhakti vowel in a few places in the manuscript is explained as a south-eastern Norwegian feature; Moberg 1998, 11.

feature of Magister Mathias' Swedish versions of Birgitta's works. Moberg also suggests an Alvastra connection and quotes Jan-Eskil Löfkvist's observation that *th*-forms "har med cistercienskloster att göra [are associated with Cistercians monasteries]".[70] The first five sections of the manuscript (known as Part 1) and sections 6–25 (known as Part 2)[71] share this peculiar alternation between ⟨t⟩ and ⟨th⟩. He does not believe that this is enough evidence to suggest that the originals for Parts 1 and 2 belonged to the same copy; rather, he believes that Part 1 is copied from or based on a translation into Swedish from Latin produced in the 1380s, whilst the language in Part 2 takes us further back in time than the language in Part 1.[72] It is difficult to date the original for Part 2 to anything more precise than *c*. 1345–*c*. 1400.

Moberg gives a number of examples of later linguistic features from the texts; for example, /i/ > /e/; /y/ > /ø/; "of-" > "o-", and "dugha" > "dogha" as well as the unusual use of the prefix "fult-" (instead of "ful-"). All of these features have a great preponderance in Part 2. As Birgitta's own language is characterised by archaisms, Moberg suggests that these later linguistic features may have come about because the revelations in Part 2 never existed in Birgitta's own hand, but only in transcriptions made by her confessors during her dictations. Indeed, this may be the very link between the various revelations in Part 2, which according to Moberg otherwise appear to be randomly selected. They were made from a collection of dictations by Birgitta.[73]

Moberg also discusses some of the more unusual words in the texts and offers an etymology for the hapax legomenon "orfamse".[74] The article continues by looking briefly at doublets in the texts—there appear to be more doublets in Part 2 of E 8902 than in later Swedish versions—and ends by listing a few Low German loanwords. A summary of Moberg's conclusions:

1. The manuscript was written by (at least) two Norwegian scribes at the beginning of the fifteenth century.
2. The first quarter of the texts is based on a Latin manuscript.

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70 Moberg 1998, 16; Löfkvist 1976, 43.

71 It will be remembered that Sections 1–5 and Sections 6–25 are thought to be from two different sources. Previous scholars, with the exception of Kraft, claimed that the first sections (known as Part 1) were translated from Latin, whilst the final sections (Part 2) were copied from Old Swedish.

72 Moberg 1998, 19–21.

73 Moberg 1998, 18.

74 See section 6.1.8.

3. The remaining three quarters are based on Swedish texts which may have comprised a collection of Birgitta's dictations to her confessors—but *not* her own notes.
4. Point 3 may explain the seemingly random choice of revelations and their order.
5. The somewhat idiosyncratic and confused orthography, among other features, shows that the Birgittine-Norwegian texts do not go back to Birgitta's original notes.
6. The translation from Latin was made *c.* 1380.
7. The language of the final three quarters of the text is older than that of the first part.
8. The metaphors in the latter part of the text should be more thoroughly investigated to gain an idea of Birgitta's own language use. It must, however, be remembered that the text has gone through one intermediate stage before becoming E 8902.

4.11 Hans Torben Gilkær (2000)

Gilkær's principal contribution to the discussion on E 8902 is not so much to do with language and scribes—here he simply restates Wessén's findings—but rather it is his interpretation of the revelations and his explanation of why they have been collected into a single manuscript aimed at a Norwegian audience that is new. Gilkær argues that the manuscript was written to advance the Birgittine cause among the Norwegian nobility. He discusses the manuscript's five main divisions and shows how they have a coherent structure:

> Division 1 (Sections 1–5) has been translated directly from Latin according to Gilkær and can be seen as the introduction to the entire compilation. The way in which Christ chose Birgitta as his mouthpiece and her power to see and understand are repeatedly stressed.
>
> Division 2 (Sections 6–7) describes the three estates of society: the clergy, the nobility, and the peasantry. It goes on to depict how all members of society sin against God and describe the role of the king towards his subjects and God.
>
> Division 3 (Sections 8–10) concerns the Virgin Mary and her power to intercede with Christ on behalf of mankind to ask for mercy.

Division 4 (Sections 11–19) has as its theme man's disobedience to God and the judgement of those who sin and fail to repent. There are graphic images of God's punishment.

Division 5 (Sections 20–25) marks a change in the nature of the manuscript. The revelations are taken from the second book of the *Liber Cælestis*, and are aimed directly at the nobility. Knights are urged to defend the Church, and knighthood is described as being the dearest of all occupations to Christ. The final text in the compilation is an account of how a man should be knighted in a church.

Because of the content of the manuscript, Gilkær says that the intended audience was not likely to be Birgittine nuns, but rather the nobility. Read in the context of the establishment of Munkeliv in the 1420s, the texts are best interpreted as being an attempt to gather moral and financial support for the new Birgittine monastery. This support was being sought among the Norwegian nobility rather than the townspeople of Bergen or foreign donors. A summary of Gilkær's conclusions:

1. The manuscript was composed at the beginning of the fifteenth century.
2. The language of the manuscript is Swedish, but with numerous, often random, traces of Norwegian.
3. The texts were written by one or two scribes.
4. These scribes were Norwegian.
5. Division 1 (Sections 1–5) were translated from Latin.
6. Divisions 2–5 (Sections 5–25) derive from material which goes back to Birgitta's own notes.
7. The texts have been carefully selected and follow a coherent structure.
8. The target audience of the revelations was not Birgittine nuns but rather members of the Norwegian nobility.
9. The purpose of the compilation was to publicise and gain support for the establishment of the new Birgittine monastery at Munkeliv, Bergen.

4.12 General Evaluation of Earlier Theories[75]

The theories and assessments of the Birgittine-Norwegian texts demonstrate a high level of disagreement. Scholars disagree on almost all of the fundamental

75 My own work has recently been taken up in Andersson 2014, 14–15, 26–27, and 28.

facts: the number of scribes (one, two, or three); the place of composition (Vadstena, Bergen, or Oslo); the date of composition (from precise datings such as Kraft's 1379–1380 to the more vague *circa* the first quarter of the fifteenth century); the reasons for the order of the revelations (from random or inexplicable ordering to Gilkær's theory of careful selection); the originality of the Birgittine-Norwegian texts (copies of Birgitta's own autographs or of an interceding manuscript); the language of the original texts (part Latin, part Swedish, or entirely Swedish), and the nature of the language of the texts (Swedish, Norwegian, a mixture of the two, or Birgittine-Norwegian; was it a spoken as well as a written variety?). There are attempts on the part of Sandvei and Seip to demonstrate the Norwegianness of the manuscript's language, whereas Swedish scholars generally do not accept the view that this manuscript is written in a variety of Norwegian: "Det är icke alls någon norska, utan ett slags svenskt bokspråk med vissa norska inslag [It is absolutely not some kind of Norwegian but rather a kind of Swedish book-language with certain Norwegian features]".[76]

There is also a degree of uncertainty in the work of individual scholars. Seip, for example, offers several possible dates for the compilation of the manuscript, and in one work says that the first quarter of the text is translated from Swedish but in another that it is translated from Latin. Sandvei seems to imply that Birgittine-Norwegian was a spoken and written language on the one hand, and solely a written language on the other. These contradictions only add to the confusion.

Scholars have sometimes used dubious evidence in support of their theories. Kraft, Sandvei and Seip see the manuscript's flyleaves from the diocese of Oslo as compelling evidence for the Oslo area as the site of composition.[77] However, the use of flyleaves and pastedowns in this type of argumentation is unsatisfactory. We know nothing about the creation of the manuscript (indeed, it has been rebound at some point),[78] and the types of documents used for flyleaves and pastedowns are not necessarily locally produced. Indeed, one of the surviving fragments of St Birgitta's revelations in Danish was found as a pastedown in an account book from Mandal, southern Norway, and Mandal is certainly not where the manuscript was written.[79]

It is, however, clear from the theories sketched above that the Birgittine-Norwegian texts are of great importance to the Birgittine scholar. All are in

76 Wessén 1968–1976, II, 88–89.

77 A facsimile of the rear flyleaf can be found in fig. 24.

78 See section 5.6.

79 Diderichsen 1931–1937, 112–116, 293; Adams 2000, 88–89.

agreement that these texts provide the researcher with the largest source for the Swedish pre-Latin tradition, and although not as accurate a reflection of the saint's own words as her autographs, the very length of the material allows a more in-depth investigation. However, their value as records of St Birgitta's own unadulterated voice has been lessened somewhat by the demonstration that the texts are not direct copies of Birgitta's notes.[80]

The present study, which includes a quantitative analysis of language mixture within the manuscript, is an attempt to obtain clarity on the issues outlined above. The linguistic evidence will contribute to these questions and provide a detailed account of the language in the manuscript and its level and type of mixture—is it the result of a translation attempt, are any of its features consistent, how is it constructed? This linguistic information—together with other evidence, such as palaeographical and codicological—provides support in answering the question of the number of scribes, dating of the manuscript, place of composition, intended audience, and the language of the original texts.

The linguistic research so far appears to suffer from drawing conclusions that are based on too few observations. These observations are valid in themselves, but are not placed within any system, and certainly nothing beyond simple word counts. The research has also progressed in a very linear fashion, which has allowed some controversial points to "sneak in" unnoticed (for example, the Danish translations as a possible analogue) and a certain slackness concerning the definition of language mixture to become permissible. Moberg, whose study is by far the most in-depth to date, fails to compare linguistic features (not all of them concerned with mixture) intratextually beyond between Part 1 (Section 1) and Part 2 (Sections 2–5). His list of younger features would have benefited from an analysis between the various hands. Indeed, all scholars have largely failed to comment on the concentration of certain linguistic forms and features in certain parts of the manuscript.

In conclusion, this book aims to advance the discussion in the following ways:

1. To present a new interpretative diplomatic edition of the text with critical and comparative apparatuses as well as a commentary;
2. To describe the physical make-up of the manuscript;
3. To provide an accurate picture of aspects of the language mixture in E 8902 by means of statistical analysis;
4. To investigate variation in this language within the manuscript;
5. To suggest the possible circumstances under which this manuscript was written and for whom;

80 Moberg 1998.

6. To address the following moot points:
   a) the number of scribes;
   b) place of composition;
   c) date of composition;
   d) reasons for the order of the revelations;
   e) the "originality" of the Birgittine-Norwegian texts;
   f) the language of the texts from which the manuscript was compiled.

Date	Scholar	Date of copying	Place of copying	No. of scribes	Language
1883–1884	Klemming	first quarter of 15th C.	Vadstena?	2–3	Birgittine-Norwegian
1903	Geete	beginning of 15th C.	–	–	Birgittine-Norwegian
1911	Westman	beginning of 15th C.	Munkeliv	1	Swedish forms the basis of the language, but it has been mixed with Norwegian forms and influenced by Norwegian scribal habits (von Friesen's observation)
1916	Gödel	–	Munkeliv	–	A mixed dialect ("blanddialekt")
1929	Kraft	*c.* 1379–1380	Oslo	–	A Norwegian copy of Swedish texts
1938	Sandvei	beginning of 15th C.	Oslo	3	Eastern Norwegian dialect with some Swedish interference (although not necessarily solely due to the language of the original)
1934–1967	Seip	1379–beginning of 15th C.	Oslo	3	Typical of south-eastern Norway
1968	Wessén	early 15th C.	Vadstena	1	Swedish with haphazardly introduced Norwegian elements
1991–2004	Wollin	*c.* 1400	uncertain	1–2	Swedish with a large number of Norwegianisms
1998	Moberg	beginning of 15th C.	–	2+	Swedish with haphazardly introduced Norwegian elements (as Wessén)
2000	Gilkær	beginning of the C.	–	–	Swedish with haphazardly introduced Norwegian elements (as Wessén)

FIGURE 5 *Overview of previous scholarly work on the Birgittine-Norwegian*

PART 2

Manuscript

∵

CHAPTER 5

Manuscript Description

The manuscript E 8902 (formerly called Skokloster 5 4°) is housed in Riksarkivet (the Swedish National Archives) in Stockholm, and forms part of the so-called Skokloster Collection.[1] It contains only the works known as the Birgittine-Norwegian texts,[2] a selection of St Birgitta of Sweden's revelations—some of which are not to be found elsewhere—and are written in a mixture of Swedish and Norwegian. The type-written catalogue at Riksarkivet contains the following entry:

> Skokloster, Avd. 1, kvarter. n:o—5. Revelationes S. Birgittæ på Svenska. Cod. membran.—Incipit: "Christi Brudh sagde" etc.—F "Ok gudlika þolomodh."
>
> [Skokloster, Dept. 1, quarto. no.—5. St Birgitta's *Revelations* in Swedish. Parchment manuscript.—Begins: "Christi Brudh sagde" etc.—Ends: "Ok gudlika þolomodh."]

The closing quotation marks after "þolomodh" have been added by hand, and the words "E 8902", "mikrofilmad [microfilmed]", "Pergbd [parchment volume]", and "tryckt [printed]" have likewise been written alongside the catalogue entry. Facsimiles can be found in Figs 15–24 at the end of this chapter.

1 The Skokloster Collection (Quarto) consists of those manuscripts catalogued from E 8898 to E 9060a. The abbreviation for the collection was previously Skokl., but this was changed to E in 1968 when the collection moved to its present-day location in the then newly built archive on Fyrverkarbacken, Kungsholmen in Stockholm. The letter E refers to any volume housed in Riksarkivet and thus, unlike Skokl., is not solely used for the Skokloster collection. In some works published after 1968, the manuscript is still referred to as Skokl. 5 4°.

2 The name was first coined by Gustaf E. Klemming who refers to the texts as "Stycken på Birgittin-norska [Pieces in Birgittine-Norwegian]", *BU* IV. The term Birgittine-Norwegian was first used by Peter Andreas Munch in a letter dated 5 November 1845 to George Stephens; see Munch 1924, I, 135–137 (no. 67).

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5.1 Date and Origin

It is impossible to date the manuscript precisely, but scholars have made several suggestions that place it sometime between 1379 and 1425. By comparing the form of the revelations with other datable Swedish and Latin versions, it is clear that E 8902 is an early version of Birgitta's revelations. As far as content is concerned, the manuscript does not contain the *additiones*, *declarationes*, and supplementary material added by Prior Petrus in 1380,[3] so it is tempting to date it to before the third stage of redactional history, that is as early as 1380. We also find a number of instances where the text does not appear in its later (post-canonisation) edited form. Phrases which may have been too sensitive for the later authorised versions can still be found in E 8902; for example, condemnation of political figures to damnation in Section 15 (Book VI 32). The physical division and ordering of revelations differ from the later versions (for example, Sections 7, 14, and 17). There are also four pieces not to be found elsewhere that must have been copied at a time when such texts, that later did not form part of the authorised canon, were still available and acceptable. However, very little is known about how the manuscript came into existence and the palaeographical evidence is also inconclusive.[4] A dating to 1400 (± 20 years) seems the most reasonable—if somewhat unsatisfactory.

We do not know whether E 8902 is the result of Norwegian scribes' copying the texts in Sweden (most probably Vadstena) or whether the texts were sent for copying in Norway (Oslo, Hovedøya, or Munkeliv). Some scholars point to the presence of Norwegian monks at Vadstena and suggest this monastery as the place of copying,[5] but others highlight the unfinished appearance of the manuscript, which—they believe—is evidence that it was not produced in Vadstena.[6] E 8902 may demonstrate a careful selection of texts for a specific, Norwegian audience or reader, which points to its being a Norwegian who

3 Höjer 1905, 111.

4 Wessén 1968–1976, II, 87.

5 Kraft 1929, 46–47 n. 1. It should be added that a number of Norwegian nuns also visited or lived at Vadstena. For example, in 1389, "Brynildir Iosepsdottir de Norvegia [Brynhild Josefsdottir from Norway]" enters the monastery at Vadstena (*DV*, 122 [no. 49: 2]), where she dies in 1394 (*DV*, 129 [no. 81]); another Norwegian, "Raghnildis Thorisdottir de Norvegia [Ragnhild Þorsdottir from Norway]", is mentioned in the 1408 entry (*DV*, 155 [no. 169: 2]) as also is a Norwegian nun in the 1515 entry (*DV*, 297 [no. 1035]: "Eodem anno, die sancti Theodori martiris obiit soror Dorothea Nicolai Nørcha [The same year, on St Theodore the Martyr's Feast, Sister Dorothea Nikolasdottir the Norwegian died]").

6 Wessén 1968–1976, II, 86.

chose the material, most probably from the wide range of documents available at Vadstena.[7] Whether he (or his companions) then copied the material in Sweden, or whether it was taken or sent by him to Norway for copying, is impossible to know.

5.2 Provenance

The Skokloster Collection, to which E 8902 belongs, is made up of books once owned by the Brahe family and kept at their estate in Skokloster, Uppland. The Brahe's collection comprised books from a number of different sources, such as purchase, donation, inheritance, bequest, and war booty. Most of the Skokloster Collection, including E 8902, was donated to the Riksarkivet in 1892.[8]

The manuscript once belonged to Johannes Messenius (1579–1636), whose name, written in faded ink as "Joh. Messenij", appears on the inside of the front cover. We can only imagine how the manuscript might have come to Johannes, who, schooled in Vadstena, became an historian, dramatist, and professor at Uppsala. His most important work, *Scondia Illustrata* [Description of Scandinavia], was written during his incarceration in Kajaneborg (Kajaani Castle) in Kajanaland (Kainuu), Finland, where he had been sentenced to imprisonment for treason and "popery" in 1616. His son, Arnold Johannes (1608–1651), probably acquired E 8902 from his father at some point. Arnold, too, was an historian whose life was every bit as colourful as his father's. Having fled Sweden in the wake of a murder in 1622, he spent two years at a Jesuit college in Danzig (Gdańsk). Upon his return to Sweden, Arnold was arrested on suspicion of being a Polish spy. After several years in prison in Stockholm and Kexholm, he was put to work in the chancery. However, in 1650 he was again arrested for treason and executed the following year. Arnold probably bequeathed E 8902 to the regent Per Brahe the Younger (1602–1680). We know that he gave him at least one other volume, namely a copy of Birgitta Andersdotter's prayer book (Holm. A 80).[9] From Brahe's library, the manuscript E 8902 became part of the Skokloster Collection.[10]

7 See section 4.11.

8 Broomé 1977, 58.

9 *BU* v, 176.

10 *BU* v, 176; Wessén 1968–1976, ii, 85.

5.3 Contents

E 8902 comprises a self-contained collection of St Birgitta's revelations. Westman divided the manuscript into 25 sections, which can be grouped into five main parts.[11] A table of cross-references and contents can be found over the page.

11 Westman 1911, 63–64 n. 4.

Westman 1911				Klemming 1875		This edition		
Part no.	**Section no.**		**Equivalent Latin versions (Liber)**	**Equivalent Swedish versions (Book)**	***BU* IV (page: line)**	**E 8902 (page: line)**	**Incipit**	**Explicit**
1	1		VI 52	VI 52	423: 1	1: 1	***Christ*i brwdh sagde**	vndirstanda hans vilia
	2		I 11	I 11	438: 24	25: 15	**G**udhz son taladhe	þik mera naadh
	3		Ex. 51 9–18	IV 130	440: 2	27: 11	Ek kærer at	hwadh mik atirgiælds
	4		VIII 57	VIII 57	441: 20	29: 15	**G**wdhz modh*ir* taladhe	ødhmiukligha. þeira føtir
	5	A	IV 50	IV 50	442: 25	31: 9	***Christ*i brwdh sagde**	til æw*ær*delikit ve
		B	IV 51	IV 51	443: 16	32: 5	Mik sỳntis. sæm	a*n*nars godhom gerningom
2	6	A	I 55	I 55	446: 25	37: 9	Ek ih*esus* ær	sækkir ær vptakin
		B	I 56	I 56	449: 25	41: 7	hwad væntir þw	nu troo oordomi*n*
	7	A	I 57	I 57	454: 14	46: 23	Swa gøra nu	þe huxa minzt
		B	IV 99	IV 99	455: 24	48: 18	Ek kærir þ*æt*	ginu*m* m*ædh* swærdh
		C	No Latin equivalent	No Swedish equivalent	458: 18	51: 27	M*ædh* þỳ þæssom	swa mỳkklo hardare
	8		I 50	I 50	461: 28	56: 3	**S**Ancta maria sỳntis	ok þik ælska
	9		No Latin equivalent	No Swedish equivalent	465: 25	60: 15	**M**ODhoren maria taladhe	þ*æt* aldrik ændas
	10	A	I 45	I 45	467: 4	61: 27	**M**Aria taladhe til	mino*m* mu*n*ne wtgingo
		B	I 44	I 44	471: 3	66: 19	fi*rir* þy Ek	kænna mina rætuiso

FIGURE 6 *Cross-references for E 8902*

Westman 1911			Klemming 1875		*BU* IV	This edition		
Part no.	**Section no.**		**Equivalent Latin versions (Liber)**	**Equivalent Swedish versions (Book)**	**(page: line)**	**E 8902 (page: line)**	**Incipit**	**Explicit**
3	11		I 27	I 27	472: 2	67: 18	MAria taladhe. þær	ok fylghe mik
	12		I 28	I 28	473: 29	69: 20	Gvdh siælfu*ir* sỳntis	til sỳnda*m*na bætrilsse
	13		I 46	I 46	476: 21	72: 24	MAria taladhe til	ær i himerike
	14	A	I 58	I 58	480: 8	76: 16	⟨M⟩Aria taladhe til	skapar*e*. ok atirløsar*e*
		B	End of I 52	End of I 52	482: 31	79: 17	J*hesus christus*. taladhe	þækkias þæim ænkte
	15		VI 32	VI 32	483: 9	79: 25	ORmen ok ỳdhlan	ok wt þỳdha
4	16		No Latin equivalent	No Swedish equivalent	487: 1	83: 22	⟨H⟩On ær ekke	troo / þa røne
	17		I 25 + an embedded part from I 22	I 25 + an embedded part from I 22	488: 4	84: 24	⟨E⟩k ær þin	spar min rætuisa
	18		VI 31	VI 31	490: 26	88: 4	⟨E⟩en saal. ok	firir vtan ænda
	19		VI 28 (partially)	VI 28 (partially)	496: 25	95: 6	⟨E⟩N saal kom	vardha fult brænt
	20	A	Latter part of II 16	II 8	497: 28	96: 9	⟨G⟩wdh taladhe / þrỳ	ræddugha i hoghin
		B	No Latin equivalent	No Swedish equivalent	498: 18	97: 4	Ek sæm tala	j þæt*t*a rike.

FIGURE 6 *Cross-references for E 8902* (cont.)

Westman 1911				Klemming 1875		This edition		
Part no.	**Section no.**		**Equivalent Latin versions (Liber)**	**Equivalent Swedish versions (Book)**	***BU* IV (page: line)**	**E 8902 (page: line)**	**Incipit**	**Explicit**
5	21		II 7	Cf. VIII 32	499: 2	97: 14	Ek ær krono*n*na	æra bundne til
	22		II 8	No Swedish equivalent	503: 30	103: 14	EK ær sandir	vardh*i*r til ængsins
	23		II 9	Cf. VIII 33	508: 22	109: 6	ALdir þæm time	for vt*a*n. æ*n*da.
	24		II 10	No Swedish equivalent	512: 2	113: 16	⟨T⟩hæt. standh*i*r. sc*ri*fuat.	ok skapare ær
	25	A	II 11	Cf. VIII 37	513: 16	116: 1	EK sagde þik	ha*n* ær mik
		B	II 12	Cf. VIII 36	516: 28	120: 19	Ek ær sa*n*dir	blod mote mino.
		C	II 13	Cf. VIII 35	519: 31	124: 20	Nu kære ek	gudlikæ þolomodh **amen**

FIGURE 6 *Cross-references for E 8902* (cont.)

5.4 Make-up and Description

5.4.1 *Foliation*

There are 64 folia (numbered as pages 1–128 in this edition) and flyleaves have been attached front and back. There is no original foliation in E 8902, but there have been two attempts at foliation by later readers of the manuscript. The most accurate is in black ink and appears in the top right-hand corner of every odd page[12] and in the top left-hand corner of *p.* 128. Wessén suggests that these page numbers were written by Klemming during his editorial work on the manuscript.[13] Some marginal notes and foliation have also been made in pencil.[14] This foliation is more sporadic and more recent than that in black ink. The pages foliated in pencil are: *pp.* 2 t. rt.; 3 t. lt.; 4 t. rt.; 5 t. lt.; 6 t. rt.; 7 t. lt.; 8 t. rt.; 11 t. lt.; 89 t. lt., and 92 t. rt. This pencil-wielding foliator has incorrectly written "9" on *p.* 11. The error is no doubt due to the torn-off corner on *pp.* 9–10 (fol. 5). It is unknown who is responsible for the pencil marks in the manuscript. They are written in Swedish in an orthography that pre-dates the 1906 spelling reform. One of the pencilled notes (in the right-hand margin, *p.* 113: 19, "jfr ofan riddarskap [cf. above nobility]") suggests that the reader was interested in the content and arguments of the text with particular reference to knights. As he makes no reference to the pencilled marks (only those in ink), it does not seem improbable that it was Wessén who wrote these page numbers and marginal notes. All foliation is in arabic numerals.

5.4.2 *Materials and Dimensions*

E 8902's leaves are parchment. The ink has oxidised and subsequently has a rusty tint and is somewhat faded throughout the manuscript, particularly the rubrics in red which have in places turned pale brown. However, on the whole, the writing remains clear and legible. The manuscript is in quarto, measuring approximately 120 mm by 168 mm. The written space measures approximately 95 mm by 130 mm. The text is written in single columns, and there are between 19 and 30 lines per page. There are four hands in total (described in section 5.5).

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12 However, the page number is written in the top left-hand corner of *p.* 11, and there is no page number at all on *p.* 37.

13 Wessén 1968–1976, II, 85 n. 27. In order to facilitate comparison between the editions, I have followed Klemming's pagination 1–128, rather than use 1^{r}–64^{v}. Klemming has also written references to equivalent versions of the revelations in Latin and Swedish in the margins. These are noted in the critical apparatus.

14 There are also a few notes written on the manuscript in pencil, which are recorded in the critical apparatus. There are no marginal notes dating from the pre-modern era.

In fig. 7 the sections of text written by Hand 2 have been labelled, and it can be seen that Hand 2 generally writes far fewer lines per page than Hand 1.

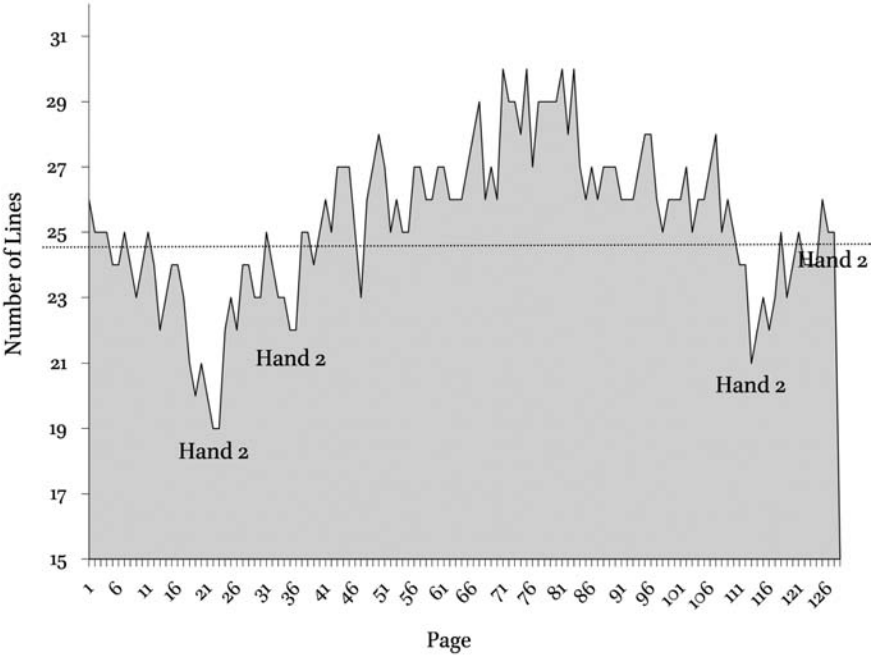

FIGURE 7 *Number of lines per page* (*average number of lines is shown by dotted line*)

The most noticeable "dip" not attributed to Hand 2 is on *p*. 47. This page was written by Hand 1, but the scribe appears to be writing at greater speed with a less than perfect pen-nib. He is certainly producing larger and less carefully formed letters, and this results in fewer words per line and fewer lines per page. The surface of the parchment on *p*. 47 is also somewhat rough.

5.4.3 *Quiring*

The manuscript is made up of eight quires stitched together. The number of sheets per quire varies and various folia have been excised. An investigation of the hair-flesh distribution of the outermost side of each sheet shows that the "desirable" distribution (that is, HF-FH-HF-FH, etc.)[15] has only been achieved

15 The letter "H" refers to the hair side of the sheet of parchment and "F" to the flesh side. In the description, the outside surface is identified first, so "HF" means that the outside surface of the parchment is hair and the inside is flesh. As Friesen and Grape (1928, 5–7)

in quires 4 and 5. In fact, the most common arrangement in the manuscript is to have all the sheets with the flesh side outwards, although quire 6 has all the sheets with the hair side outwards.

Quire 1

Number of sheets: 5
Number of folia: 7
Pages in E 8902: 1–14

Hair/Flesh Sheet:	
1	FH
2	FH
3	FH
4	FH
5	FH

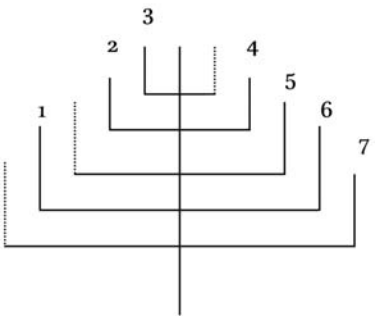

FIGURE 8.1 *Arrangement of quires in E 8902, quire 1*

Quire 2

Number of sheets: 6
Number of folia: 10
Pages in E 8902: 15–34

Hair/Flesh Sheet:	
1	FH
2	FH
3	FH
4	FH
5	FH
6	FH

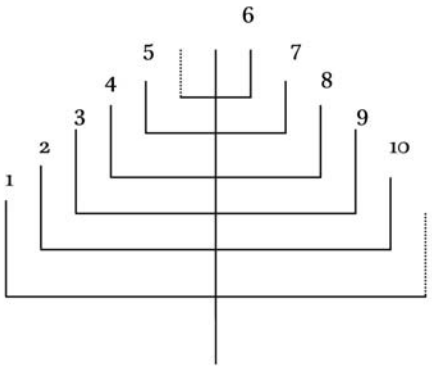

FIGURE 8.2 *Arrangement of quires in E 8902, quire 2*

and Wiktorsson (1989, xxi) show the hair-flesh order is an important part of the artistry of the manuscript that reflects on the regard in which the manuscript was held. The HF-FH-HF distribution is the most masterful and aesthetically planned. The distribution in E 8902 indicates that little consideration was paid to the aesthetic aspects of collation.

Quire 3

Number of sheets: 5
Number of folia: 10
Pages in E 8902: 35–54

Hair/Flesh Sheet:	
1	FH
2	FH
3	FH
4	HF
5	FH

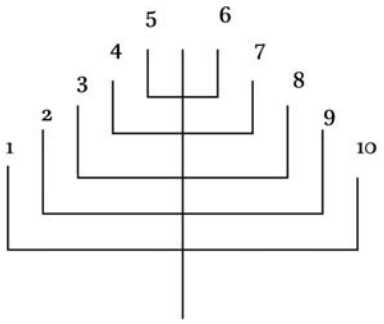

FIGURE 8.3 *Arrangement of quires in E 8902, quire 3*

Quire 4

Number of sheets: 4
Number of folia: 8
Pages in E 8902: 55–70

Hair/Flesh Sheet	
1	HF
2	FH
3	HF
4	FH

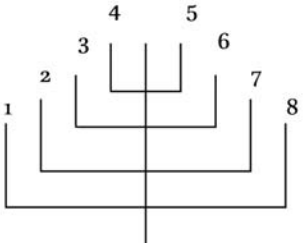

FIGURE 8.4 *Arrangement of quires in E 8902, quire 4*

Quire 5

Number of sheets: 4
Number of folia: 8
Pages in E 8902: 71–86

Hair/Flesh Sheet:	
1	FH
2	HF
3	FH
4	HF

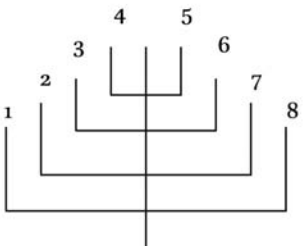

FIGURE 8.5 *Arrangement of quires in E 8902, quire 5*

Quire 6

Number of sheets: 4
Number of folia: 8
Pages in E 8902: 87–102

Hair/Flesh Sheet:	
1	HF
2	HF
3	HF
4	HF

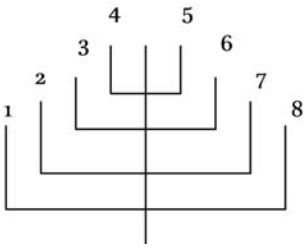

FIGURE 8.6 *Arrangement of quires in E 8902, quire 6*

Quire 7

Number of sheets: 4
Number of folia: 8
Pages in E 8902: 103–118

Hair/Flesh Sheet:	
1	FH
2	FH
3	FH
4	FH

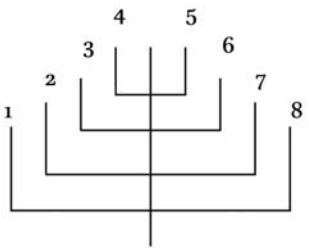

FIGURE 8.7 *Arrangement of quires in E 8902, quire 7*

Quire 8

Number of sheets: 3
Number of folia: 5
Pages in E 8902: 119–128

Hair/Flesh Sheet:	
1	FH
2	FH
3	FH

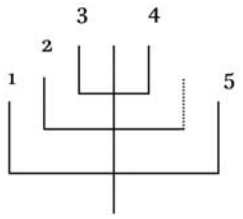

FIGURE 8.8 *Arrangement of quires in E 8902, quire 8*

5.4.4 *Ruling and Pricking*

The pages have vertical ruling left and right, and horizontal ruling top and bottom only. The ruled lines are thin, in black ink, and prolonged to the edge of the page. Most of the four corners on each page of the manuscript have clearly visible, small holes from the pricking. The scribes usually write below the top line and above the bottom line. Apart from those top and bottom there are no horizontal rulings anywhere in the manuscript—but this alone does not explain the varying numbers of lines per page as suggested by Wessén.[16] Indeed, the variation is also (if not solely) due to each of the various hands' using a different sized script.

16 Wessén 1968–1976, II, 85.

5.4.5 *Catchwords*

There are catchwords written at the bottom right-hand side of the following pages:

Page	Catchwords and notes
14	**H**uilken ek er i*n*na*n* Written with a horizontal line above and below. The "H" is rubricated in red ink.
34	siælin sag⟨dæ⟩ Not ruled off or encapsulated.
54	þy at j sk*u*ld Not ruled off or encapsulated.
70	lifue. ve þe stu*n* Encapsulated with two horizontal lines above and one below, and two vertical lines left and right.
86	þornen gør Written with a horizontal line below that trails off the final "n" in "þornen". The preceding "so*m*" (from "drøuilso*m*") on the same line has been encapsulated on all sides.
102	ha*n* vilde held*i*r li- Written with two horizontal lines above and below, two vertical lines left and right, and a decorative scribble to the left.
118	Alle makt ok vi Written with two horizontal lines below, and two vertical lines left and right, and a single horizontal line above.

There is also a case of dittography when beginning a new page (and a new hand) at the top of page 24, where "ok" is repeated by Hand 3.

5.5 Script

The manuscript is written in four different hands: six stints by Hand 1, five by Hand 2, and one each by Hands 3 and 4.[17] They all write in the younger Gothic cursive script,[18] which was in use throughout Scandinavia by the fourteenth century. The hands change with no apparent relation to the contents or the quiring.[19] When a new hand begins, it is usually at the top of a page:

Hand 1 (90.4% of the manuscript)[20]			
i.	1: 1 (Assit p*ri*ncipio)	...	18: 4 (Ok þ*æt* smælikast)
ii.	24: 4 (nilsæ. Swa)	...	34: 24 (siælin sag⟨dæ⟩)
iii.	37: 1 (ok gør miskund)	...	38: 25 (gøra. Værnarane)
iv.	40: 1 (ras nu ok)	...	67: 29 (i sino hiærta)
v.	68: 7 (a hans hofde)	...	111: 2 (þ*æ*tt)
vi.	115: 1 (mino folke.)	...	127: 14 (das. vta*n*. mik.)
Hand 2 (9.3% of the manuscript)[21]			
vii.	18: 5 (war. gaf. æk)	...	23: 19 (ræinsat ok.)
viii.	35: 1 (salæn)	...	36: 22 (ungdoom.)
ix.	39: 1 (sagdo)	...	39: 24 (þ*æ*tt hæi-)
x.	111: 2 (ær. gudlik*i*r)	...	114: 22 (diewlen.)
xi.	127: 14 (Sa*n*nalika.)	...	128: 5 (þol⟨omodh a⟩men)
Hand 3 (0.2% of the manuscript)[22]			
xii.	24: 1 (ok verdogh)	...	24: 3 (vm lik[n_sæ])

17 Cf. Klemming in *BU* v, 175–176 (three hands); Sandvei 1938, 50–51 (three hands); Wessén 1968–1976, II, 86–87 (one hand); Moberg 1998, 10 (probably three hands).

18 As described in Seip 1954b, 105–127; Bischoff 1979, 175–186.

19 A similar lack of pattern for scribal stints has been noted by Monica Hedlund in her research on female scribes from Vadstena (see O'Mara 2002, 38).

20 See Figs 15, 16 (top), 18 (bottom), 19, 20 (bottom), 21, and 23 (top).

21 See Figs 16 (bottom), 17, 22, and 23 (bottom).

22 See fig. 18 (top).

Hand 4 (0.1% of the manuscript)[23]		
xiii.	68: 1 (þ*æt* war)	… 68: 7 (krona)

5.5.1 *Scribal Characteristics*

Distinguishing between hands is a notoriously difficult exercise,[24] but a careful examination of letter forms and their frequency as well as the use of diacritics enables us to identify and describe the characteristics of each hand. A comparison of the four hands shows that the principal differences lie in the realisation of the graphemes ⟨a⟩, ⟨d⟩, ⟨f⟩, ⟨g⟩, ⟨h⟩, ⟨k⟩, ⟨o⟩, ⟨r⟩, ⟨æ⟩ and ⟨ø⟩, and the distribution of ⟨y⟩ and ⟨ẏ⟩.

a) The Grapheme ⟨a⟩

All four hands make use of unicameral "a", and, as is typical of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is this form that is predominant. Hand 1 sometimes uses a rounded unicameral "a" with largely curved lines. On the whole, however, this scribe uses an angular form of the letter, as if the rounded unicameral "a" has been pressed into a triangular Gothic style. Sometimes the main shaft extends above the body of the letter, and the body is sometimes open at the bottom. Hand 2 also makes use of both rounded and angular unicameral "a"s. The letters are larger and more poorly formed, and the bottom of the unicameral "a" is flatter than Hand 1's. Occasionally Hand 2 has written an "o" and then added a stroke from the bottom of this "o" to the next letter which transforms it into an "a". It is sometimes difficult to discern whether Hand 2 intended to write an "o", an "a", or even an "e".[25] Hand 3 writes unicameral "a" with a tall main shaft and a rounded body. The letter is nearly always open at the bottom. Hand 4's unicameral "a" shows surprising variation in such a short section. The main shaft is pronounced and straight, the top is generally pointed and the bottom of the letter is open. However, a more rounded version of the grapheme can also be found.

Hands 1 and 2 also make use of bicameral "a". The occurrence of this allograph is somewhat random, although Hand 2 makes greater use of bicameral "a" on

23 See fig. 20 (top).

24 See Spunar 1976; Stiennon 1995; Gilissen 1973; Schneider 1999, 97–100.

25 Particularly difficult readings are "diofla" (*p.* 23: 8 and *p.* 111: 16) and "dioflan*n*e" (*p.* 23: 11); cf. "diewl-", "diæfl-", "dyefl-", and "dyewl-" elsewhere.

all lines, than does Hand 1. Hand 1's bicameral "a" is used throughout each page, but it most often appears on the first or last line. The appearance of bicameral "a" on the first line can be understood in a decorative context. Many letters are extended above the top horizontal ruling (for example, the shaft of a "k" or an "h"), and the bicameral "a" with an elongated shaft on the first line is often used in the same way.

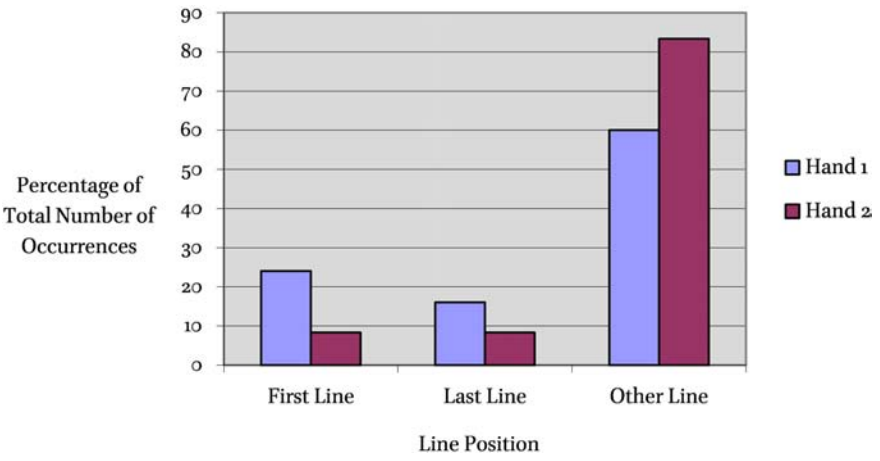

FIGURE 9 *The line position of bicameral "a" according to line number across Hands 1 and 2*

It is often difficult to say whether a bicameral "a" in word-initial position is being used as a capital. If in doubt, I have judged from the context of the word whether capitalisation is necessary. It is also possible that bicameral "a" is written in this initial position to draw attention to the word or highlight it. One possible occurrence of this is in the word "alt" (*p.* 95: 1). The use of bicameral "a" for this purpose is also known from the contemporaneous *Bishop Eystein's Cadastre*, the so-called *Red Book* (*c.* 1390), and a lawman's letter from Oslo dated 8 March 1404.[26]

Hand 1 often uses bicameral "a" in word initial position and makes much less use of it medially. Hand 2, however, uses it more frequently in final and medial position than does Hand 1.

26 Huitfeldt 1879, facs. fol. 60 b2; Vágslid 1930, facs. 53; *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, III (1855), 417 (no. 570); Seip 1954b, 116.

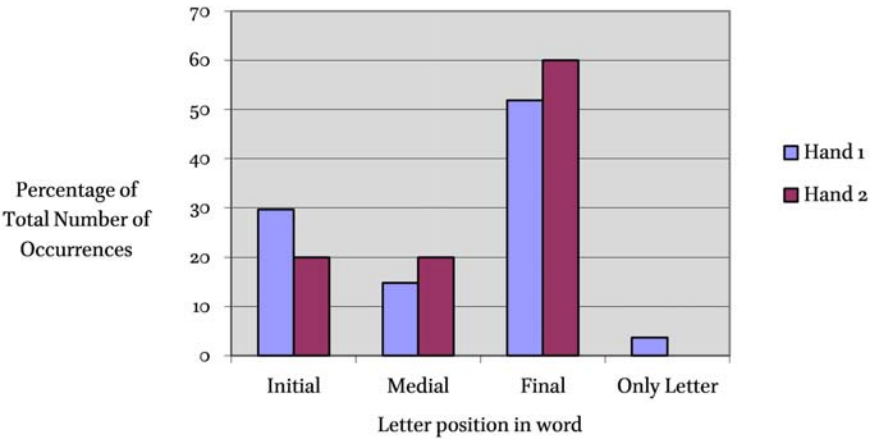

FIGURE 10 *The position of bicameral "a" within words across Hands 1 and 2*

The scribes also write two types of capital "A". There is a standard and a bicameral version. The bicameral version is often the same size as a miniscule bicameral "a" but has a line turning horizontally through its shaft—often a flourish which comes from the top of the shaft and curves round on itself again. Sometimes it is written in bolder ink. Bicameral "A" is most frequent on *pp.* 18–20 and 93–94. It is only used twice by Hand 2 (*p.* 21: 14 and *p.* 112: 8). Otherwise it is used solely by Hand 1.

b) The Grapheme ⟨d⟩

All four hands write a bicameral "d" (similar in shape to an "8"), the form which had become widespread across Scandinavia by the fifteenth century.[27] Hand 1 writes a well-shaped letter with a bow that often protrudes far out to the left. The bottom of the letter is written near the horizontal. Hand 2's "d" is very angular where the bottom of the letter forms a point. Hand 3 writes "d" with very rounded strokes and an upper chamber that is larger than the lower one. Hand 4 writes a "d" with a dominating upper chamber and a lower chamber which is very rounded and sometimes filled with ink. Hand 4's "d" leans markedly to the left.

c) The Grapheme ⟨f⟩

Insular or Anglo-Saxon "f"—a straight shaft to which a "3"-like figure clings—is the only form used throughout the manuscript. It was not until the 1420s

27 Seip 1954b, 117.

that the continental Latin form for "f" came to replace insular "f" in Norway, although the two forms continue to coexist until the end of the fifteenth century.[28] Hand 1 writes the letter with a straight shaft often with a stroke drawn up to the top of it from the line. The "ȝ" always touches the shaft creating two chambers. The bottom of the "ȝ" transects the shaft and often touches and passes the stroke preceding the shaft. Sometimes it doubles back on itself in a flourish. Hand 2 draws a vertical shaft, sometimes with a horizontal flourish leading off to the left from the top of the shaft. The "ȝ" is rather narrow and it does not always touch the shaft. The stroke leading off from the "ȝ" usually continues downwards, but occasionally it is pulled back through the shaft at a near horizontal angle. Hand 3 writes an "f" which leans towards the left (a later trait),[29] and whose "ȝ" only meets the shaft at the top and the bottom. The "ȝ" is very narrow. Hand 4's "f" has a thick main stroke with a very narrow, elongated "ȝ", which touches the shaft top and bottom. It, too, leans towards the left.

d) The Grapheme ⟨g⟩

Hand 1 uses a "g" with a square-shaped body. The tail does not usually close off the bottom of the letter. Hand 2 leans the "g" towards the left and writes a more triangular head on the letter. Like Hand 1, Hand 2 uses both open and closed forms of the letter. However, there is a preponderance of closed forms. Hand 3's "g" also has a triangular-shaped head but the tail is very rounded. The letter is always open. Hand 4's "g" has a triangular head and a flat, open, horizontal tail. The open form of "g" used by the Hands was to become predominant in the fifteenth century.[30]

e) The Grapheme ⟨h⟩

All hands use the long "h". Hands 1, 2, and 4 all form the letter as a looped "l" to which is joined an undotted "ȷ"-like figure. The tail of the letter swings to the left for Hands 1 and 4, but tails off vertically for Hand 2. Hands 3 and 4 lean the letter to the left. Hand 3 has a more rounded "h", where the undotted "ȷ"-element begins from halfway up the shaft of the "l" and tails round to the left ending in a horizontal line.

28 After the introduction of Latin "f" into Norway, scribes often used "ff" where they had previously used a single Anglo-Saxon "f". An example of this, the only one in E 8902, is on *p.* 19: 15 "ffly". See Munch 1924, I, 107; Vágslid 1930, 118; Seip 1954b, 118.

29 Alvered 1996, 31.

30 Seip 1954b, 118.

f) The Grapheme ⟨k⟩

All four hands form this letter by drawing a vertical shaft and adding a small "2"-like stroke to it. Hand 1 draws a vertical shaft with a small hooked stroke at its foot up to the right. The "2" always connects to the shaft of the letter. Hand 2 draws a straight shaft that descends below the baseline, but the "2" is not usually attached to it. Hand 3 draws a curved shaft that leans towards the left with a hook at the bottom. However, only the base of the "2" touches the shaft. The main shaft of Hand 4's "k" descends well below the baseline. The "2"-element does not always touch the shaft which leans towards the left.

g) The Grapheme ⟨o⟩

A striking difference here is that Hand 2 places a dot inside a large "o" to create the capital "O". Hand 1 strikes through the "O" with a vertical line when it is capital. Hand 2 also once dots a small "o" (in "ok", *p*. 18: 5), and it is unclear whether the intention is to create a capital letter or just to draw attention to the word, or, indeed, if it is just a mistake. Sometimes Hand 2 dots other letters: capitals (for example, "Þ" in "Þridi", *p*. 20: 3 and *p*. 35: 4), as well as miniscule letters (for example, "æ" in "æk", *p*. 19: 13, and "a" in "fa", *p*. 20: 6).

h) The Grapheme ⟨r⟩

The grapheme ⟨r⟩ appears in three variant forms. The short, Latin "r" can be found in all positions for Hands 1, 2, and 4. Hand 3 only uses it after non-rounded letter forms. It is cloven from the base in all hands and can thus resemble a "v". Except for Hand 3 that also uses it after the rounded letter "d" ("w*er*d*i*r", 24: 2), rotunda "ꝛ" is only found after "o" and "ø", although Latin "r" is also found in these positions for Hands 1, 2 (especially), and 4. The third "ʀ", a versal, is based on capital "R" and is only used by Hand 1, usually towards the end of the manuscript (see below). It can only be found in initial position (the versal "ʀ" in "kiʀkiunna" seems to have come about through the scribe's substituting "ʀ" for an "i"). This form of ⟨r⟩ can be found in other manuscripts, where its use is also limited to just a few words.[31] Occurrences of "ʀ" in the manuscript:

31 Seip 1954b, 119; Vágslid 1930, 40; Indrebø 1966, *22.

Page: line	Item	Page: line	Item
33: 21	ʀætuisan	115: 18	ʀoo
45: 5	ʀepit	117: 8	ʀedhoboen
86: 16	ʀosinne	118: 4	ʀoo
97: 22	ʀikis	119: 11	ʀeid
100: 17	kiʀkiunna	120: 2	ʀoo
100: 23	ʀoo	123: 21	ʀiddara
101: 18	ʀætuisonna	124: 11	ʀika
115: 10	ʀoo	124: 17	ʀiddarskap

i) The Grapheme ⟨æ⟩

The grapheme ⟨æ⟩ is realised by Hands 1 and 4 as a unicameral "a" with a short diagonal stroke to the top right. In Hand 2 this stroke is sometimes so long it cuts through the baseline. Hand 3 only writes the letter once, as an open-bottomed unicameral "a" with a dot to the upper right. There is one occurrence of a bicameral capital "Æ" in the manuscript (*p*. 56: 18) and it is written by Hand 1.

j) The Grapheme ⟨ø⟩

One point of interest here is that Hand 4 uses a much more horizontal stroke through the "o" than the other hands.

k) Use of Diacritics

The letters "i" and "j" can be written with or without a dot or a short diagonal tittle, thus: ⟨ı⟩, ⟨ȷ⟩, ⟨i⟩, ⟨j⟩, ⟨í⟩ and ⟨ȷ́⟩.[32] All Hands generally dot these letters, but if there are a number of neighbouring minims, the short diagonal tittle is the favoured mode of disambiguating the letters. In the edition "i" and "j" are always dotted.

The distribution of "y" and "ẏ"[33] varies greatly across Hands 1 and 2 (Hands 3 and 4 do not use these letters in their short sections):[34]

32 Cf. Vágslid 1930, 50, 63, 76; Seip 1954b, 120.

33 The shape of "ẏ" is that of the "$\dot{y}_2$" variant described in Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 24 n. 7.

34 Hands 3 and 4 do not use "y" and "ẏ", but we find an "i" where we might expect either of these letters. Hand 3 uses the spelling "spiriaa" which is usually spelt "spẏria" by the other hands, and Hand 4 uses the spellings "þui" and "sindadæ" instead of "þẏ" and "sẏndadæ".

TABLE 1 *Occurrences of "y" and "ẏ" by hand*

	Hand 1		Hand 2		Total	
	No.	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**
"y"	148	13.55	115	98.29	263	21.75
"ẏ"	944	86.45	2	1.71	946	78.25
Total	1092	100	117	100	1209	100

Hand 1 makes much greater use of the dotted grapheme and employs the letters "y" and "ẏ" interchangeably and they can be found in the same words (e.g. "hymerikis" ~ "hẏmerikis"). The two forms do not represent distinct phonemes.[35] In comparison, Hand 2 uses "ẏ" very rarely.

5.5.2 *Abbreviations*

The most common symbols of abbreviation used in or for native words are:

z	1) in isolation	*ok*
	2) as a suffix or infix	*æt*, *ædh* E.g. þzta ("þ*æt*ta"), þz ("þ*æt*"), mz ("m*ædh*")
ˉ	1) over a vowel	*n*, *m* E.g. hønā ("høna*n*"), kẏrkiōna ("kẏrkio*n*na"); blodhoghū ("blodhoghu*m*"), sǣ ("sæ*m*")
	2) through a consonant	vowel (± *r*) E.g. ħra ("h*er*ra"), oɬɬm ("oll*u*m"), Þtta ("Þ*æ*tta")
ς	after a consonant	*er*, *ri*, *irir* E.g. gˢna ("g*er*na"), gˢninga ("g*er*ninga"), gˢpa ("g*ri*pa"), cˢstna ("c*ri*stna"), fˢ ("f*irir*")
`	over the letter "r"	svarabhakti vowel, *e* E.g. heidhr̀ ("heidh*i*r"), domar̀ ("domar*e*")

35 The dotting of a "y" can be used for this purpose in some Scandinavian manuscripts (for example: GkS 1551 4° and Holm. K 47). See Kristensen 1930, 181.

͡	over the letter "p"	*re*, *ræ* E.g. p͡stins ("p*re*stins"), p͡ssa ("p*ræ*ssa"), p͡senteradh ("p*re*senteradh")

A number of Latin abbreviations can also be found:

⁹	at the end of the word	*us* E.g. agn⁹ ("agn*us*")
ꝟ	at the end of the word	r*um* E.g. angeloꝟ ("angelor*um*")
ꝑ	at the beginning of the word	p*ro* E.g. ꝑpham ("p*ro*ph*et*am"), ꝑcessiones ("p*ro*cessiones")

Interlinear letters:

ꞷ	(rare)	*ra* E.g. aldꞷ ("ald*ra*")
e	(uncommon)	*r*e E.g. aldᵉ ("ald*re*"), cᵉatwr ("c*re*atwr")

Nomine sacra:

Words such as "Ihesus Christus", "Jherusalem", "Dominus", and "Deus" are abbreviated in a conventional manner ("$\overline{\text{ihς χρς}}$", "$\overline{\text{ihrlm}}$", "$\overline{\text{dns}}$", and "$\overline{\text{ds}}$").[36]

5.5.3 *Punctuation*

a) Forms of Punctuation

Punctuation is one of several graphic ways of assisting the reader of a text in understanding its meaning clearly.[37] The primary aim of punctuation is to

36 Cf. Cappelli 1990.

37 For the purposes of this study, punctuation is viewed as a signal or marker that *introduces* a unit of text—not as a symbol that *ends* a unit. This view is shared with Gerritsen (1990, 196) and Lindell (2000, 52) who are also of the opinion that when punctuating, a scribe was thinking about what was to come, not what had already been written.

divide the text into units of both a structural and a semantic nature. It does so through the use of written marks (here the *virgula suspensiva*, *diastole*, paraph, *paragraphus*, *punctus* and *punctus elevatus*) in combination with other features, such as word-division, capitalisation, highlighting (usually by *litterae notabiliores*), rubrication, and so on. Malcolm Parkes and Jonas Carlquist have shown how punctuation can be used as evidence for discerning the intended audience and use of the text—for private or public reading.[38] Put simply, syntactic punctuation—that is, punctuation that divides the text into syntactic units—suggests the text is more likely to be intended for private reading, whereas rhythmic punctuation—that is, punctuation that marks places for rhetorical devices such as pause and effect—points to a text intended for public reading. Although the evidence of punctuation alone in addressing the question of whether a text was intended for private or public reading is not decisive, it is persuasive.

There is, of course, an overlap between syntactic and rhythmic punctuation. The boundaries between syntactic units are often at the same place as the pauses required in reading the text aloud. In this investigation, the role of punctuation has been examined in relation to the macrosyntagm.[39] A sign that introduces an entire phrase is treated as syntactic punctuation, whereas a sign located within a phrase is described as rhythmic. For example:

Syntactic: þe þrodho a hans bak. ok stigha ifuir han *p*. 48: 21–22
The *punctus* separates two coordinate clauses

Rhythmic: [...] han skulde eig vara. wtskyldir af Androm *p*. 91: 25–26
The *punctus* divides a syntactic unit ("vara" + past particple)

Sometimes, however, it can be difficult to analyse punctuation within this framework. For example, Hand 2's frequent use of the *punctus* is hard to understand in terms of syntax and rhythm. It often appears to act as nothing more than a word divider:

[...] min *p*. 127: 22–24
hæidh*ir* þækkes. mik bæt*ir* j þæi*m*. stadh. so*m*.
mit. lof ær. widh*ir*. j adro*m*. stad.

38 Parkes 1992, 41–49, 76–80; Carlquist 1993; Carlquist 1996, 203–221.

39 See the section 5.5.3 (b) for a description of the macrosyntagm.

For the purposes of this study, such punctuation is categorised as rhythmic, but the occurrence of this type of heavy punctuation does raise the question of whether its use was always planned or whether it was arbitrary in places. It is impossible to know with any certainty why a scribe used punctuation in a particular way or even to describe his use of punctuation in terms that he would understand (scribes did not, of course, think in terms of macrosyntagms!). However, we can identify patterns of punctuation and varying tendencies between the hands. An analysis allows us to compare the scribe's sytem of punctuation with that of a particular school or scriptorium, and it can reveal the scribe's level of understanding of the text he was copying as well as his ability to shape it for the intended audience. The frequency of punctuation symbols in E 8902 is as follows:

Punctuation type	**Transcription**	**Number of occurrences**
diastole[40]	/	4
paragraphus	§	50
paraph	¶	64
punctus	.	3669
punctus elevatus[41]	:	2
virgula suspensiva	/	527

It is difficult to discern a hierarchy within the use of the various punctuation symbols in E 8903. When used, the paraph and *paragraphus* tend to break up larger segments of text (see below). However, it is the *punctus* that is clearly the preferred means of punctuating and covers the full range of uses and pauses. The *virgula suspensiva* is used to a lesser degree, and the paraph and the *paragraphus* are not used frequently at all. Other symbols found in E 8902

40 The *diastole* and the *virgula suspensiva* are written identically in E 8902, but their roles are different. See Parkes 1992, 46.

41 The *punctus elevatus* is used once to introduce direct speech (*p*. 85: 5; see below) and once to help encapsulate a word to mark it out from the rest of the text on the line it is written on (*p*. 46: 22–24):

> -lu þe þro g*er*ni*n*g*om*min men þe vilia eig nu troo
> Swa gøra nu mik c*ri*stne mæn ˌoordomi*n*:
> sæm foordhom giordho iudhane. þe kas-

are the various strokes employed to rule off or encapsulate catchwords at the bottom of pages (transcribed in this edition as ˻ and ˼); a double vertical stroke (transcribed as ‖, but probably just the faded remains of a paraph in the margin, *p*. 81: 25); and an arrangement of four dots used between two lines of the *Sanctus*: "S*anctus*. S*anctus*. S*anctus* ❖ d*omin*us d*eus* sabaoth", *p*. 76: 18–19.

b) Macrosyntagms

I have divided the text into major syntactic units (macrosyntagms), of which there are 1729.[42] The average number of words per macrosyntagm is 16.43 (—a word is defined as one or more letters with a blank space either side):

$$\frac{\text{total number of words}}{\text{total number of macrosyntagms}} = \frac{28411}{1729} = 16.43$$

The expected number would be between 12 and 17,[43] so the relatively high number of words per macrosyntagm in E 8902 shows a complex use of language typical of religious literature, a genre influenced by Latin style and syntax. However, the average number of words per macrosyntagm drops dramatically in some descriptive passages where the pace of the text is swifter, the images more vivid, or clarity of the essence. This often occurs in sections where lists of instructions appear. For example:

A series of twelve macrosyntagms from *p*. 96: 9–17		**No. of words**
i.	⟨G⟩ wdh taladhe	2
ii.	þrẏ þing biwdhir ek þik	5
iii.	/ þrẏ þing forbiwdh*ir* ek þik	5
iv.	. þrẏ þing lofuar ek þik	5

42 Macrosyntagms are the largest syntactic units in language. The majority of macrosyntagms are sentences (statements, interrogative sentences, and imperatives, including all, if any, subordinate clauses), but other types include sentence fragments (which are common in enumeration; for example, "først / onẏttelika ok mẏkla talan", *p*. 96: 15), syntagms of address (for example, "O min gwdh", *p*. 1: 8) and interjections (for example, "Ve Ve", *p*. 108: 15). The following works and definitions have proved useful in the identification of macrosyntagms: Loman and Jörgensen 1971; Wollin 1981; Wollin 1983; Conrad 1985, 241–242, *s.v*. "Syntagma"; Stanisław Karolak's definition *s.v*. "Grupa składniowa (syntagma, fraza)" in Polański 1995, 201–203. This method of approaching punctuation draws on the work of Jonas Carlquist (1992; 1993; 1996; 1997) and Inger Lindell (2000).

43 Wollin 1983, 22; Carlquist 1996, 134.

A series of twelve macrosyntagms from *p*. 96: 9–17		**No. of words**
v.	. þrý þing radhir ek þik	5
vi.	§ fýrst biwdh*i*r ek þik enkte geernas. ok astunda vtan gudh	10
vii.	/ Annat alla høgfærdh flý	4
viii.	/ þrýdhia køtsins lusta flý	4
ix.	/ ¶ þrý þing fýrbiudh*i*r ek þik	5
x.	først / onýttelika ok mýkla talan	5
xi.	. Annat ofmato i allu*m* þingo*m*.	5
xii.	þridhia vnýttelika ok ofmatelika. værldz glædhi	6
Average number of words per macrosyntagm for this section:		5.08

TABLE 2 *Occurrences of punctuation symbols that introduce macrosyntagms in E 8902*

		Hand 1	**Hand 2**	**Hand 3**	**Hand 4**	**Overall**
m[44]	No.	77	16	0	2	95
	%	4.93	12.4	0	66.67	5.6
M	No.	298	13	1	0	312
	%	19.07	10.08	50	0	18.39
. m	No.	335	56	0	0	391
	%	21.43	43.41	0	0	23.04
. M	No.	540	35	0	0	575
	%	34.55	27.13	0	0	33.88
/ m	No.	126	8	0	1	135
	%	8.06	6.2	0	33.33	7.96
/ M	No.	116	1	1	0	118
	%	7.42	0.78	50	0	6.95
¶ m	No.	10	0	0	0	10
	%	0.64	0	0	0	0.59

44 The letter "m" here stands for any miniscule letter (not just ⟨m⟩) and "M" stands for any majuscule (capital). Thus, a macrosyntagm that begins with "m" is, in fact, not marked out from the preceding macrosyntagm (unless, of course, it begins on a new line). As each of the 25 sections and their subsections begins with an initial (or a space for an initial), the first macrosyntagm in each section has not been included here.

TABLE 2 *Occurrences of punctuation symbols that introduce macrosyntagms in E 8902* (cont.)

		Hand 1	Hand 2	Hand 3	Hand 4	Overall
¶ M	No.	16	0	0	0	16
	%	1.02	0	0	0	0.94
§ m	No.	18	0	0	0	18
	%	1.15	0	0	0	1.06
§ M	No.	27	0	0	0	27
	%	1.73	0	0	0	1.59
Total	No.	1563	129	2	3	1697
	%	100	100	100	100	100

In just over 75 % of cases, a macrosyntagm begins with either (1) a capital letter, or (2) a *punctus*, or (3) a combination of these:

(1) See þ*æ*r næst vardh*i*r stadzins doomb*i*r sæm þæn mur sæm nidh*i*r slaas. ok blifu*i*r eig stæin ifu*i*r stein (*p*. 44: 6–8)
(2) . flÿ værldena ok henna giri. Ok stat ekke epte ma*n*na lof (*p*. 71: 25–26)
(3) . Tu vast i mino lifue þe bæzsta c*re*atura. af þins mandoms væghna (*p*. 72: 27–28)

In the first part of the manuscript where the capitals have been rubricated (*pp*. 1–21), the most usual practice by Hands 1 and 2 is to use both a *punctus* and a capital letter. However, in later sections by Hand 2, macrosyntagms are usually introduced by a *punctus* and a miniscule letter.

The short section by Hand 3 (*p*. 24: 1–3) uses capital letters to introduce macrosyntagms, once with a *virgula suspensiva* and once without any supporting punctuation:

i. / En mat þu spiriaa vm ek w*er*d*i*r luttakandæ allra godha þinga s*o*m gioras f*i*r*i*r mik
ii. Ek swarar þik vm lik[…]

Hand 4 (*p*. 68: 1–7) is rather idiosyncratic and makes little use of punctuation. Only the *virgula suspensiva* is used, once to introduce a macrosyntagm, and twice to mark an internal pause. Other than this, no punctuation symbols are used:

i. fỳrsta spiwtidh þær ek hafde þæt war þee sorgin þær ek hafdæ af þui ek saa at min son stod nakin swa so*m* han war føddi*r* / widær studæna ok flængdi*r*
ii. annor war þæt at ek hørdæ at mi*n* son heth liugare ok forradaræ þær ek wistæ aldræ vilia sægia vsaat / ok aldræ sindadæ
iii. / þridia war þee huassa krona […]

i) *The Punctus*

The *punctus* is normally sited at about the middle of ordinary letter-height. In addition to its inter-macrosyntagmatic role, it is also used intra-macrosyntagmatically and in strikingly different ways by Hands 1 and 2. Its use by Hand 1 is generally very careful and considered. It is used syntactically before coordinate and subordinate clauses or rhythmically before phrases requiring emphasis. For example:

Syntactic use:

p. 48: 20–23
. Alle þe sæm han see
. þe sputta han ok gabba
. þe þrodho a hans bak
. ok stigha ifu*ir* han
. Ok sla ha*n* m*ædh* sino handhu*m*
. Ok spiærna ha*n* m*ædh* sinom fotom

p. 48: 25–*p*. 49: 2
Ta iudas kom til mik
. Ok vildhe kỳssa mik
. Ek bøgdhe mik nidhi*r* til hans
/ fi*rir* þỳ iudas var stunter man
. Ok ek var langi*r*

Syntactic and rhythmic use:

p. 79: 12–13
Alle þe þæim taka i sin mun
. ok þugga
. ok haldha
. þe fa miskund (syntactic use of the *punctus*)[45]

45 It could be argued that the apparently emphatic use of the *punctus* before "ok þugga" and

Rarely is the reason for Hand 1's using the *punctus* not apparent, but there are instances where any explanation other than to create a "dramatic" (that is, unnatural or emphatic) pause seems unlikely. For example:

> *p*. 91: 24–26
> . Han hørdhe ok messo kærlika Ok las þ*æ*r til at ha*n* skulde eig vara
> . wtskyld*i*r af Androm

The *punctus* is used very differently by Hand 2. This scribe scatters *punctūs* much more liberally throughout his sentences. He often uses the stop to introduce a finite verb, a phrase (for example, adverbial, predicative, or object), participles, enumerated items, or for no apparent reason at all other than to separate words. He sometimes fails to mark the beginning of a new macrosyntagm with punctuation (or even a capital). For example:

	***p*. 35: 12–*p*. 36**	**Comments**
i.	. badæ augo*na*	New macrosyntagm
	. nidh*i*r fællo af sinom stadh*u*m	Finite verb (but the prepositional phrase is not marked)
	. nidh*i*r hæi*n*gændhæ	Participle
	. a kimoma	Prepositional phrase
ii.	. haræt syntiz swidit swa som brænt	New macrosyntagm (but individual elements are not marked)
	. af ældæ	Agent
iii.	. hiærnæn rifnadhæ	New macrosyntagm (but the finite verb is not marked)
	. wtfliutandæ wm nasanna	Participle (but the prepositional phrase is not marked)
	. ok øyro*na*	Prepositional phrase (here: enumeration)
iv.	. tunghan wtræktiz *ok* tænnannæ samantryktoz *ok* jnkrøktoz	New macrosyntagm (but the individual elements are not marked)

"ok halda" above is in fact syntactic use; "ok þugga" and "ok halda" are, after all, truncated clauses.

	p. 35: 12–*p.* 36	Comments
v.	Bæinæ*n* j armonu*m* brusto	New macrosyntagm introduced by capital letter only (but the finite verb is not marked)
	. *ok* saman wndos som ræip	Coordinate clause (but the individual elements are not marked)
vi.	hændanna	New macrosyntagm is not introduced by capital letter or punctuation
	. syntos slag*na*	Finite verb
	. ok aft*ir*	Coordinating conjunction (but the finite verb is not marked)
	. bundos wm baakæ*n*	? In the middle of the finite verb (but the prepositional phrase is not marked)
vii.	. briustæt *ok* kwidæn *ok* baakæ*n* saman*n*tryktoz swa	New macrosyntagm (but individual enumerated elements are not marked)
	. starklighæ a rifwæ*n* brusto *ok* hiartath	? Part of adverbial (and the new coordinate clause is not marked)
	. rifnadhæ ok oll jniflæn	Finite verb (but the new coordinate clause is not marked)
	. wt wæltoz	Finite verb
viii.	laræn	New macrosyntagm is not introduced by capital letter or punctuation
	. hæingdo till	Finite verb (but the prepositional phrase is not marked)
	. sidhonnæ *ok* bæinen sundærbruthin wtdroghos	? Part of prepositional phrase (and the new coordinate clause is not marked)
	. *ok* saman wndos m*ædh* thuem matto*m*	Coordinate clause (but individual elements are not marked)
	. swa som	Subordinate clause
	. mior þradh*ir*	Subject
	. plagar nystas j nystan	Finite verb (but the non-finite verb and the prepositional phrase are not marked)

The scribe's punctuation here has created a rhythmic effect. The division of the sentence into shorter units allows for greater emphasis on more words. In the example quoted above, we can see how the enumerated parts of the body and their gruesome tortures have been emphatically marked by *punctūs*. However, even here there are difficulties in Hand 2's punctuation. Why are macrosyntagms v, vi and viii not preceded by *punctūs* when so many other units of text are? And why are so many pauses unnatural (for example, after prepositions and in the middle of prefixed verbs). There appears to be no rhythmic or syntactic explanation in these cases.

A final point to note on the *punctus* is its use after the abbreviated form "f*irir*" where it can comprise part of the method of abbreviation. If "f*irir*" is followed by a *punctus* in the manuscript, as is the case over 40 % of the time, this *punctus* has been transcribed. The distinction between "f*irir*" with and without a *punctus* has been maintained as usage varies between the hands in E 8902.

TABLE 3 *The use of the* punctus *in combination with f* irir

	Form	**Hand 1**	**Hand 2**	**Hand 3**	**Hand 4**	**Total**
f*irir*.	No.	172	1	0	0	173
	%	43.11	25	0	0	42.82
f*irir*	No.	227	3	1	0	231
	%	56.89	75	100	0	57.18
Total	No.	399	4	1	0	404
	%	98.76	0.99	0.25	0	100

ii) *The Virgula Suspensiva*

The *virgula suspensiva* is used to introduce some 253 macrosyntagms (less than 15 % of the total number in the manuscript). It also appears internally within macrosyntagms 274 times, where it performs the same role as the *punctus* described above. Hand 1 employs the symbol syntactically to introduce a new clause or macrosyntagm. For example:

	***p.* 28: 20–*p.* 29: 14**	**Comments**
i.	Naar ek stoodh swa værkxfullir vplææt ek miin øghon	
	. ok sagh ek mina modhir næærstandande gratande	
	. huilka hierta fult var m*ædh* beezslikheit	
	/ huilko alla-limi storknadho	Subordinate clause
	. Ok bleeknadho	
	/ huilka ve mik pinadhe meir en min eghin værk*i*r	Subordinate clause
ii.	Ek sa æmuæll mina vini vara i mesthom ængxla	
	/ af huilkom somlikæ iæfhadho	Subordinate clause
	. ok somlike gømdo trona	
	. æn þo at þe mẏkit drøfdis	
iii.	. Ok naar ek stoodh i þoliko ve ok værk	
	/ sprak hiertadh vm sidhe f*irir* pino*n*na ængxliko mẏklikheit	Main clause and finite verb
	. / ok siælin gik wt	New coordinate clause
iv.	. þ*æ*r eptir vplypte howdhit sik litidh	
v.	. Alle limine skuluo	
vi.	/ øghonin vplyptis swasæm til halfs	New macrosyntagm
vii.	/ føtirne vppehioldo allan kropsins tunga	New macrosyntagm
	/ . Ok ek hengde swa sæm sundh*i*r slitit klædhe	New coordinate clause

iii) *The Paraph and the* Paragraphus

Both the paraph and the *paragraphus* become more common towards the end of the manuscript (the *paragraphus* does not appear in the main body of the text until *p.* 53). The form of the paraph is conventional (that is, a capital "C" with two vertical lines; transcribed as "¶"). The *paragraphus* is written as an upper case gamma with an oblique stroke (transcribed as "§"). The space between the three strokes is filled with ink to create a triangular shape. The main role of the paraph and the *paragraphus* is to introduce what we would today analyse as a new macrosyntagm, although there are a few inexplicable appearances of the paraph mid-clause. An interesting point about these two symbols is that they are used alternately by Hand 1 on *pp.* 70–71 as part of the

design of the text layout. This artistic device serves no purpose for the reader beyond marking new macrosyntagms. The precise sequence of paraphs and *paragraphi* from the top of *p.* 70 to the bottom of *p.* 79 is:

p. 70	§ § § ¶ § ¶	*p.* 75	¶ § ¶ §
p. 71	¶ § ¶ § ¶ §	*p.* 76	¶ § ¶
p. 72	§	*p.* 77	§ ¶ §
p. 73	¶ § ¶ §	*p.* 78	¶ § ¶ §
p. 74	¶ § ¶	*p.* 79	¶ §

c) Direct Speech

Direct speech is a common feature of the revelations in E 8902 wherever Birgitta converses various spiritual beings and religious figures. Speech is introduced with phrases such as "Christi brwdh sagde [Christ's bride said]", "Christus swaradhe [Christ answered]", "Ther æfte taladhe gudhz modhir til mik sighiande [Then God's mother spoke to me saying]", "Salæn øpte [the soul cried out]", and so on. When preceded by non-speech narrative, direct speech is usually (in nearly 80% of cases) introduced by a *punctus*, a capital letter, or a combination of the two. There is no difference in usage between the hands here.

TABLE 4 *Punctuation symbols that introduce direct speech in E 8902*

m	No.	15	¶ m	No.	0
	%	8.43		%	0
M	No.	40	¶ M	No.	3
	%	22.47		%	1.69
. m	No.	48	§ m	No.	1
	%	26.97		%	0.56
. M	No.	52	§ M	No.	0
	%	29.21		%	0
/ m	No.	11			
	%	6.18	Total	No.	178
/ M	No.	8		%	100
	%	4.49			

On *p*. 85: 5 direct speech is introduced especially by a *punctus elevatus*:

> [...] Swarar þa han
> swa: þ*æt* ær ekke ræfstaþings time. þa ha*n* kom-
> -bir. þa skulu þe dømas i alla ma*n*na asẏ̇ẏ̇n. [...]

However, within sections of speech by one speaker a new macrosyntagm is not usually signalled with punctuation but rather just with a capital letter. In fact, punctuation is less common in sections of direct speech than in sections of non-speech. For example (*p*. 63: 10–24):

i.	/ Ta swaradhe þe	
ii.	Tu æst þæn os leidhe af træældomeno*m*	Direct speech begins. No punctuation but capital letter.
iii.	Tu gaft laghin	Direct speech continues. No punctuation but capital letter.
iv.	/ Tu vækte van andha op at tala þin ordh	Direct speech continues. *Virgula suspensiva* and capital letter.
v.	Tu gaft drik af hællene	Direct speech continues. No punctuation but capital letter.
vi.	Tu matadhe os af þinne dẏ̇gd	Direct speech continues. No punctuation but capital letter.
vii.	// þær næst taladhe gudh til maria*m*	Direct speech ends. Two *virgulae suspensivae* introduce narrative.
viii.	Min modh*ir* ængla drøtning	Direct speech begins. No punctuation but capital letter.
ix.	Sigh þ*æt* tu veest af mik	Direct speech continues. No punctuation but capital letter.
x.	Ta swaradhe hoo*n*	Direct speech ends. No punctuation but capital letter to introduce narrative.

xi.	/ før æn ængelin ko*m* til min m*ædh* þino ordhe / þa var ek ensamin m*ædh* mino*m* likama ok siæll	Direct speech begins. *Virgula suspensiva* introduces speech.
xii.	/ þa var ek ensamin m*ædh* mino*m* likama ok siæll	Direct speech continues. *Virgula suspensiva* continues the speech.
xiii.	/ Sidhan ordhit var sakt Ok ek hafde þÿ iakat	Direct speech continues. *Virgula suspensiva* and a capital letter continue the speech.
xiv.	/ Ta var þin likame i mik m*ædh* guddome ok ma*n*dome	Direct speech continues. *Virgula suspensiva* and a capital letter continue the speech.
xv.	/ Ok kændhe ek þin likama i mino*m* likama	Direct speech continues. *Virgula suspensiva* and a capital letter continue the speech.
xvi.	Ek fik þik vtan sorgh	Direct speech continues. No punctuation but capital letter.
xvii.	Ek afladhe þik vtan synd	Direct speech continues. No punctuation but capital letter.
xviii.	Ek fødhe þik m*ædh* altz mins likama glædhi	Direct speech continues. No punctuation but capital letter.
xix.	. Ek swepte þik i fatighom klædho*m*	Direct speech continues. *Punctus* and a capital letter continue the speech.
xx.	/ Ek var m*ædh* þik af þino*m* fødzlo tima. Ok til þin dødh	Direct speech continues. *Virgula suspensiva* and a capital letter continue the speech and a *punctus* and a capital letters signal a pause before a prepositional phrase.

There are twelve new utterances within sections of direct speech here, of which seven are marked by a capital letter, four by a *virgula suspensiva* in combination with a capital letter, and one by a *punctus* and a capital.

d) Concluding Remarks

The scribes demonstrate very different practices when punctuating the text.[46] Hand 1 is the most methodical and employs *punctūs* to mark both syntactic and semantic units. His punctuation is the most helpful to the reader. Hand 2's punctuation is more haphazard. Syntactic units often remain unmarked, groups of words which belong together syntactically (for example, preposition + noun phrase) may be separated by a *punctus*, and even words may be split internally by a *punctus* (for example, prefix + verb). In places, *punctūs* are so frequent, it is as if they are there to mark word division and nothing more. Punctuation by Hands 3 and 4 is difficult to analyse because of the lack of evidence. Both hands make use of the *virgula suspensiva* rather than the *punctus*. Hand 3 uses capital letters to mark syntactic units (once in combination with the *virgula suspensiva*), whereas Hand 4 makes no use of capitals. The *virgula suspensiva* is also used sparingly by Hand 4—twice to mark a pause in enumeration (once between two past participles and once before an *ok*) and once before a new macrosyntagm.

5.5.4 *Hyphenation and Word Division*

The division of words over two lines in E 8902 has been investigated with a view to seeing whether any particular patterns reveal themselves, and whether there are differences of practice between the four hands. Hyphenation and word division are much used in E 8902, as the scribes have tried to fill as much of each line as possible even when that means breaking a word onto the following line. However, there are few long words in E 8902 and the majority have no more than four letters (60.84% of all words are of four letters or fewer in length). When words are divided, they are, therefore, generally quite short, often comprising just two syllables.

46 The manuscript as a whole stands in sharp contrast to the later Birgittine manuscripts that follow the Vadstena system of punctuation as described in Carlquist 1996.

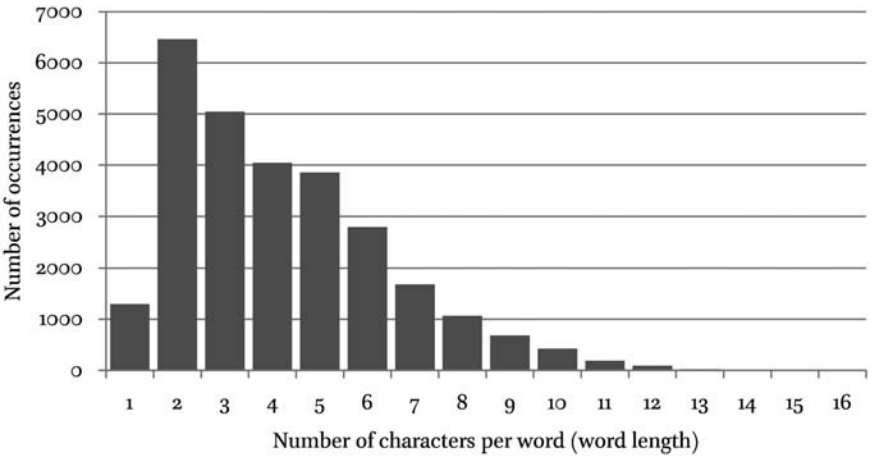

FIGURE 11 *Word-length distribution*

Words have been divided with the assistance of a hyphen either at the end of the first line (X-|Y), at the beginning of the second line (X|-Y), in both places (X-|-Y), or in neither (X|Y).[47] Hand 2 also employs the *punctus* in word division. When dividing a word over two lines, there are four possible outcomes:[48]

A) Division that is clear to the reader

1. The part of the word that begins the new line starts with a single consonant.

2. The new line starts with a constituent element[49] of the compound that begins with either a vowel or two or more consonants.

B) Division that is less clear to the reader

3. The new line starts with two or more consonants that do not begin a constituent element in a compound word.

47 The symbol "|" has been used to indicate a line break; "X" refers to the first part of the word on the first line, and "Y" to the second part of the word on the following line.

48 This analysis is based on the methods introduced in Lindell 2001, 41.

49 By "constituent element", I mean an entire word that has been compounded with another word to create a new word. For example, in "budordh", both "bud" and "ordh" are constituent elements.

4. The new line starts with a vowel that does not begin a constituent element in a compound word.

For example:

Type 1	vi-|-lia	glad-|-dos	vp-|-uækkia
Type 2	af-|-skorna	bud-|-ordh	in-|-blæsthe
Type 3	konu-|-ngs	twa-|-nde	jdha-|-rt
Type 4	hofm-|-en	renle-|-iker	onẏtl-|-ikin

A problematic area is the use of "d" and "g" with "h" as digraphs standing for a single sound:[50]

X-|-dh/gh (Type 1 or 3?)

hei-|-dher	vœrl-|-dhinna	astunda-|-dhe
swœl-|-ghir	fol-|-ghia	hel-|-ghre

d/g-|-h (Type 1 or 4?)

mæd-|-han	burd-|-he	død-|-hir
sig-|-hiande	sørg-|-hia	

If the entire digraph is moved to the second line (X-|-dh/gh), I have considered this to be Type 1. Also if the digraph is split over two lines (d/g-|-h), I have counted this as taking a consonant down to the next line (that is, as a Type 1 division).

The letter "u" has likewise been categorised as a consonant when it begins the Y-element of a division. This is because in all occurrences in this position, it forms part of a digraph with "f" (denoting [v]). For example:

f-|-u (Type 1)

haf-|-uir	i*n*elf-|-ue	diæf-|-uulin

As the scribe does sometimes use the combination "xs" (for /ks/; for example, "huxsar", *p*. 99: 3; cf. OSw. *hughsar*), the letter "x" (/ks/) has been analysed as if it were a single consonant. The division "hux-|-ande" (cf. OSw. *hughsande*), for example, is classified as a Type 4.

50 The digraph "th" has not posed a problem as there are no instances of "t-|-h", "t-|h", "t|h", or "t|-h" in E 8902.

The words "swa sæm" are sometimes written separately and sometimes together in E 8902. This has created a difficulty in analysing the division of these words over two lines—should "swa|sæm" be read as a Type 1 division or simply as two different words on different lines? This has been approached by ignoring instances of "swa|sæm" (that is, they are regarded as two separate words), but including instances of "swa-|sæm", "swa|-sæm", and "swa-|-sæm" as examples of Type 1 division in the analysis.

TABLE 5 *Occurrences of word-division types (Hand 1)*

Hand 1		**X-|-Y**	**X-|Y**	**X|-Y**	**X|Y**	**Total**
Type 1	No.	421	91	35	12	559
	%	67.25	14.54	5.59	1.92	89.30
Type 2	No.	8	4	2	0	14
	%	1.28	0.64	0.32	0	2.24
Type 3	No.	31	3	0	1	35
	%	4.95	0.48	0	0.16	5.59
Type 4	No.	15	1	2	0	18
	%	2.4	0.16	0.32	0	2.88
Total	No.	475	99	39	13	626
	%	75.88	15.81	6.23	2.08	100

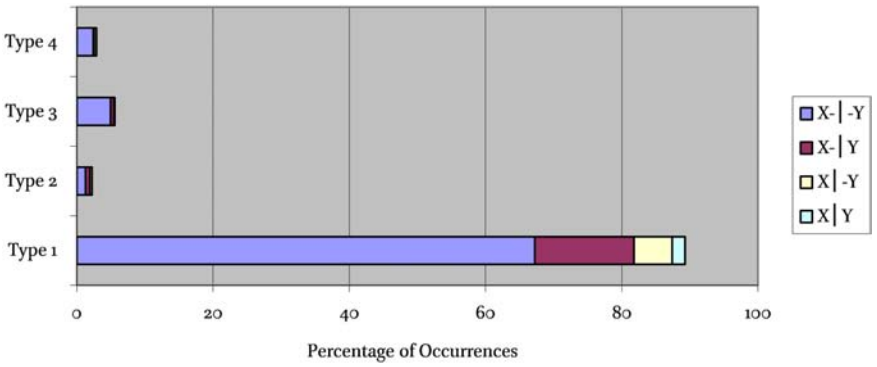

FIGURE 12 *Percentage of occurrences of word-division types (Hand 1)*

Hand 1 demonstrates a good understanding of the principles of word division. Words are divided in a way that will be clear to the reader and in over 98% of cases such divisions are marked with one or more hyphens. However, there are

9 cases (not represented in the table above) of incorrect hyphenation, where a word that is not part of a compound has been preceded by a hyphen. These mistakes are concentrated towards the end of the manuscript:

-eidhe	*p*. 101: 13.	-hand	*p*. 102: 10
-fast	*p*. 83: 10	-lusta	*p*. 76: 15
-fra	*p*. 80: 12	-mik	*p*. 108: 10
-fylghia	*p*. 102: 22	-rike	*p*. 76: 6
-hafuir	*p*. 102: 18		

In Hand 1 (*p*. 28: 23), we also find two words ("alla-limi") linked by a hyphen incorrectly in the middle of a line.

TABLE 6 *Occurrences of word-division types* (*Hand 2*)

Hand 2		**X-|Y**	**X.|Y**	**X.-|Y**	**X|Y**	**Total**
Type 1	No.	24	6	2	6	38
	%	45.28	11.32	3.77	11.32	71.7
Type 2	No.	1	0	0	0	1
	%	1.89	0	0	0	1.89
Type 3	No.	7	0	0	0	7
	%	13.21	0	0	0	13.21
Type 4	No.	4	1	0	2	7
	%	7.55	1.89	0	3.77	13.21
Total	No.	36	7	2	8	53
	%	67.93	13.21	3.77	15.09	100

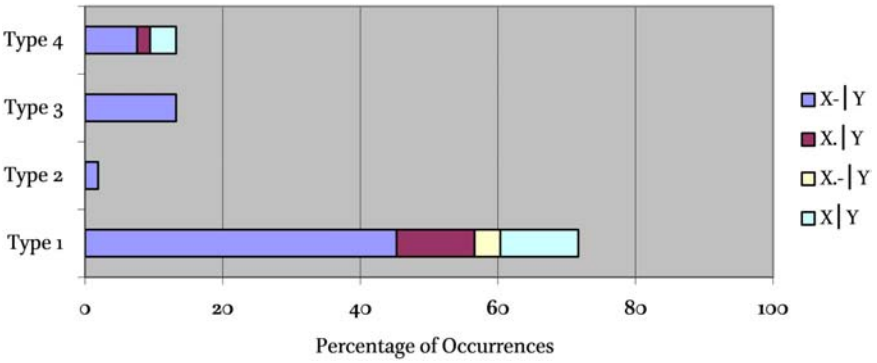

FIGURE 13 *Percentage of occurrences of word-division types* (*Hand* 2)

Hand 2 only succeeds in dividing words clearly in about 74% of cases. Breaks within a syllable (when the vowel drops to the second line, Type 4) constitute over 15% of his breaks. He does use a hyphen in 71.7% of cases, but otherwise leaves the word division unmarked or (confusingly) uses a *punctus* to bridge the division. Unlike in Hand 1, hyphens are never written on the second line (that is breaks are never written as X-|-Y or X|-Y). Hand 2's hyphenation—rather like his punctuation—demonstrates an awkwardness and inability to construct a text visually that the reader can interpret and navigate with ease.

There are no word divisions in Hand 3, and only one word division in Hand 4 where a "X|Y" Type 3 division is used ("hua|ssa", *p*. 68: 6–7).

5.5.5 *Spacing*

There is a difference between the hands concerning how many words they fit onto each page.

TABLE 7 *Average number of words and lines per page*

	Average number of words per line	Average number of lines per page	Average number of words per page
Hand 1	8.96	26.58	238.16
Hand 2	7.39	20.12	148.69
Hand 3	8.33	23.89[51]	199
Hand 4	9	24.26[52]	218.34

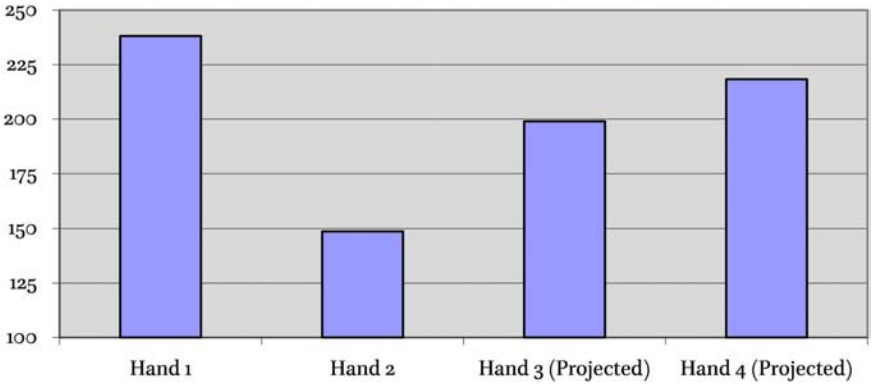

FIGURE 14 *Average number of words per page*

5.5.6 *Rubrics and Guide Letters*

The rubrics appear to be in a different hand to the main hand, and the rubricator has also corrected the manuscript in places. At the beginning of each of the twenty-five sections there either is, or should be, an initial. The first initial in the book—the Greek letter chi (*p.* 1: 3–6)—is rubricated in red and green, and includes decorative lines and symbols. The following thirteen initials are rubricated in green only:

51 This is a projected estimate on the basis of the available material. The three lines of text fill just 12.56% of the writing surface on the page.

52 Projected estimate: The seven lines of text cover 28.86% of the writing surface of the page.

Section	Initial	Page: line	Notes
2	G	25: 15–16	Erased guide letter.
3	E	27: 11–12	Guide "E" in right-hand margin.
4	G	29: 15–16	Guide "g" in left-hand margin.
5A	X	31: 9–10[53]	Guide "χ" in left-hand margin.
6	E	37: 9–10	Guide "e" in left-hand margin.
7A	S	46: 23–24	Erased guide letter.
8	S	56: 3–4	Erased guide letter.
[8 cont.]	S	56: 27–28	This unrubricated capital does not mark a new section but continues Book 1: 50. There is an unidentifiable symbol (possibly a paraph) in the left-hand margin.
9	M	60: 15–16	Erased guide letter.
10A	M	61: 27	Chapter marker "¶" underneath the space for the capital letter.
11	M	67: 18–19	Chapter marker "¶" in right-hand margin.
12	G	69: 20	Erased guide letter.
13	M	72: 24–25	Chapter marker "¶" in left-hand margin.

The coloured ink is somewhat faded. Only one of the intended initials that were to introduce the final twelve sections has been entered:

53 The *nomen sacrum* form Xp̄ī is transcribed as "*Christ*i".

Section	Initial	Page: line	Notes
21	E	97: 14	The letter is written as in the main hand, is normal size, and is not rubricated. However, it is preceded by a paraph in black ink.

At the other points where an intial was planned we find a space—equivalent to two lines—left for the rubricator to fill in. A guide letter has sometimes been written by the main hand in the margin to serve as an indicator to the rubricator:

Section	Rubric	Page: line	Notes
14A	M	76: 16–17	Chapter marker "¶" in left-hand margin.
15	O	79: 25–26	Guide "o" in left-hand margin.
16	H	83: 21–22	No visible guide letter.
17	E	84: 24–25	Guide "e" in left-hand margin.
18	E	88: 4–5	Chapter marker "¶" in left-hand margin.
19	E	95: 6–7	Chapter marker "¶" in left-hand margin.
20A	G	96: 9–10	Chapter marker "¶" in left-hand margin.
22	E	103: 14–15	Guide "e" in left-hand margin, and Chapter marker "¶" in right-hand margin.
23	A	109: 6–7	Guide "a" in left-hand margin, and guide "E" in right-hand margin.
24	T	113: 16–17	Chapter marker "¶" in right-hand margin. There is possibly a symbol in the left-hand margin, but the manuscript has been very tightly bound here and it is difficult to read.

(cont.)

Section	Rubric	Page: line	Notes
25A	E	116: 1–2	Chapter marker "¶" and "e" in left-hand margin.

The guide letters are later than the rest of the script. The marginal paraphs are contemporaneous with the main body of text. Capital letters and *litterae notabiliores* within the body of the text have usually been rubricated in red ink up to *p*. 21. All rubrication is marked in bold ink in this edition.

5.5.7 *Marginal Notes*

Apart from a few later notes in the margins by nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars (references to revelations and pencilled words), the text is free of scribblings and there are no signs of its readers.

5.6 Binding

The manuscript is today bound in a reddish-brown leather cover stretched over wooden boards. The cover is not decorated and is rather worn, particularly on the spine. A few small holes on the spine and in the wooden boards suggest the one-time presence of woodworm. The remains of a small metal clasp (brass) are to be found on the front and back cover. Two pentahedra, four parallel lines and a triangle have been scratched onto the upper half of the back cover. Two pages of a cadastre from the diocese of Oslo have been cut up and used as flyleaves. Although once glued to the board cover, the front flyleaf has now come away. On this flyleaf in dark black ink is written: "Fragmentum | Revelationis S. Bir=|gittæ'."

The ex libris "Joh. Messenij" appears just under it in faded ink. The back flyleaf has had its top right-hand corner (100 mm by 89 mm) cut away and is also coming loose from the board. The string and stitches that bind the quires together are exposed down the inside of the spine. A worn reference label of white paper has been glued to the top of the spine and reads "5. ⟨S⟩kokloste⟨*r*⟩".

The binding is not original. The final folio has been water damaged,[54] but no such damage can be found on the cover. Wessén also uses the excised first

54 See section 5.7.

page as evidence for rebinding.[55] However, excised pages are no uncommon occurrence throughout the manuscript, and there is no reason to attach particular evidential importance to the missing first page—particularly as there is nothing to suggest that there was any of Birgitta's material written on it. The manuscript's final page has, however, not been excised. Although not evidence of where the manuscript was composed, the cadastre leaves could suggest that it was rebound somewhere near Oslo. If the volume ever belonged to the Munkeliv monastery, the rebinding might have taken place while the Birgittines were temporarily rehoused at Hovedøya (1455–1479). Alternatively, the flyleaves could come from Aslak Bolt.[56]

5.7 Damage

The outer edges of the folia are slightly worn, but they are generally in very good condition. The last folio of the manuscript has suffered slightly from shrinkage following water damage, but the text remains easily legible. Original holes in the parchment, created during its preparation, can be found here and there:

Page: line		Measurements
recto	*verso*	
11: 6–7	12: 6–8	31 mm by 12 mm
19: 11	20: 11	15 mm by 4.5 mm
21: b.rt.	22: b.lt.	5.5 mm by 3 mm
43: 3–4	44: 3–4	16 mm by 6 mm
53: 16	54: 16	1 mm by 3 mm
57: 5	58: 5	2 mm by 3 mm
57: b.	58: b.	several small holes
83: 6–7	84: 5–6	12 mm by 4 mm
83: 20	84: 19	2.5 mm by 1.5 mm

There are several tears, rents, and pieces of parchment that have been cut away. None of these affects the written material and all such damage is described in the edition's apparatus.

55 Wessén 1968–1976, II, 85.

56 See section 3.4 (p. 39).

5.8 Scribal Error

The text in E 8902 appears to be corrupt in just two places (*p*. 3: 8–9 and *p*. 96: 17–21; discussed in the commentary). However, there are a larger number of small mistakes, such as confused letter forms (for example, "f" for "þ"), verbs in the wrong number (for example, plural "stodho" for singular "stodh"), omitted words (typically "eig"), dittography (for example, "Naar Naar"), and spelling mistakes (for example, "minne" for "mindre"). There are also a number of instances where words do not (quite) make sense (for example, "þý skulu þina hend*ir*. huilka sæm teeknas i handomen. wthrækkias til fatogha men": "hendir" for "gerninga").

Most of the errors were corrected by the scribes during the writing of the manuscript. There are a few occasions where the correction is in the red ink of the rubricator. The error is usually suppressed by expunction, crossing out, or erasure, and the correct word or letter is written alongside or above the error. All errors and their suppression (if any) are described in the critical apparatus and, if necessary, discussed in the commentary.

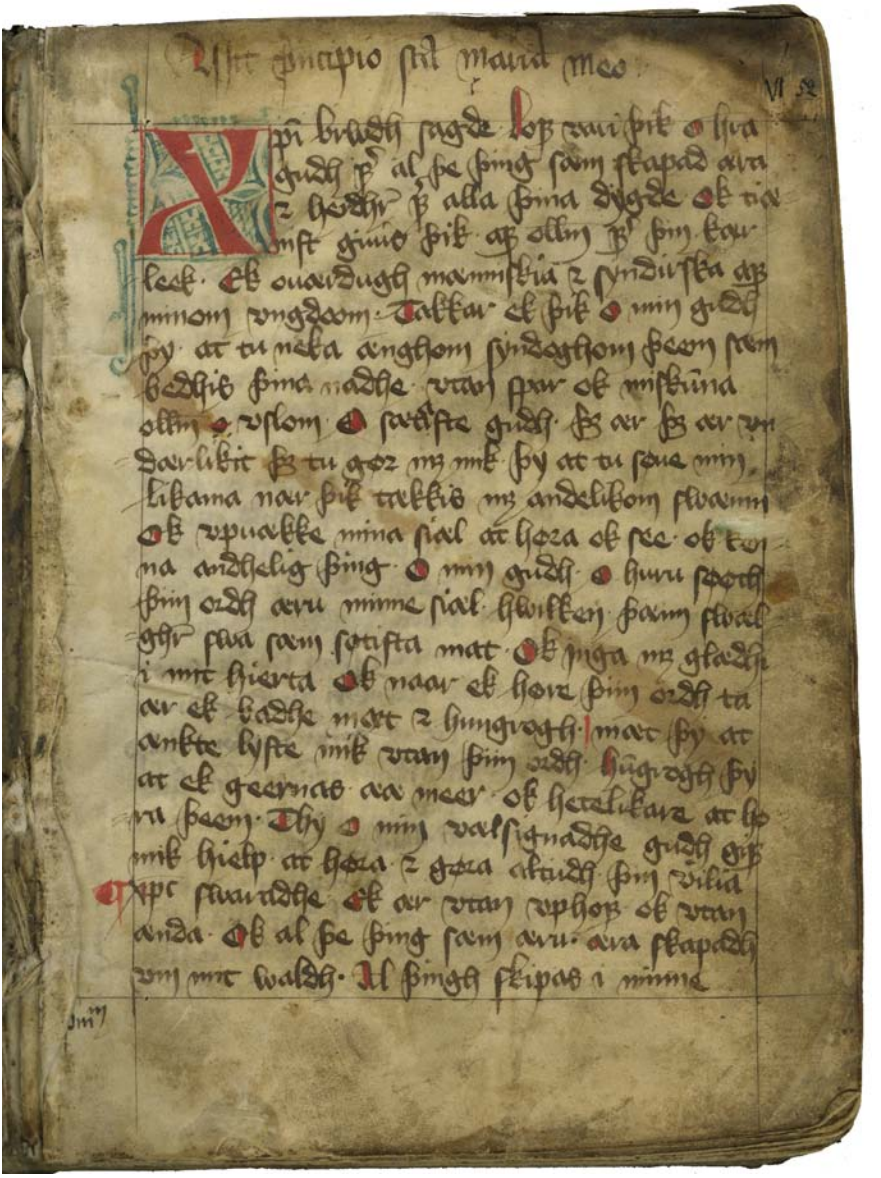

FIGURE 15 *E 8902*, p. *1*. *Courtesy of the Swedish National Archives*

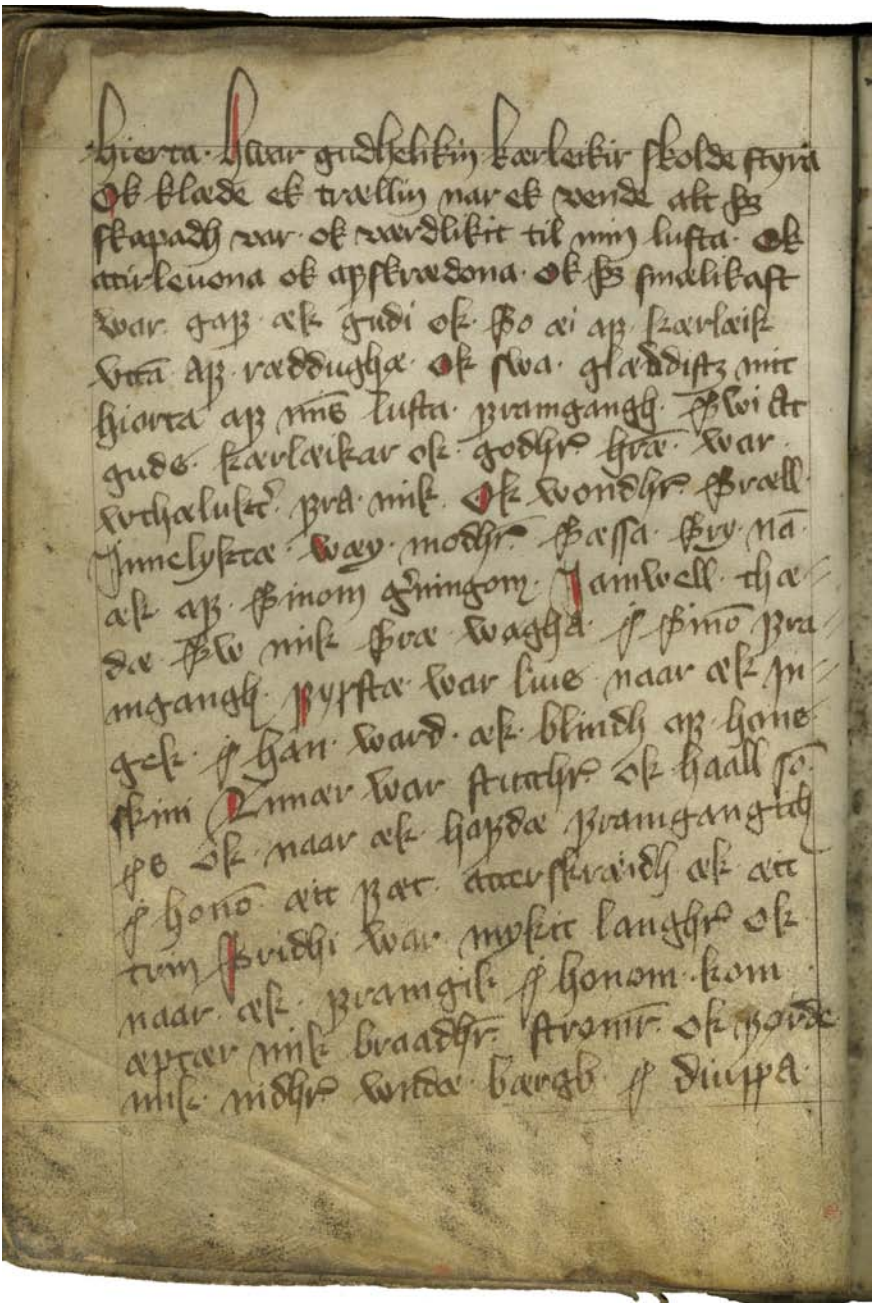

FIGURE 16 *E 8902*, p. *18. Courtesy of the Swedish National Archives*

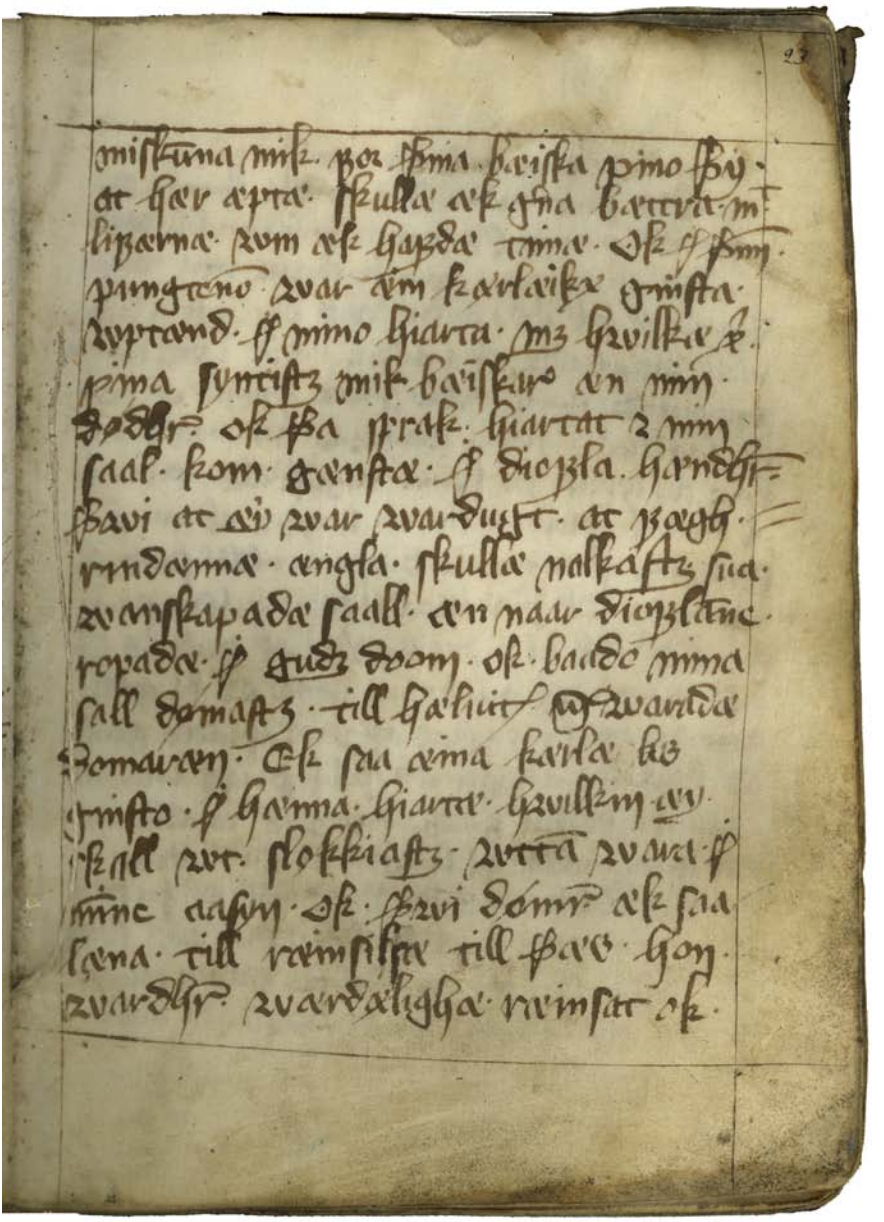

FIGURE 17 *E 8902*, p. 23. *Courtesy of the Swedish National Archives*

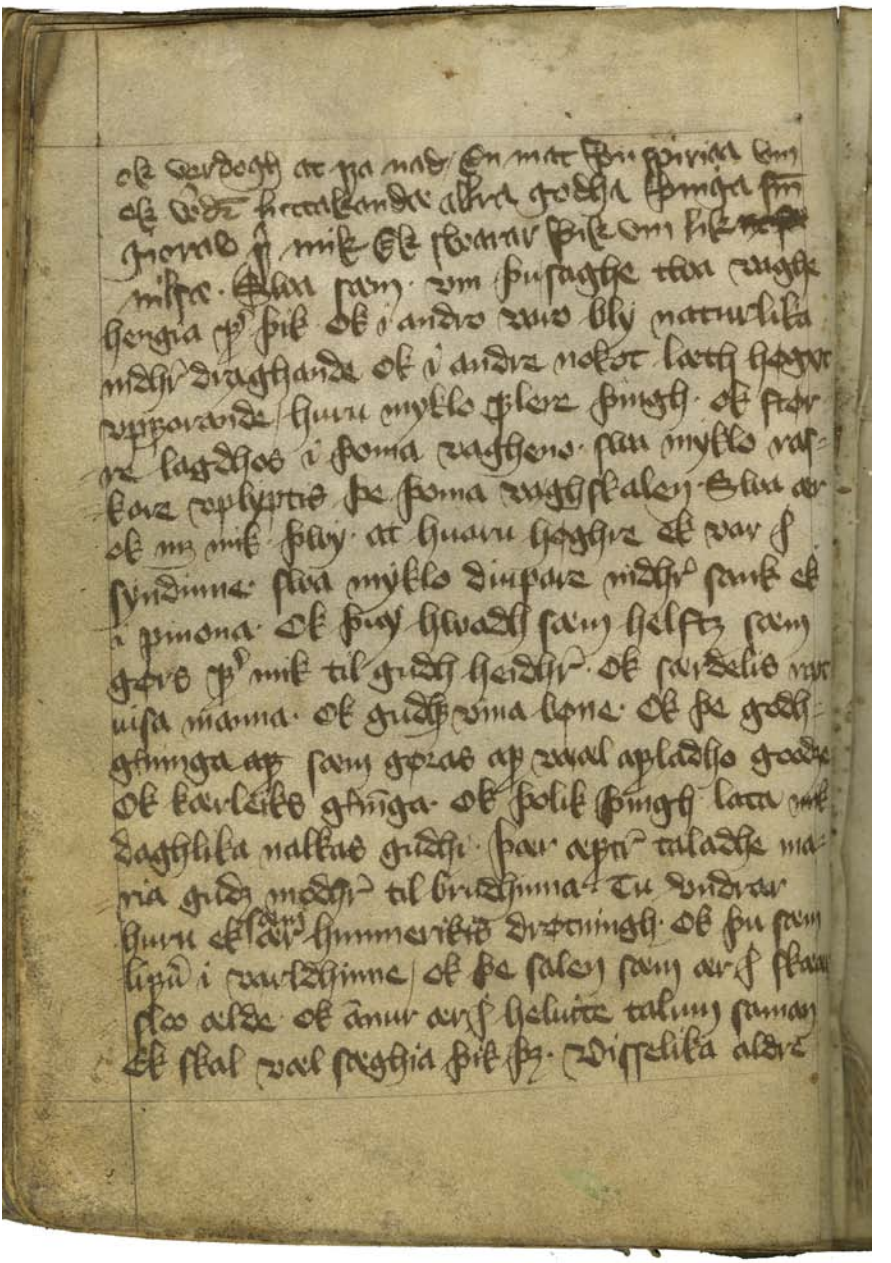

FIGURE 18 *E 8902*, p. 24. *Courtesy of the Swedish National Archives*

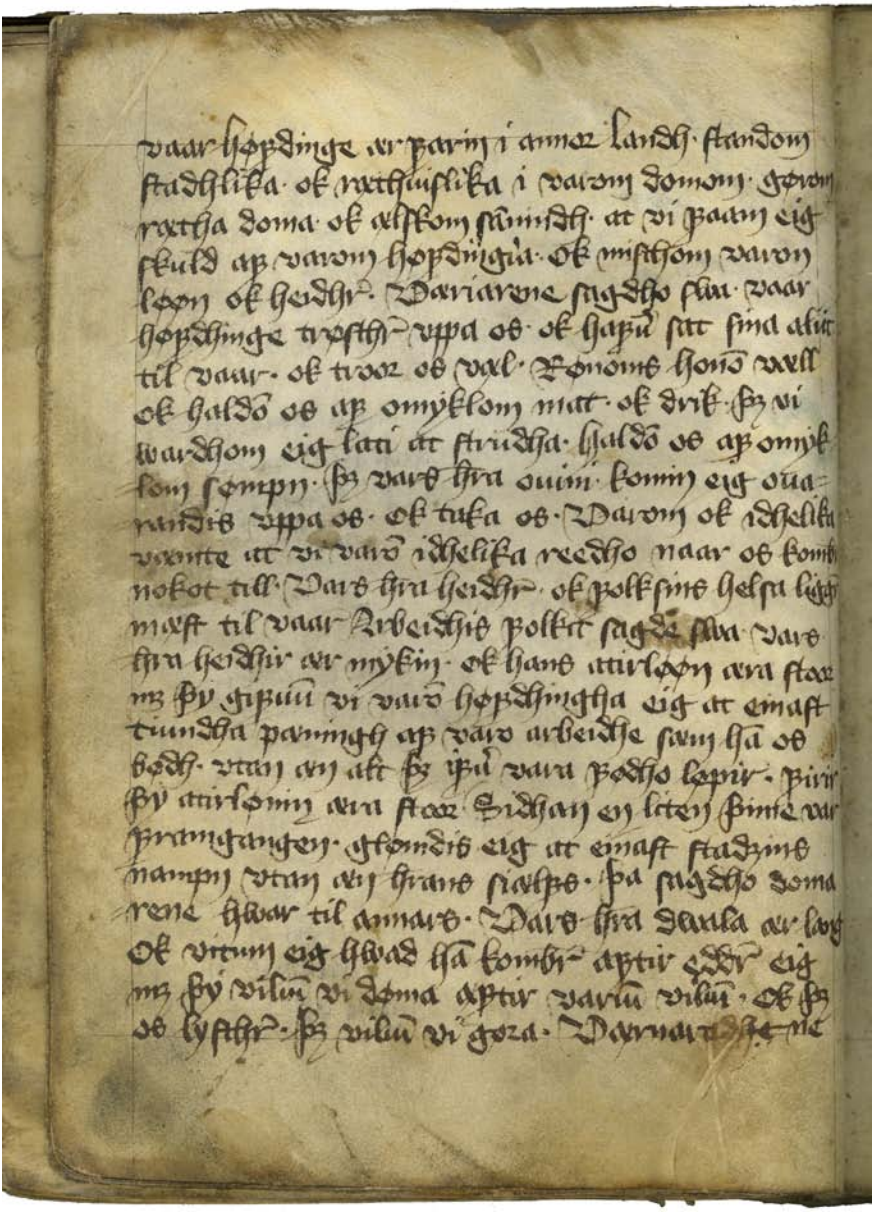

FIGURE 19 *E 8902, p. 38. Courtesy of the Swedish National Archives*

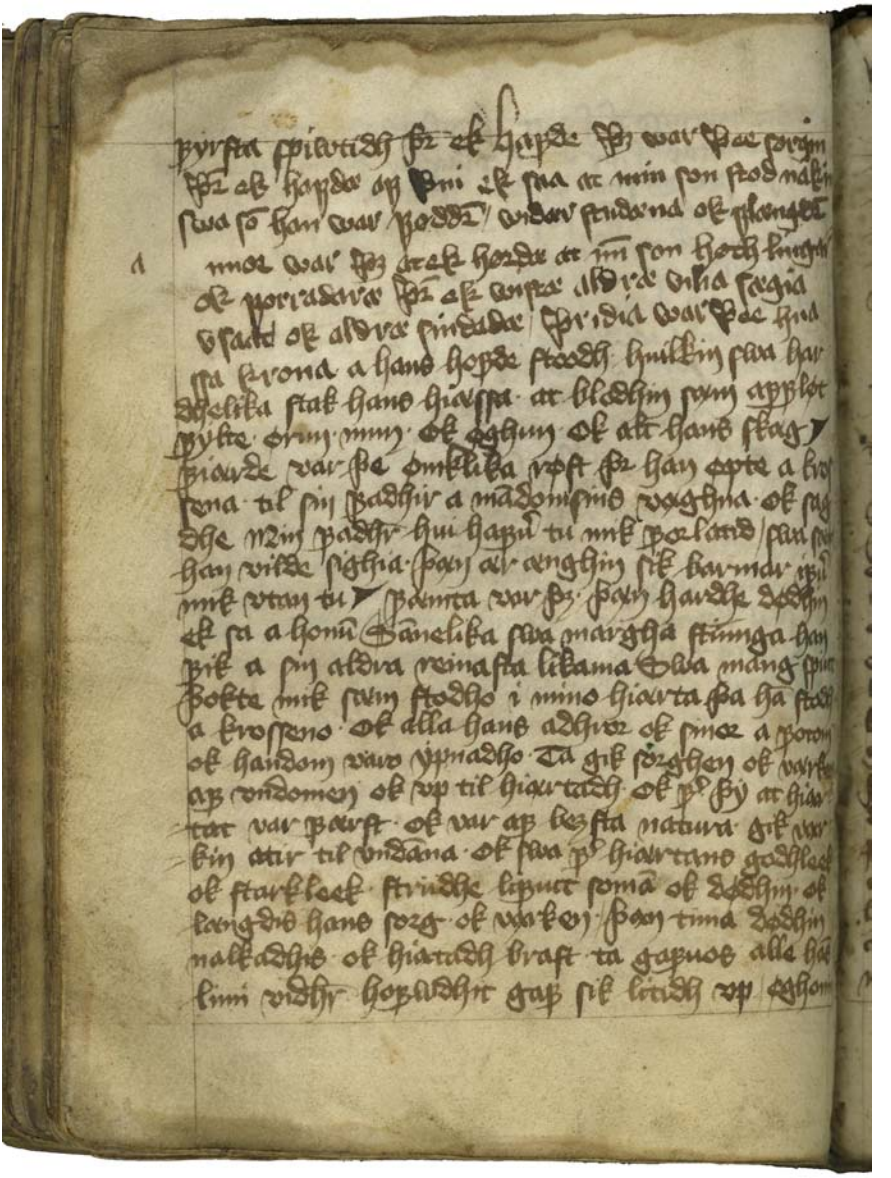

FIGURE 20 *E 8902*, p. *68. Courtesy of the Swedish National Archives*

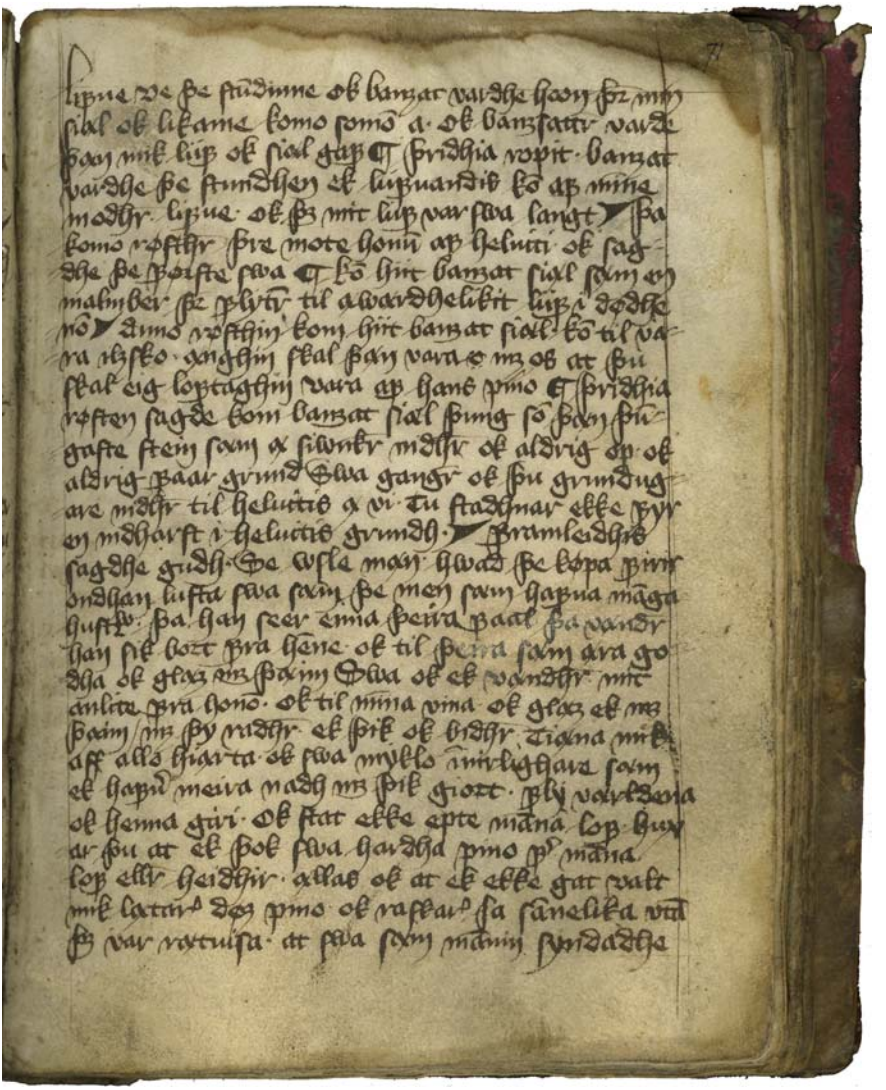

FIGURE 21 *E 8902*, p. *71. Courtesy of the Swedish National Archives*

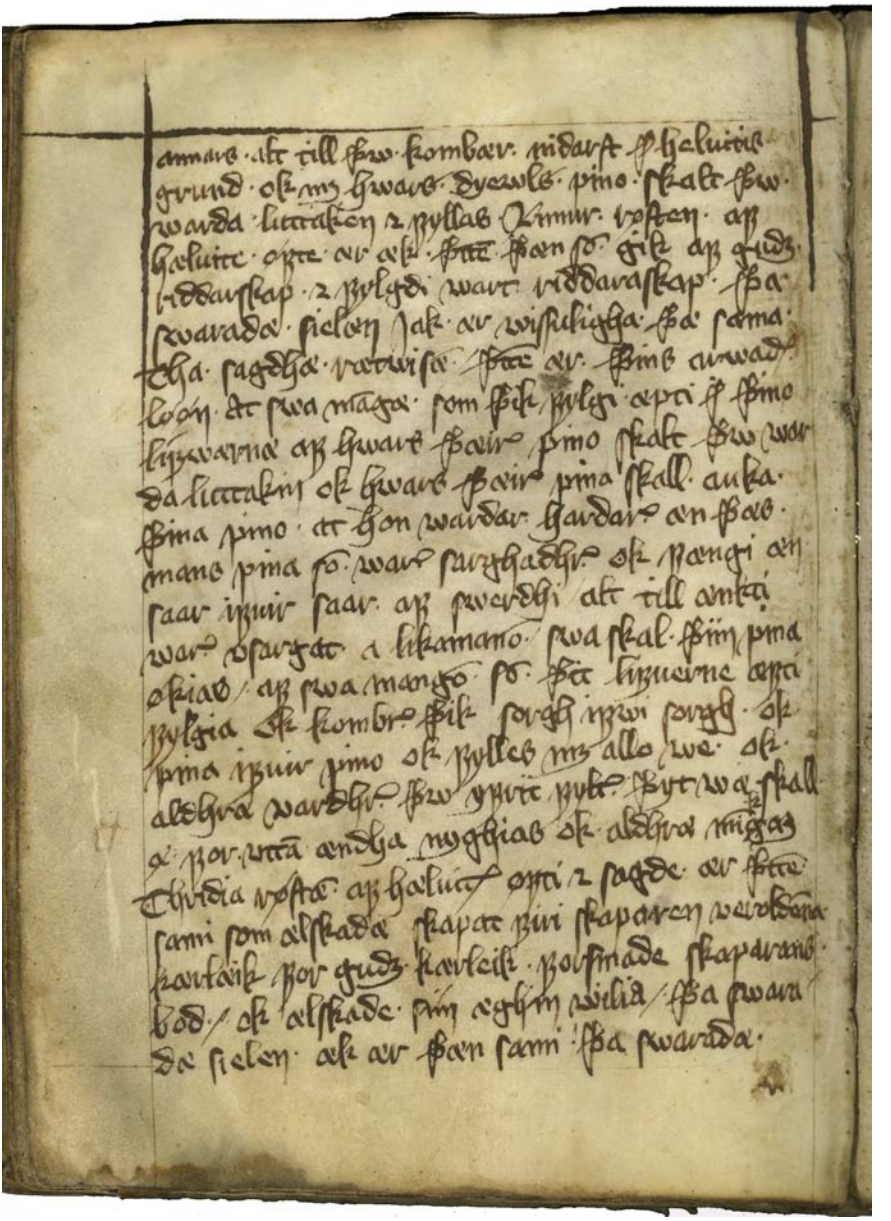

FIGURE 22 *E 8902*, p. *112. Courtesy of the Swedish National Archives*

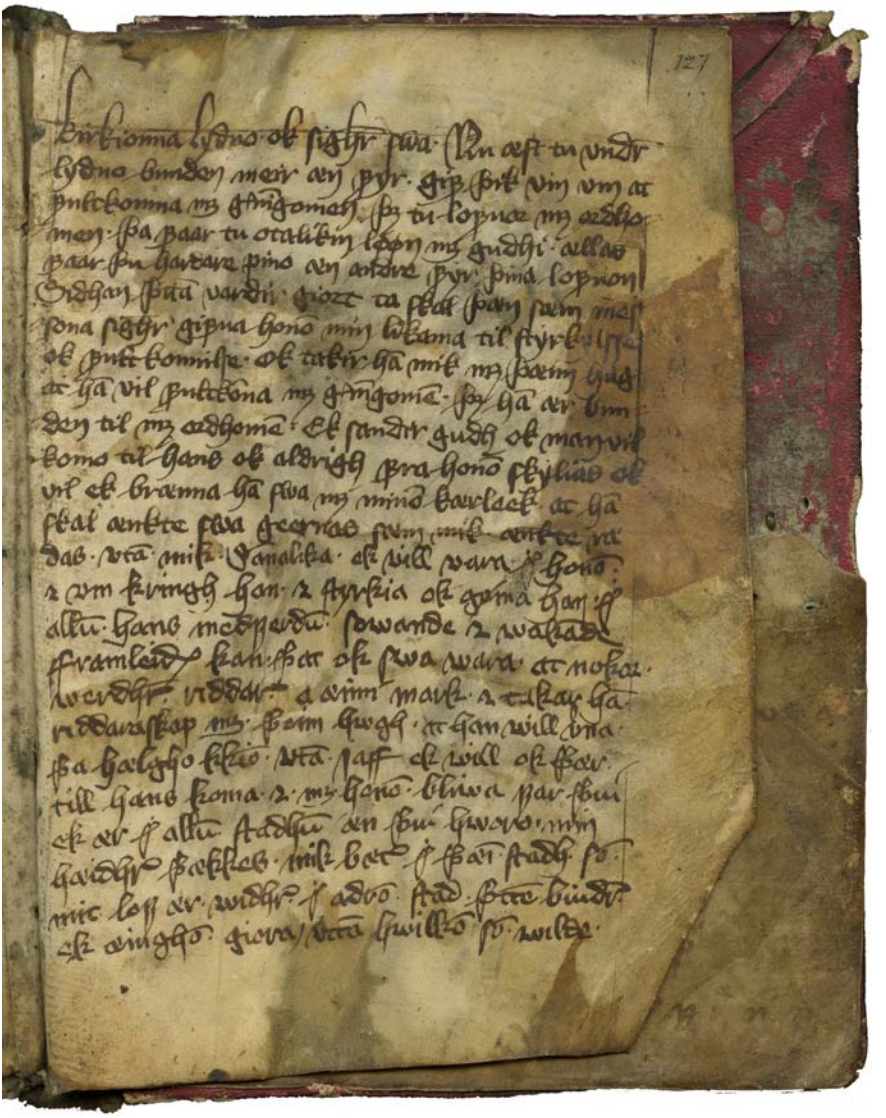

FIGURE 23 *E 8902*, p. *127*. *Courtesy of the Swedish National Archives*

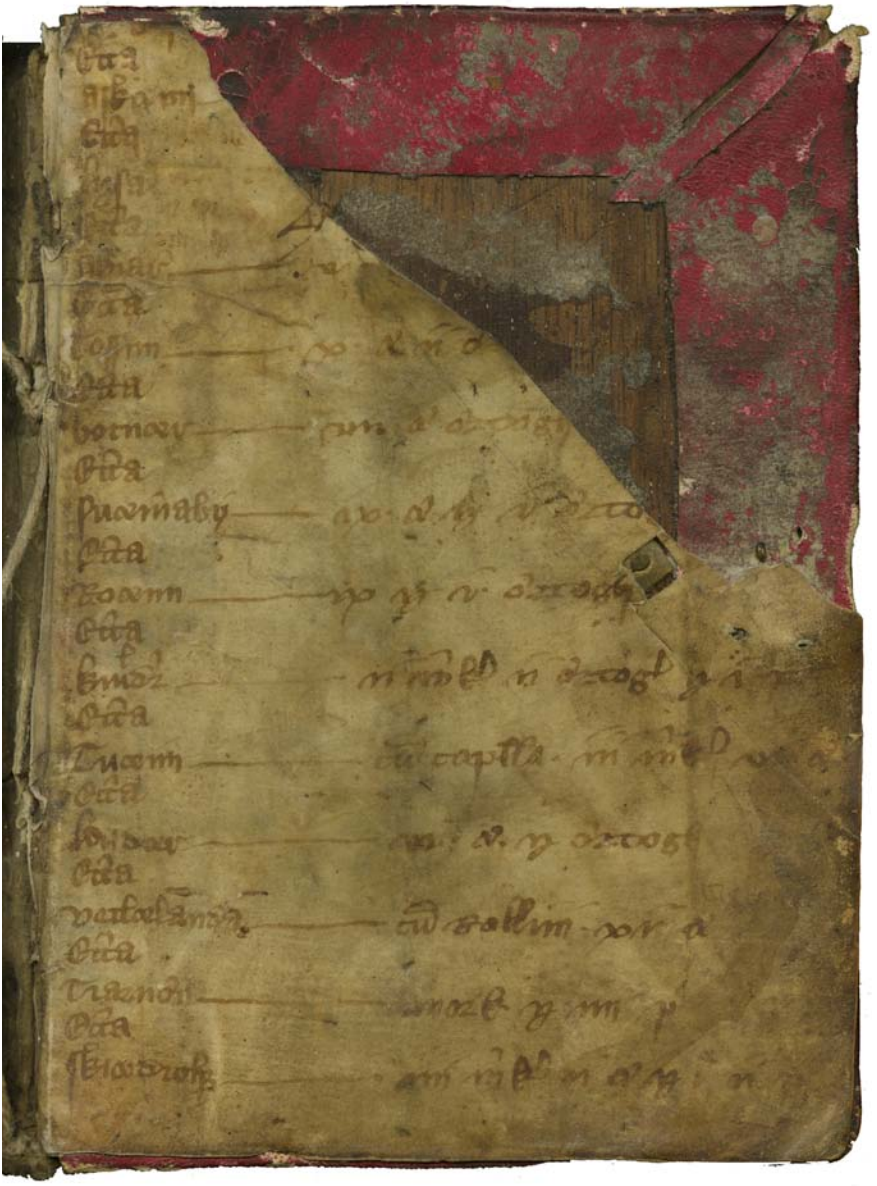

FIGURE 24 *E 8902, rear pastedown. Courtesy of the Swedish National Archives*

PART 3

Language

∵

CHAPTER 6

Lexicon: Idiosyncracies, Foreign Influence, and Dialectal Forms

This chapter describes the occurrences of hapax legomena, the influence of MLG, and the use of Latin words, phrases and names in the manuscript, and features thought to be representative of so-called Vadstena-language (*Vadstenaspråket*). Words have been grouped under headwords (lemmata), some of which have been reconstructed and are thus shown as an asterisked form.

6.1 Hapax Legomena

E 8902 contains a number of words that are unique to the manuscript:

6.1.1 **drøvuker*† [1] (*Adjective*)

This adjective meaning "pitiful" occurs on *p*. 84: 10–11 (Hand 1) as "drøfwokt".[2] There is no equivalent section in the other Old Swedish or Latin versions. The closest form recorded in Söderwall is *dröveliker* meaning: 1) difficult, troublesome, agonising; 2) miserable, pitiful; 3) distressed, sad. In MLG we find *drovich*, in Middle Dutch *droevig*, and Middle English *drōvi*. The word should be interpreted as a loan from MLG (see also below).

6.1.2 **iakilse*† *and *iatilse*† (*Neuter Noun*)

These nouns both mean "vow, solemn promise" and occur four times: *p*. 82: 9 (Hand 1) as "jatilsom";[3] *p*. 101: 25 (Hand 1) as "jatilsse";[4] *p*. 110: 25 (Hand 1) as "jakilsse",[5] and *p*. 111: 1 (Hand 1) as "jakilsse".[6] The spellings with ⟨t⟩ ("jatilsse",

1 † Each of these words shows influence from MLG and are discussed further in section 6.2.

2 "Sa*n*nelika ær mik henna liif wæmelikt. ok alt drøfwokt [Truly her life is sickening and completely pitiful to me]".

3 "Somlika skal þu lokka. til þin m*ædh* jatilsom ok lofuan [You shall entice some to you with vows and promises]".

4 "Ok eig moot gudhi ær / æfte þæssin ordh. Ok jatilsse [and (he) is not against God in accordance with these words and promises]".

5 "ha*n* brøt ok sina troo ok jakilsse [he also broke his faith and promises]".

6 "hwad ær þ*æt* jakilsse. þ*æ*r mæn bør til jaka sin gudh [What is that vow which one should pledge to his God?]".

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"jatilsom") can be found in passages in the Old Swedish versions (Books VIII 32 and VI 32; cf. Latin Libri II 7 and VI 32). The word appears to translate the Latin *votum* but is not found in the equivalent Old Swedish text here. The spellings with ⟨k⟩ can be found in passages with no equivalent Old Swedish or Latin versions. The forms **iatilse* and **iakilse* should be considered as variants of the same word. Related to the verb *iæta*, to promise, **iatilse* is not recorded in Söderwall, but it can be found in Old Danish (*jattelse*). The variant "*iakilse" is clearly related to the verb *iaka*, "to say yes, agree; promise", but is not recorded in Söderwall or found in Old Danish. The scribe may have simply written ⟨k⟩ for ⟨t⟩ (or vice versa) in these words. Hand 1's confusion of ⟨k⟩ and ⟨t⟩ in palatalised positions also appears to be the case elsewhere (for example, *p*. 88: 24, "tiænilsse" for "kænnilse").

6.1.3 **nidherflytilse*† (*Neuter Noun*)

This noun meaning "down-flow" occurs on *p*. 28: 7–8 (Hand 1) as "nidhirflẏtil-sæm" (dative). The E 8902, Old Swedish and Latin versions differ on the wording of the text here:

E 8902: blodhit nidhir flitande. lifraddhis i enneno ok skæggeno. ok mu*n*nin ok tunghan blødghadhis af blotzins nidhirflẏtilsæm
[The blood flowing downwards coagulated on my forehead and in my beard. And my mouth and tongue were soaked by the blood's down-flow]

B (129^{vb}): **A**lt ænlitit oc skæggit oc mu*n*nen oc tu*n*gan fyltos ok hyldis m*edh* lifradho blodhe

C (134va): **A**lt ænlitit oc skæggit oc munnin oc thu*n*gan fyltos oc huldis m*edh* lifradho blodhe
[All my face and beard and mouth and tongue were filled and covered with coagulated blood]

Latin: Sanguis defluens coagulatus deturpabat faciem totam et barbam. Os et lingua similiter inficiebantur sanguine
[Flowing downwards the coagulated blood disfigured all my face and beard. My mouth and tongue were similarly tainted by blood]

The word **nidherflytilse* is not listed in Söderwall, but the verb *nidherflyta*, "float down" and the noun *flytilse* "flow" both are.

6.1.4 **solbadh* (*Neuter Noun*)

This noun meaning "heat of the sun" occurs on *p*. 80: 17 (Hand 1) as "soolbadh",[7] and *p*. 82: 15 (Hand 1) as "soolbat".[8] Söderwall does not list the word. The Old Swedish versions have "heat of the sun"—(B 166ra, C 167va) "solinna hite"; (B 166va) "solina hite"; (C 169ra) "solinna hita"—and the Latin *calor solis*, "heat of the sun", and *feruorem solis*, "intensity of the sun". The word can be found as *solbadd* ("heat of the sun", "strong sunshine") in the seventeenth century,[9] and so its use in E 8902 and during Birgitta's time may not have been that unusual, albeit it two and a half centuries earlier. According to Moberg, the term *solbad* with the meaning "heat of the sun" is known today in dialects from Hälsingland and Värmland.[10]

6.1.5 **spailse*† (*Neuter Noun*)

This noun meaning "prophecy" occurs on *p*. 65: 16 (Hand 1) as the plural "spaillse".[11] This occurrence of "spaillse" is, to my knowledge, the only *spa+ilse* in a medieval Swedish or Norwegian text. It does not appear in Söderwall or in Thor's listings.[12] Cf. ON *spádomr*; OSw. *spadomber*.

6.1.6 **søkiarinna*† (*Feminine Noun*)

This noun meaning "(female) seeker" occurs on *p*. 79: 3–4 (Hand 1) as "søkerinna".[13] This occurrence of "søkerinna" is, to my knowledge, the only *søkiar+inna* in a medieval Swedish or Norwegian text. It does not appear in Söderwall; Thors 1957; ON, or MLG (neither **sokerin* or **sokerinne* are listed in Schiller and Lübben 1931).

6.1.7 **unsæld*† (*Feminine Noun*)

This noun meaning "misfortune", "sadness" occurs on *p*. 114: 1 (Hand 2) as "vnseel".[14] The word does not appear in Söderwall (or elsewhere) and there is

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7 "ha*n* komb*i*r m*ædh* modheri*n*ne i nokot soolbadh. ællis ok þ*æ*r sæm solin ær heitast [he comes with the mother into the heat of the sun or also to there where the sun is hottest]".

8 "hon kænnir ok hono*m* at krỳpa. ok leidhir hono*m* i soolbat [she teaches him to crawl and takes him into the heat of the sun]".

9 Wolimhaus 1649, fol. B10.

10 Moberg 1998, 28.

11 "laghin sigh*i*r. ha*n* var lughin jdhar spaillse epte idhre vildh ok af ondhom andha [he says that the law was lies, your prophecies in accordance with your (own) will and with evil spirit]".

12 Thor 1957, 376–377.

13 "þu æst en godh søkerinna [You are a good seeker]".

14 "æk horir mi*n*s folks. nødh. *ok* vnseel [I hear my people's misery and misfortune]".

no equivalent section in the Old Swedish text where we might expect to find a form such as "osæld" or "ysæld" (or even "væsald"). Elsewhere in Birgitta's Revelations in Old Swedish, the doublet "nødh ok ysæld [need and distress]" occurs twice, both times also with the verb "varkunna [pity]" (Book IV 77 for the Latin "miserie et angustie magne [misery and great suffering]" and Book VIII 2 for "miseriis [misery]").[15] The word in MLG is *unsâlde*, and in MHG *unsælde*. The assimilation /ld/ > /l/ in "vnseel" can also be seen in ON *úsæla* and Old Swedish spellings such as *ysœll*, *vsœll*, *wsall* (Söderwall, *s.v.* "ysäld") and *wsœl* (Söderwall, *s.v.* "osäld"). For further discussion, see section 6.2.2 (e).

6.1.8 **urfamse/orfamse (?)*

This preposition phrase, adjective, or noun, the meaning of which is uncertain, occurs three times: on *p.* 81: 3 (Hand 1) as "orfamse"; *p.* 81: 3 (Hand 1) as "orfamsanom",[16] and *p.* 83: 11 (Hand 1) as "orfamse".[17]

Moberg argues that the ⟨f⟩ is a mistake for ⟨h⟩ (that is, the scribe has misread the letter no less than three times), and that the word is the same as ON *ór hamsi* [out of its skin, slough], as in *skríða ór hamsi*, "to cast off one's skin", but with the extended meaning of "from one's wits".[18] Moberg's explanation does seem likely, and yet one cannot but wonder whether he has, in fact, deciphered the word correctly. We can begin by comparing the Latin, Old Swedish, and E 8902 texts (*p.* 81: 3; Book VI 32):

E 8902: at vngin vak-|-nar allir orfamse. ok af þæim orfamsanom. þa | nimbir han ginstan gaddin stinga [that the young (snake) wakes up completely *orfamse* and because of this *orfamse*, he immediately learns to strike at the mushroom.]

B 166ra: at ha*n* vardh*i*r allir swasom osinna aff thæs blæstins rørilsom oc tilbyria at stinga th*et* bløta [that he becomes completely confused by the movement of breath and begins to bite the soft thing]

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15 *BU* II, 153; *BU* III, 304, respectively.

16 "þa blæsir hon i vngans øron swa ænxlika. at vngin vaknar allir orfamse. ok af þæim orfamsano*m*. þa nimbir han ginstan gaddin stinga i swampen [Then she blows in the young (serpent)'s ear so anxiously that the young (serpent) awakens all confused(?), and due to the confusion(?), he then begins to sting the mushroom]".

17 "þa blæsir modhere*n* i øronе*n* swa fast at ha*n* vardh all*i*r orfamse [Then the mother blows in its ear so continuously that it becomes completely confused(?)]". On this word, see also Wessén 1968–1976, II, 125 n. 57; Moberg 1998, 25–26; Odelman 2000, 46.

18 For example, Blöndal 1920–1924, *s.v.* "hams" has *vera í góðum hamsi* "være vel tilfreds, i godt Humør [to be content, in a good mood]", and *vera í versta hamsi* "være hæftig vred [to be extremely angry]", although there is no phrase with *ór/úr hamsi* in the sense "mood, wits".

C 167^{vb}: at han wardh*i*r all*i*r swa so*m* osynna aff thæs blæstins rørilsom / oc tilbyria at stinga th*et* bløta [that he becomes completely confused by the movement of breath and begins to bite the soft thing]
Latin: quod quasi extra se factus ex commocione flatus incipit stimulare in illud molle [that so startled out of himself being disturbed by the breathing he begins to bite on the soft thing]

In E 8902 "ok af þæim orfamsanom [and because of this confusion(?) (he …)]" appears to belong to the following clause and is the cause of the young serpent's striking at the mushroom. In Latin and Old Swedish, however, it is the cause of his confusion. The third occurrence of the word is on *p*. 83: 11 (Book VI 32):

E 8902: þa blæsir modher*e*n i øron*e*n swa fast at ha*n* vardh all*i*r orfamse. [then the mother blows in his ear so hard that he becomes completely *orfamse*]
B 166va: opuækkis han aff modhr*i*na blæst oc radho*m*
C 168ra: vpuækkis ha*n* aff modhr*i*nna blæst oc radho*m* [he is awoken by the mother's blowing and advice]
Latin: perflatus iterum a matre [blown upon again by his mother]

As far as Moberg's *ór hamsi* is concerned, the first and third occurrences of "orfamse", if taken as a prepositional phrase that functions as an adjective, make good sense. However, in the phrase "aff þæim orfamsanom", it appears to be a noun in the dative singular definite form. It is correct that the word "orfams" does not occur in any other Scandinavian manuscript, but *fams* is well documented in Scandinavian (and some North Sea—West Germanic) languages with the meaning of "vile smell originating in the intestine".[19] The image of the young serpent beginning to bite the mushroom because of a stinking mist or belch blown into his ear by his mother makes some sense, but what are we to make of the *or*-element? It could be the *or* "worm" or *orna* "to go off, spoil" found in Swedish dialect.[20] It is perhaps related to the prefix ON

19 For example in Swedish (Rietz 1867, *s.v.* "fam"), and Old Danish (Kalkar 1976, *s.v.* "Famp"). Cf. also central Danish dialects (*Ømålsordbogen* 1998, IV, *s.v.* "fams", "fims"), Jutlandic (Feilberg 1886–1893, I, *s.v.* "fam"), Schleswig-Holsteinish (Mensing 1929, II, *s.v.* "fimsen"), and North Frisian (Jensen 1927, *s.v.* "fimsî").

20 Rietz 1867, *s.v.* "or": "[…] mjölmask, mask i unket mjöl: Acarus siro. Allm. *Mjöl flått* [(…) mealworm, worm in stale in mean: flour mite]".

ofr- / OSw. *of-* giving us a "mighty stink", or even ON *ærr* / OSw. *ør* "angry" or something to do with ON *orð* / OSw. *ord* "word" (cf. the spelling "or", *p*. 64: 1).

In conclusion we can say that Moberg's interpretation of "orfamse" as *ór hamsi* is the best available, but is not entirely satisfactory. We may just have to accept that this is a true *locus desperatus*.

6.1.9 *Distribution*

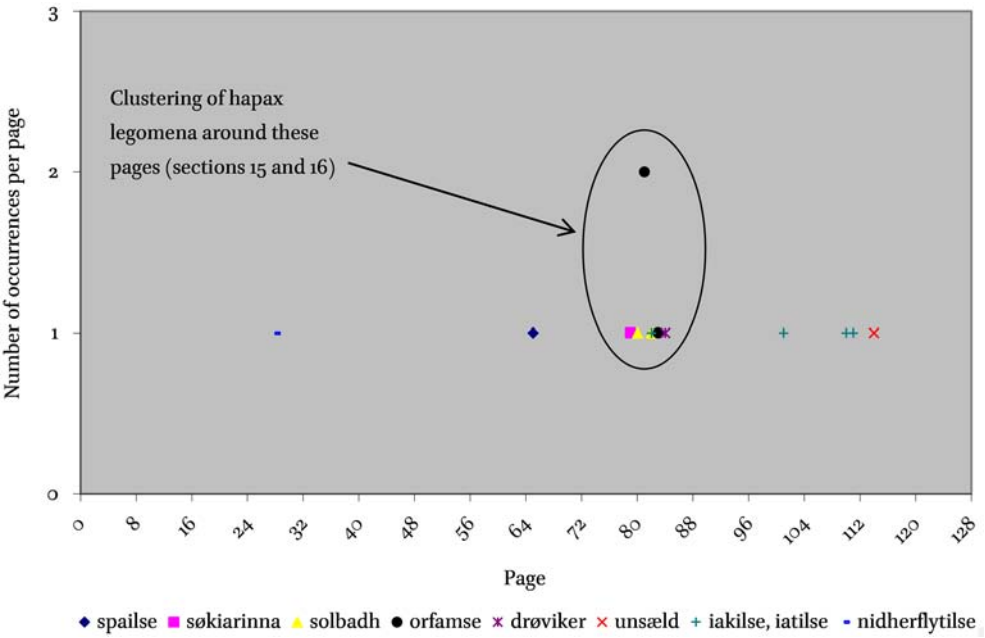

FIGURE 25 *Occurrences of hapax legomena in E 8902*

6.1.10 *Discussion*

These hapax legomena are used by both Hands 1 and 2, but the vast majority are written by Hand 1. All but one occur in the latter half of E 8902 and they are particularly concentrated in Sections 15 and 16 (*pp*. 79–84), that is in the revelation about the serpent mother (Book VI 32) and an otherwise unknown revelation. As I mention in the Commentary to the text (note for *p*. 79: 25), these revelations mark a shift in style by being largely devoid of spiritual content and comprising an attack on a prominent political family (Knut Porse, Ingeborg of Halland and Samsø, and Hákon Knutsson). The imagery and language in this part of E 8902 is sharp and violent. The extant Old Swedish and Latin versions of this section (Book VI 32) have clearly been revised and toned down. Whether this was done by Birgitta herself or a confessor is not known, but E 8902 would

appear to be a copy of an unedited (or at least less edited) version. These hapax legomena may possibly have existed in this unedited version or be the result of the scribe, perhaps a Norwegian.

6.2 Middle Low German Loanwords

The expansion of the Hanseatic League from the twelfth century onwards, the growth in prestige of MLG, and the subsequent influence of MLG on the Scandinavian languages have all been described elsewhere. In brief, words of Low German origin mainly come from one of two phases of loaning: 1) early West Germanic influence, particularly within the realm of religious terminology through the early missions, but it is not always clear whether the donor language was Old Low German, Old Frisian, Old Low (Western) Franconian, or even Old English,[21] and 2) later MLG influence, *viz*. those words typically found in manuscripts after the rise of the Hanseatic League.[22] It is not always evident when a word was loaned into the Scandinavian languages and it can be difficult to determine in which of the two periods the loan occurred. A word's existence in Old Norse may suggest an early entry date (as in Phase 1 above), but Late Old Norse also borrowed many MLG words. These later borrowings are usually also found in the mainland varieties of Scandinavian (as in Phase 2 above; for example, ON *mátuligr* [moderate] < MLG *matelik*, cf. OSw. *mateliker*; ON *fyrirstanda* [be in charge of] < MLG *vorstanden*, cf. OSw. *forstanda*).

In spite of the importance of MLG for the development of the Scandinavian languages, there is as yet no comprehensive, scholarly account of all MLG influence on Scandinavian. This is partly due to the massive amount of material involved. The scale of MLG influence is difficult to overestimate; indeed, Brattegard writes that "ein Skandinave [*sic*] heute wohl kaum einen Satz sagen kann, ohne ein niederdeutsches Wort zu verwenden [A Scandinavian today can

21 Carl-Eric Thors (1957) has written a comprehensive account of Christian terminology in Swedish that traces words back to their ultimate source (usually Greek or Latin via West Germanic). Dennis H. Green (1998, 271–391) also looks at Christian vocabulary in Germanic and includes many words from ON in his discussion. See also Ahldén 1945 for early MLG and West Germanic loans in the Old Swedish provincial laws.

22 See studies by Tegnér 1889; Seip 1915–1919; Seip 1934, 15–26; Indrebø 1951, 248; Wührer 1954; Thors 1957; Brattegard 1963; Wessén 1970; Skard 1967, 152–154; Johannisson 1968; Törnqvist 1973; Haugen 1976, 313–321; Törnqvist 1977; Hyldgaard-Jensen *et al.* 1987; Moberg 1989; Braunmüller and Dierecks 1993–1995; Moberg 1994; Jahr 1994; Jahr 1995; Nesse 2002.

barely say a sentence without using a Low German word]",[23] and Elof Hellquist has described the scale of loaning into Scandinavian as being so massive, that within the group of Indo-European languages only Albanian has experienced a greater level of loaning from foreign languages.[24] Another reason for the lack of a broad account is the long tradition of Neogrammarian theory and research within Nordic philology.[25] The Neogrammarian *Stammbaum* approach to language development precludes a full description of MLG influence by describing such influence only in terms of loans—that is, interference from outside the "genetic" development of the language. One of the benefits of this approach, however, has been the extensive research conducted in tracing individual loanwords from MLG.[26] In this investigation, the account is restricted to MLG influence from the time of the Hanseatic League and attempts to identify innovations in the lexicon stemming from MLG.[27]

The lexicon of E 8902 demonstrates a large degree of MLG influence, including entire loanwords (some of which do not appear in the text of the Old Swedish versions) and loaned affixes. They are listed below and sorted according to the loaned element(s): unbound morphemes (loanwords) and bound morphemes (here, prefixes or suffixes). However, these categories are for guidance only; for example, "beskedhlika [appropriately]" has been listed under *be-* prefixes, but was in fact loaned as an entire word from MLG (*beschede-like*(*n*)).[28] The groupings are to facilitate comparison with other lists in the standard works on the subject.

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23 Brattegard 1963, 10.

24 Quoted in Hødnebø 1996, 172.

25 See Jahr 1994, 23.

26 More recently, linguists, particularly Ernst Håkon Jahr and Kurt Braunmüller, have been looking at the overall influence of MLG on the development of the Scandinavian languages. They build on the work of scholars such as Weinreich (1953), Haugen (1969) and Trudgill (1986), using sociolinguistic approaches in their work. See also Nesse 2002. There has also recently been more work on the influence of MLG on the Scandinavian dialects, rather than the standard languages (see, for example, Nyberg 1989, 193–210; Andersen 1993–1995, II, 181–223; Elmevik 1987, 120–127; Elmevik 1992, 122–127; Brodin 1987, 257–269; Brodin 1999).

27 I therefore do not include the early, often religious, loans such as *siæl* (soul), *hærra* (lord), etc. Many of the later MLG loanwords concern trading, commerce, courtly culture and life, and urbanisation. There are also a number of affixes as well as basic words that are loaned at this time.

28 Similarly, the verb "akta [bear in mind]" is listed under "Unbound Morphemes", but the adverb "aatuakteligha [devoutly]" comes under "The Suffix *-ig* < MLG *-ich*" (rather than the unbound morpheme "vakta").

There are over 550 occurrences of MLG loanwords and affixes (not including *-iker*) in E 8902; that is, almost 2 % of the total text in the manuscript.[29] By looking at the number of loanwords per page we can see a growing tendency to use MLG loanwords towards the end of the manuscript. This growth parallels a shift in subject matter: Sections 20–25, it will be remembered, form a sort of *speculum nobilis* with descriptions of courtly culture and a knighting ceremony. Courtly culture came to Scandinavia via northern Germany and the new concepts that accompanied it usually retained their foreign names, that is their MLG names (in turn, often borrowed from Old French).[30] There appears to be little relation between the use of MLG and the different scribes in E 8902. Hand 1, responsible for just over 90 % of the text, accounts for 93 % of the occurrences of MLG loanwords in E 8902, very slightly more than we might expect. Hand 2, responsible for just over 9 % of the text, accounts for about 6.5 % of occurrences of MLG loanwords. Hand 3 has no loanwords, whilst Hand 4, responsible for just under 0.2 % of the text, accounts for 0.18 % of occurrences. There is thus little difference in the rate of occurrence of MLG loanwords between the hands, so we can conclude that the occurrence of loanwords is solely dependent on the subject matter and the original, and not the scribe:[31]

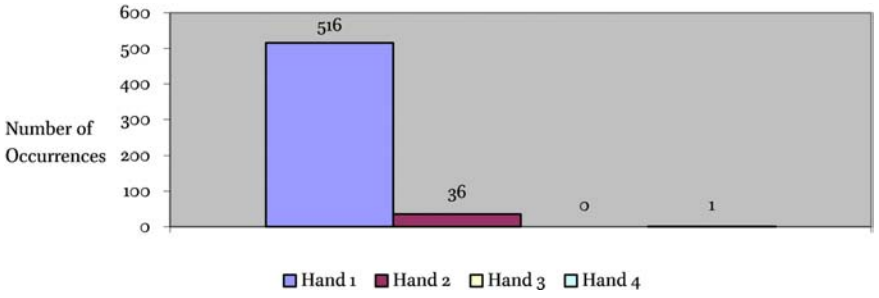

FIGURE 26 *MLG loanwords by hand*

29 If we include the suffix *-iker* with its variants, then there are over 1120 occurrences of MLG loanwords and affixes in E 8902; that is, just over 4 % of the total text in the manuscript.

30 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, VII (1962), cols 308–315, *s.v.* "Høvisk litteratur" names the sources of the cultural influences that affected courtly life in Scandinavia.

31 Sometimes scribes have a certain penchant for MLG loanwords or word formation using MLG elements. Lena Moberg (1989) investigated the MLG forms in the Stockholm city court records written by two different scribes. She compared the two scribes' use of MLG to create new words and concluded that there were a number of distinguishing characteristics. However, some of her conclusions have since been criticised (see Jahr 1994, 31).

By subtracting the percentage of total MLG loanwords written by Hand *x* from the percentage of text written by Hand *x*, we arrive at the number of MLG loanwords above or below the expected number:

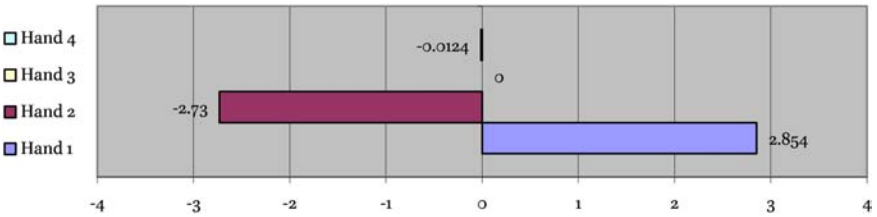

FIGURE 27 *Number of MLG loanwords above or below the expected number*

6.2.1 *Unbound Morphemes* (*291 Occurrences*)

Item (lemmatised)[32]	MLG[33]	Occurrences (page: line)
afskrædha[34] *n.* "scrap"	[af]schrode	18: 4
akt[35] *n.* "care"	acht(e)	101: 3; 104: 11, 22; 106: 10, 16, 18, 23; 116: 18
akta[36] *vb.* "care"	achten	4: 18; 13: 16, 17; 16: 17; 17: 6; 20: 15; 29: 12; 42: 24; 67: 9
altidh *adv.* "always"	alle tît	1: 23; 7: 24
arbeida[37] *vb.* "work"	arbeiden	37: 22; 39: 1; 67: 8, 26; 99: 23, 24; 100: 6; 115: 7, 16; 119: 23

32 The lemmatised forms of the words are taken from Söderwall. This list of unbound morphemes also includes MLG loans ending in the suffixes *-iker*, *-liker* or *-lika*. These suffixes are discussed more fully below.

33 The lemmatised forms of the words are taken from Schiller and Lübben 1931 in which the use of the circumflex over long vowels in closed syllables is not always consistent with other works.

34 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "skräda".

35 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "akt". Cf. ON *akta* (vb.) and *aktan* (n.), listed in Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "akta".

36 On the preterite form "agthæ" (*p.* 20: 15), see Moberg 1989, 167–170. Cf. also Janikowski 1994, 100–101.

37 On the phonological form of this word, see Tamm 1966, 72; Lindqvist 1950, 246; Moberg 1989, 148–149. See also Moberg 1998, 12 on the occurrence of this word in E 8902.

Item (lemmatised)	MLG	Occurrences (page: line)
arbeide *n.* "work", "labour"	arbeit	27: 23; 37: 16; 38: 14, 17; 39: 5–6; 40: 24; 42: 1; 45: 19; 67: 20, 25; 84: 7; 96: 21, 22; 99: 12; 100: 9; 115: 7, 19; 120: 3
baner[38] *n.* "banner"	bannere, banner, bannir	123 20, 21; 125: 14–15, 19, 23, 24
bliva[39] *vb.* "stay"	bliven	4: 13; 25: 22; 44: 8; 102: 24; 127: 22
dara[40] *vb.* "fool"	doren	93: 12; 99: 13, 17; 108: 15
dikta[41] *vb.* "compose"	dichten	30: 12; 34: 15
drøva *vb.* "disturb"	droven	2: 19; 13: 21; 29: 4; 62: 10; 83: 8, 16; 89: 16; 90: 11
*drøviker[42] *adj.* "pitiful"	drovich	84: 10–11
fruktsamber *adj.* "fruitful", "fertile"	vruchtsam	16: 21
hofman[43] *n.* "courtier"	hofman, hoveman	100: 1; 103: 7; 40: 14–15
hærskap[44] *n.* "control", "dominion"	herschop, herscap	32: 17; 51: 5; 62: 14; 75: 21; 77: 1; 95: 7
høghfærþ[45] *n.* "pride", "vanity"	hochvart	4: 15; 5: 5; 7: 5, 12, 14, 17; 12: 5, 23; 13: 4; 14: 5; 19: 4; 22: 3–4; 29: 17; 30: 5, 11; 47: 13; 55: 10; 67: 6; 74: 6; 81: 17, 26; 96: 13; 105: 19; 106: 25; 111: 10, 14, 20, 23; 119: 12; 120: 24; 123: 23; 125: 6; 128: 3
høghfærþas *vb.* "be conceited"	[<hochvart]	8: 9; 90: 15

38 Ultimately from Old French *baniere*. See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "baner".

39 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "bliva"; Moberg 1989, 59, 165. In E 8902, the verb does not occur as the auxiliary in the periphrastic passive for which the verb *vardha* is always found. A similar observation has been made by Thomas Markey (1969, 140–141), whose findings, as summarised in his datasheets (1989, 142–143), also show a preference for *vardha* in forming the passive in a variety of OSw. texts.

40 This may be an early loan from Low German into the Scandinavian languages predating the later wave of MLG influence. It is found in ON as *dára*. On the etymology of the word, see Seip 1915–1919: 82; Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "dåre"; Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "dári"; Nielsen 1989, *s.v.* "dåre"; Vries 1977, *s.v.* "dár".

41 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "dikta"; Moberg 1989, 58, 112; Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "dikta".

42 See section 6.1.1.

43 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "3. hov"; Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "hof B".

44 Cf. ON *herskapr* meaning "warfare".

45 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "hög".

(cont.)

Item (lemmatised)	MLG	Occurrences (page: line)
høghfærþogher *adj.* "proud", "conceited"	hochverdich[46]	5: 1, 5
høvisker[47] *adj.* "chivalrous"	hovesch	3: 16; 72: 26; 73: 20; 74: 7, 8; 75: 22
høvisklika *adv.* "courteously"	hoveschlike(n)	118: 19
iungfru[48] *n.* "virgin"	junkvrowe	22: 19; 64: 13; 66: 5; 97: 10
iungfruliker *adj.* "virginal"	[junk]vro(we)lik	58: 11
klen[49] *adj.* "delicate"	klên, klein	30: 7
knøpe[50] *n.* "button"	knôp	30: 7
kompan[51] *n.* "companion"	kumpân	88: 18; 98: 15
kompanskap *n.* "company"	kumpânschop[52]	40: 20
kranker[53] *adj.* "weak", "ill"	krank	74: 1
lustelika *adv.* "merrily"	lusteliken	82: 16
lusteliker[54] *adj.* "merry"	lustelik	11: 20; 47: 14; 55: 19; 57: 1; 73: 1; 108: 10; 118: 1
makt[55] *n.* "power"	macht	22: 2; 39: 22; 44: 24; 51: 17; 56: 8, 9, 10; 64: 19; 83: 2; 90: 17; 98: 1; 107: 11, 22; 118: 25; 119: 1; 126: 9

46 The word *hochverdich* is not listed in Schiller and Lübben 1931. However, a MHG form, *hochvertig*, was current in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for example in the writings of Konrad von Megenburg (1309–1374) and Oswald von Wolkenstein (1377–1445).

47 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "hövisk".

48 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "jungfru"; Moberg 1989, 76–77, 121, 139; Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "jungfrú".

49 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "klen".

50 See Moberg 1989, 75, 141, 149.

51 See Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "kompán".

52 This word is not listed in Schiller and Lübben 1931, but can be found as Low German *kumpanschop* and *kumpanescap* in the on-line *Deutsches RechtsWörterbuch* (*DRW*): www.deutsches-rechtswoerterbuch.de.

53 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "krank"; Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "krankr"; Moberg 1989, 84, 157.

54 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "lust". Cleasby and Vigfusson (1957, *s.v.* "lystiligr") do not list the word as foreign, but see Nielsen 1989, *s.v.* "-lig".

55 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "makt"; Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "makt".

Item (lemmatised)	MLG	Occurrences (page: line)
mateliker[56] *adj.* "moderate"	matelik	29: 22; 96: 16, 18, 19, 21; 98: 24; 99: 11
men[57] *conj.* "but"	men	46: 22; 58: 16; 92: 11; 123: 2, 15; 125: 13
misfal[58] *n.* "mishap"	misval	52: 6–7, 15
møgheliker[59] *adj.* "possible"	mogelik	89: 15; 90: 8; 94: 12; 123: 5, 12
ohøvisker *adj.* "discourteous"	unhovesch	74: 10; 75: 23
omøgheliker *adj.* "impossible"	unmogelik	2: 3; 20: 4; 48: 3, 4; 49: 5, 6
oændelika[60] *adv.* "unendlingly"	unendelich	9: 4
plagha[61] *n.* "plague", "chastisement"	plage	29: 17, 19; 37: 5
plagha *vb.* "plague", "chastise"	plagen	4: 23; 67: 1, 2; 99: 10; 107: 13
plægha[62] *vb.* "care for"	plegen	12: 17; 36: 4; 88: 13; 92: 23
riddarskap[63] *n.* "knighthood"	ridderschop	52: 25; 103: 4, 25; 104: 9; 109: 10; 112: 5; 113: 12–13; 116: 2, 4; 124: 17; 125: 1
rop[64] *n.* "shout"	rôp	71: 3
ropa *vb.* "shout"	ropa	23: 12; 36: 5; 113: 21
skinuben[65] *n.* "shin bone"	schene	7: 2; 9: 19;[66] 21: 13

56 See Nielsen 1989, *s.v.* "11. mådelig". Cf. late ON *mátuligr*.

57 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "men".

58 See Söderwall, *s.v.* "misfal". However, Cleasby and Vigfusson (1957, *s.v.* "misfall") do not list the word as foreign.

59 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "möjlig"; Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "möguligr"; Moberg 1989, 46, 75, 157, 238.

60 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "äntligen". Cf. ON *úendeliga*.

61 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "plåga"; Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "plága"; Moberg 1989, 142, 144.

62 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "pläga"; Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "plaga" (cf. the western form "plaghas" in E 8902, *p.* 36: 4—elsewhere spelt "plægh-" in the manuscript); Moberg 1989, 65, 164.

63 See Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "riddari" and "riddaraskapr".

64 The meaning "shout" for *rop* and *ropa* is an example of semantic extension with the meaning being taken from MLG *ropen* and used alongside the native Scandinavian meaning ("slander"). See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "ropa"; Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "hrópa 11"; Nielsen 1989, *s.v.* "råbe".

65 See Söderwall, *s.v.* "skinuben"; Nielsen 1989, *s.v.* "skinneben". Cf. MHG *schinebein*.

66 On the spelling "skȳnubøøn", see Wessén 1968–1976, 11, 88.

(cont.)

Item (lemmatised)	MLG	Occurrences (page: line)
skør[67] *adj*. "unchaste"	schor[68]	30: 16 (in "skørlimnadh");[69] 67: 19, 25; 72: 13 (in "skørlikin")[70]
sliposten[71] *n*. "grindstone"	slîpstên	6: 19; 11: 13
smaka[72] *vb*. "taste"	smaken	2: 11; 27: 13; 91: 4
smæliker[73] *adj*. "abusive"	smêlik	4: 20; 17: 21
spitælsker[74] *adj*. "leprous"	spet(t)elsch, spittelsch	69: 11
stupa[75] *n*. "stake used in public floggings"	stupe	2: 7 (in "stupogrefue")[76]
sumliker[77] *adj*. "some"	somelik, summelik, sumlik	29: 3; 31: 21, 22, 25; 32: 3–4, 4; 34: 8 (×2); 37: 15 (×2), 15–16; 43: 10; 65: 3, 5, 19, 20, 21, 22; 82: 8, 9; 99: 23, 24 (×2)
syndeliker *adj* "sinful".	sundelik[78]	60: 12
tilsætia *vb*. "add"	to-setten	34: 22
thynning[79] *n*. "temple"	dunninge	62: 3
ursaka[80] *n*. "cause"	orsake	75: 21; 77: 29
vinkil[81] *n*. "corner"	winkel	70: 7

67 See Nielsen 1989, *s.v.* "II. skør".

68 The MLG form *schor* is not listed in Schiller and Lübben 1931, but the Old Low German form *schör* appears in Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "skör".

69 Meaning "loose living", "an unchaste life", see Söderwall, *s.v.* "skörlifnadher".

70 Meaning "unchaste". This adjectival form is not listed in Söderwall, but compare the adverbial form, *s.v.* "skörlika".

71 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "slipa"; Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "slípa".

72 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "smak".

73 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "smälek".

74 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "spetälsk"; Moberg 1989, 18, 161, 237.

75 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "2. stupa"; Bååth 1945, 42; Moberg 1989, 22, 143–144.

76 Meaning "punishment". See Söderwall, *s.v.* "stupogreve".

77 See Hellquist 1992, *s.v.* "somlig". Cf. ON *sumligr*.

78 The word does not appear in Schiller and Lübben 1931. However, see the entry in Söderwall, *s.v.* "syndeliker". Cf. ON *syndaligr*.

79 See Söderwall, *s.v.* "thynninger? *och* thynning". Cf. Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "þunnvangi".

80 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "orsak"; Nielsen 1989, *s.v.* "årsag II".

81 The OSw. text has "boro [(small) hole]" here (B 21^{vb}; C 20va).

Item (lemmatised)	MLG	Occurrences (page: line)
visselika[82] *adv.* "certainly"	wisselik	2: 15; 3: 6–7; 10: 20; 19: 17; 24: 22; 36: 13; 112: 6; 116: 4
æmbite[83] *n.* "office"	ambacht	40: 15; 98: 7, 8
æmbitsman[84] *n.* "officer"	ambachtsman, ammechtman, amptman	31: 4
ændelika[85] *adv.* "finally"	endeliken	36: 15; 81: 18
æra[86] *n.* "honour"	êre	3: 3–4; 30: 11; 39: 4; 57: 26; 61: 9; 76: 13 (×2); 120: 9
æra[87] *vb* "honour"	êren	13: 6
ærliker[88] *adj.* "honest"	êrlik	4: 3, 6; 82: 12; 118: 10, 15

6.2.2 *Bound Morphemes* (*832 Occurrences*)

As mentioned above, many of the words below were borrowed into Old Swedish wholesale from MLG—it was not only the bound morpheme that was borrowed in these cases. They are noted in the footnotes with the MLG form. This rather artificial listing under morpheme is intended only to facilitate comparison with other works on MLG in Scandinavian

a) The Prefix *be-* < MLG *be-* (4 Occurrences)

begripa[89] *vb.* "comprehend"	44: 2; 117: 17
behalda[90] *vb.* "keep", "retain"	75: 3

82 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "visserligen". Cf. ON *vísliga*; Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "vissuliga" and "vissa".

83 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "ämbete"; Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "embætti"; Moberg 1989, 22; Nielsen 1989, *s.v.* "embede" for references, and "amt".

84 See Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "embættismaðr".

85 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "äntligen"; Moberg 1989, 64, 246.

86 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "ära"; Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "æra"; Moberg 1989, 25, 51, 66–67, 145, 210; Nielsen 1989, *s.v.* "1 ære".

87 See Nielsen 1989, *s.v.* "11 ære".

88 See Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957, *s.v.* "ærligr"; Moberg 1989, 23, 46, 66–67, 157, 238–239; Nielsen 1989, *s.v.* "ærlig".

89 Cf. MLG *begripen*.

90 It is not clear whether the verb *behalda* is borrowed from MLG (*beholden*) or whether it

beskedhlika[91] *adv*. "appropriately" 83: 24

b) The Prefix *for-* < MLG *vor-* (26 Occurrences)

forbanna[92] *vb*. "damn" 82: 27–28; 83: 18; 121: 18–19
fordragha[93] *vb*. "endure" 101: 17
fordærva[94] *vb*. "ruin", "damage" 66: 1
fordømilse[95] *n*. "condemnation" 107: 24
forskuldan[96] *n*. "fault"
forsma[97] *vb*. "spurn", "scorn" 43: 17; 45: 13; 49: 14; 61: 26; 110: 8; 112: 22
forsmæilse[98] *n*. "scorn" 40: 18–19
forstanda[99] *vb*. "understand" 44: 3–4; 45: 4; 56: 14, 19; 58: 7–8; 61: 1; 65: 22; 86: 16; 93: 2; 108: 19; 117: 19

c) The Prefix *ivir-* < MLG *over-* (1 Occurrence)

ivirkoma[100] *vb*. "overcome" 53: 26

d) The Prefix *unt-* < MLG *ont-*, *ent-* (4 Occurrences)

untbæra[101] *vb*. "have mercy on" 41: 21; 43: 24; 85: 8; 87: 10

e) The Prefix *un-* < MLG *un-* (1 Occurrence)

*unsæld[102] *n*. "misfortune", "sadness" 114: 1

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is a native creation from the noun *behald* (in turn loaned from MLG *behalt*, *beholt*). See Olson 1916, 362.

91 Cf. MLG *beschedelike*(*n*).

92 Cf. MLG *vorbannen*.

93 See Moberg 1989, 241. Cf. MLG *vordragen*.

94 See Hellquist 1992, *s.v.* "fördärva"; Moberg 1989, 63. Cf. MLG *verderven*.

95 Cf. MLG *vordomenisse*. See Thors 1957, 534–535 (*s.v.* "fordöma"), 535 (*s.v.* "fordömilse").

96 Cf. MLG *vorschuld*.

97 Cf. MLG *vorsmân*, *vorsmaden*. The word also exists as a loan in ON *forsmá*.

98 Cf. MLG *vorsmanisse*, *vorsmadenisse*.

99 Cf. MLG *vorstân*. The word also exists in later ON (see the note in Vries 1977, *s.v.* "fyrir 2 präfix").

100 Cf. MLG *overkomen*.

101 Cf. MLG *entberen*. In E 8902, it only appears in the present indicative and is always spelt "vmbær"—cf. ON *umbera*.

102 Although I have classified the word under prefixes, I see no reason to view the word as "ett tidigt exempel […] på det från tyskan inlånade negerande un- [an early example of the negating *un-* borrowed from German]" as Moberg tentatively suggests it is. It is highly unlikely that the prefix *un-* is what has been loaned here, but rather the entire word (MLG

f) The Suffix *-bar* < MLG *-bar* (4 Occurrences)

opinbar[103] *adj*. "revealed", "public"	88: 17
opinbara[104] *vb*. "reveal"	62: 16; 85: 19
opinbarlika *adv*. "openly"	51: 8

g) The Suffix *-ilse* < MLG *-nisse*[105] (137 Occurrences)

astundilse *n*. "affection", "longing"	11: 4, 12; 27: 4
bætrilse[106] *n*. "improvement"	72: 24; 60: 1
drøvilse *n*. "sorrow", "sadness"	16: 10; 27: 22; 34: 5; 46: 19; 59: 8; 83: 28; 86: 11, 12–13, 25, 26–27; 87: 3, 9, 15; 95: 25; 103: 11–12; 118: 4, 9, 21; 122: 23; 124: 5, 8
fordømilse *n*. "condemnation"	107: 24
forsmæilse *n*. "scorn"	40: 18–19
frestilse *n*. "temptation"	34: 1; 101: 11; 118: 18
fulkomnilse *n*. "perfection"	58: 8; 84: 9; 107: 7–8; 108: 2; 127: 8
fæstilse[107] *n*. "strengthening"	102: 24
girilse *n*. "craving"	99: 5
hirtilse[108] *n*. "improvement"	87: 13–14

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unsâlde). The MLG prefix *un-* was never productive in Scandinavian and can only be found as an element in a few loaned lexemes. However, if the word is loaned from MLG, it is curious that the root vowel is "ee" (not *a*). There may be interference from OSw. in the loan (a sort of amalgam of MLG and OSw. forms). Alternatively, it might be a loan from MHG (*unsælde*), or simply due to scribal error.

103 Cf. the MLG words *oppenbar*, *oppenbaren*, and *oppenbarliken*.

104 See Thors 1957, 511–513 (*s.v.* "opinbara").

105 On the ending *-ilse*, see Seip 1947b; Seip 1952, 27–74; Loman 1961, 197–268. The list below only includes those *-ilse* words that either are influenced by MLG *-else* words or demonstrate a Nordic substitution for MLG *-nisse* words. It does not include such occurrences that are examples of either early WGmc influence (for example, "røkilse [incense]" < OE *rēcels*; "smyrilse [unguent]" < OE *smirels*), or metathesis (for example, "styrilse [leadership]" < *styrsl*). On these early examples, see Thors 1957, 156–157 (*s.v.* "rökilse"), 207–208 (*s.v.* "smyria"); Loman 1961, 218–219.

106 Thors 1957, 236 (*s.v.* "bätrilse").

107 In Söderwall the word is glossed as "1. fäste, firmament [attachment, firmament]" and "2. stadfästelse, bekräftelse [sanction, confirmation]", neither of which is appropriate here. In the Old Swedish versions we find "styrk" and the Latin has "fortitudinem", both meaning "strength". Thus, the meaning "strength(ening)" seems the most likely.

108 Not used in the Old Swedish versions and not listed in Söderwall. It occurs in E 8902 at the point where two revelations in Old Swedish and Latin traditions are joined, *viz*. Book I 22

hughsilse[109] *n.* “conception”	50: 4; 77: 7; 97: 1; 99: 6; 107: 8; 113: 3; 115: 11; 119: 22
hughsvalilse[110] *n.* “consolation”	87: 11–12; 92: 19
inskiutilse[111] *n.* “inspiration”	34: 3
*iakilse, iatilse[112] *n.* “promise”, “agreement”	82: 9; 101: 25; 110: 25; 111: 1
liknilse[113] *n.* “metaphor”, “simile”	9: 6; 24: 3–4; 27: 18; 41: 12; 49: 20; 61: 1; 62: 17; 66: 3; 69: 23; 70: 14; 93: 1, 2–3; 94: 3–4; 117: 17, 18; 120: 11; 121: 20; 122: 14
lustilse *n.* “desire”	12: 12; 13: 21
*nidherflytilse[114] *n.* “down-flow”	28: 7–8
nidhrilse *n.* “degradation”	83: 18; 100: 2
prydhilse *n.* “adornment”	30: 14
prøvilse[115] *n.* “examination”, “proof”	86: 8, 9, 24
rensilse *n.* “cleansing”	23: 18; 37: 5
rørilse *n.* “movement”	8: 5; 10: 6; 77: 18; 87: 9
skipilse[116] *n.* “order”	52: 24; 84: 2; 88: 23, 25; 90: 27; 91: 7; 111: 13
skodhilse[117] *n.* “consideration”	87: 21
smakilse[118] *n.* “taste”	91: 2, 7
*spailse[119] *n.* “prophecy”	65: 16
stænkilse[120] *n.* “aspergillum”	5: 3
styrkilse *n.* “strengthening”	96: 20; 126: 24; 127: 7
teilse[121] *n.* “revelation”	12: 24; 61: 4; 69: 24; 102: 2

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and Book I 25. See Moberg 1980, 201; Moberg 1998, 22. The verb *hirta* is glossed in Dahlgren (1960, *s.v.* “hirta”) and can also be found in ON as *hirta* (Vries 1977, *s.v.* “hirta”).

109 See Thors 1957, 504 (*s.v.* “hughsilse”).

110 See Thors 1957, 541 (*s.v.* “hughsvala”).

111 See Thors 1957, 509 (*s.v.* “inskiuta”).

112 Not listed in Söderwall (cf. *s.v.*, “iaka”, “iættan”). See section 6.1.2.

113 See Thors 1957, 256–258 (*s.v.* “liknilse”).

114 See section 6.1.3.

115 See Thors 1957, 520 (*s.v.* “prövilse”).

116 See Thors 1957, 518–519 (*s.v.* “skipa”).

117 See Thors 1957, 505 (*s.v.* “skodhan, skodhilse”).

118 The word “smakilse” is not listed in Söderwall. The Old Swedish versions have “smak” and the Latin “gustum”, both meaning “taste”.

119 See section 6.1.5.

120 See Thors 1957, 157–158 (*s.v.* “stänkil”)—he discusses Birgitta’s use of the word in particular on p. 158.

121 See Thors 1957, 510–511 (*s.v.* “tea”).

tiænilsse[122] *n.* "feeling(?)"	88: 24
umvændilse[123] *n.* "conversion"	86: 8
undirstandilse[124] *n.* "understanding"	3: 15; 25: 6–7, 13–14; 44: 27; 50: 22; 78: 17; 109: 26
upbrygdilse *n.* "insult"	4: 19; 26: 16; 27: 23–24; 32: 20; 34: 19; 45: 9; 72: 12
upbyrilse *n.* "beginning"	56: 5; 62: 25; 97: 19; 121: 5
upnøtilse *n.* "wearing out", "consumption"	12: 14–15
upvækkilse *n.* "calling"	96: 18–19
varilse *n.* "caution"	25: 10
værilse *n.* "defence"	85: 7; 100: 2
værnilse *n.* "defence"	40: 16
æggilse *n.* "incitement"	11: 13–14
æptirdømilse[125] *n.* "example"	42: 18; 82: 17; 99: 21; 107: 18

h) The Suffix *-inna* < MLG *-inne, -in* (1 Occurrence)

*søkiarinna[126] *n.* "(female) seeker"	79: 3–4

i) The Suffix *-ska* < MLG *-sche* (1 Occurrence)

syndirska[127] *n.* "(female) sinner"	1: 7

j) The Suffix *-het* < MLG *-heit, -hêt*[128] (14 Occurrences)

besklikhet *n.* "bitterness"	28: 23
bløtlikhet *n.* "softness"	70: 8
gladhlikhet *n.* "joy"	30: 18
gudhlikhet[129] *n.* "piety"	126: 17
mykillikhet *n.* "size", "greatness"	29: 6
nytlikhet *n.* "use"	3: 11; 30: 8–9
orenlikhet *n.* "uncleanliness"	8: 13
rædhelikhet *n.* "horror"	53: 20

122 This word is not listed in Söderwall. It is probably the result of scribal error—see the notes in the Commentary for *p.* 88: 24, where it is suggested that the scribe misread "kænnilse [feeling]" in the original.

123 See Thors 1957, 488–489 (*s.v.* "umvända, umvändilse").

124 Probably a loan from Old Frisian (*onderstannilse*) rather than MLG. See Moberg 1989, 218.

125 See Thors 1957, 258–259 (*s.v.* "äptirdöme"). We also find "æptirdøme" in E 8902 (*pp.* 5: 5–6, 6; 35: 2).

126 See section 6.1.6.

127 See Thors 1957, 564 (*s.v.* "syndarinna, syndirska"). Cf. MLG *sundersche*.

128 See Moberg 1989, 224–226.

129 See Thors 1957, 485–486 (*s.v.* "guþliker").

salikhet[130] *n.* "blessedness"	92: 6
vanskaplikhet *n.* "deformity"	9: 14
ærlikhet[131] *n.* "honour"	90: 15
thræfaldelikhet[132] *n.* "trinity"	30: 21; 31: 7

k) The Suffix *-are* < MLG *-er*, *-ere*[133] (74 Occurrences)

forraþare[134] *n.* "traitor"	2: 7; 68: 5

130 See Thors 1957, 448–449 (*s.v.* "saligher"); Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "salig". Cf. MLG *salicheit*.

131 See Moberg 1989, 67, 224. Cf. MLG *êrlicheit*.

132 See Thors 1957, 422–423 (*s.v.* "thräfalder"); Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "trefaldighet". Cf. MLG *drevaldicheit*.

133 This list is restricted to those words that came into Scandinavian from MLG. The suffix *-are* was a productive suffix in Scandinavian from the earliest times (see Olson 1916, 39; Wessén 1948, II, 75–79). Scandinavian *-are* words in E 8902 not included in the MLG list are:

a) *aterløsare*, "redeemer": See Thors 1957, 416–417 (*s.v.* "atirlösare").
b) *domare*, "judge": See Wessén 1948, II, 76; Wessén 1970, 22. Cf. ON *dómari*.
c) *drapare*, "killer": See Wessén 1948, II, 76. Cf. ON *drápari*.
d) *fylghiare*, "follower": See Thors 1957, 501 (*s.v.* "fylghia"). Cf. ON *fylgjari*.
e) *givare*, "giver": See Wessén 1948, II, 77 ("gäst*givare*").
f) *liughare*, "liar": See Wessén 1948, II, 77. Cf. ON *ljúgari*.
g) *mandrapare*, "murderer": Cf. ON *manndrápari*.
h) *predikare*, "preacher": The way in which this word found its way into Scandinavian is unclear—see Thors 1957, 255–256 (*s.v.* "predika"). Cf. ON *predikari*.
i) *skapare*, "creator": Cf. MLG *schepper* and Old Frisian *skeppere*. Thors (1957, 412, *s.v.* "skapare") writes that "Ordet är ju ett deverbativ och måste därför anses tillhöra det yngre skiktet av *ari*-bildningar […]. Det är att anse som en bildning efter mönster av kontinentala ord […]; det synes sannolikt, att nord[isk] *skapari* är en efterbildning av det kontinentala ordet [The word is, of course, a deverbative and should therefore be regarded as belonging to the later stage of *ari*-constructions (…) It can be regarded as a construction following the pattern of continental words (…); it seems probable that Norse *skapari* is an imitation of the continental word]". But Wessén (1948, II, 77) writes that "Många sådanna deverbativer finnas redan i isl[ändsk] prosa och i det f[orn]sv[enska] lagspråket: *skapare* till *skapa* [Many such deverbatives already existed in Icelandic prose and in old Swedish legal language: *skapari* ~ *skapa*]". In either case, it is an early loan that pre-dates the main wave of MLG influence.
j) *styrare*, "leader": Probably created through analogy with other *-are* nouns. See Wessén 1948, II, 77. Cf. the different suffixes in ON *stýrandi* and MLG *stûrman*.
k) *syndare*, "sinner": See Thors 1957, 563–564 (*s.v.* "syndare") where this word is described as an early loan from WGmc; cf. MLG *sunder* and ON *syndari*.

134 See Moberg 1989, 22, 25, 66, 202; Wessén 1948, II, 77. Cf. MLG *vorrader*, *vorreder*.

ingiutare[135] *n.* "servant"	3: 4
mæklare[136] *n.* "mediator"	79: 2
riddare[137] *n.* "knight"	31: 13, 19; 32: 6, 16, 21; 36: 9; 40: 15; 103: 4, 7, 8, 12; 104: 10, 12, 19, 25–26; 105: 13, 18, 20; 106: 10, 16, 18, 22, 24; 107: 1, 3; 110: 10, 18; 112: 5; 114: 8; 115: 1, 3, 16; 117: 22; 118: 10, 15, 19, 24; 119: 6, 11, 16; 123: 16, 21; 124: 40; 125: 3, 11; 126: 4 (×2); 127: 18, 19; 128: 1, 3
røvare[138] *n.* "robber"	4: 22
skiptare[139] *n.* "[money] changer"	14: 13
stympare[140] *n.* "wretch"	88: 8; 90: 19
þiænare[141] *n.* "servant"	2: 17, 22; 4: 4
væriare[142] *n.* "defender"	37: 15, 20; 38: 5
værnare[143] *n.* "defender"	38: 25; 40: 13; 42: 1, 20; 44: 16; 99: 26; 100: 3, 7, 20

l) The Suffix *-ig* < MLG *-ich* (565 Occurrences)

Many indigenous adjectives in Scandinavian had the suffix *-uker*; for example, "bloþogher", "stenogher", "skyldoger", etc.[144] Corresponding words in MLG ended in *-ich*: *blodich*, *stênich*, *schuldich*. Many MLG *-ich* adjectives were loaned

135 Cf. MLG (*in*)*geter*. It may, however, be a Scandinavian formation.

136 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "mäkla"; Thors 1957, 405–406 (*s.v.* "mäklare, daghthingare"). Cf. MLG *makeler*, *mekeler*.

137 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "riddare"; Wessén 1948, II, 77; Moberg 1989, 202. Cf. MLG *ridder*.

138 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "röva"; Moberg 1989, 99; Wessén 1948, II, 77. Cf. MLG *rover*, and also ON *raufari*. For ON *raufa* the meaning "break open" or "pierce" is Scandinavian, but the meaning "plunder" is a semantic loan from MLG.

139 Cf. MLG *schichter* and Middle Dutch *schifter* (cf. also Verdam and Verwijs 1912, *s.v.* "schichter").

140 See Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "stympare"; Moberg 1989, 25, 70, 99, 202. Cf. MLG *stumper*.

141 See Wessén 1948, II, 77. Cf. MLG *dener*.

142 Cf. MLG *werer*, but ON *verjandi*.

143 Cf. MLG *warner*, *werner*. It is not certain whether the Scandinavian and WGmc stems (*vern-/*wern-) are related (see Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "värn"), but the *-are* ending is MLG influence here.

144 The suffix is Common Germanic in origin: cf. OE *-ig*; OHG *-ǐ̆g*; Go. *-eigs* (< Proto-Germanic **-īʒá-* < Proto-Indo-European **-īkʷó-*). The form *-uker* is being used here to represent all Scandinavian variants with a rounded vowel (for example, *-ogher*, *-ugher*, *-oger*, *-uger*, *-og*, *-ug*, *-ogt*, *-ugt*, *-oker*, *-uker*, *-oker*, *-uker*, *-ok*, *-uk*, *-okt*, *-ukt*, etc.). Similarly, I write *-iker* for forms such as *-igher*, *-iker*, *-iger*, *-ig*, *-ik*, *-igt*, *-ikt*, etc.

into Scandinavian and gradually the *-uker* suffix came to be replaced by *-iker* in all Scandinavian words through analogy with these loanwords from MLG. This tendency resulted in the complete loss of the *-uker* ending (for example, Modern Swedish *blodig*, *stenig*, and *skyldig*), although remnants of it remain in some, principally northern, dialects. The suffix *-liker* deserves special mention. Although it is Common Germanic (cf. ON *-ligr*, *-legr*; OE *-lic*; OHG *-līh*, *-līch*; Go. *-leiks*), its growth in popularity in Scandinavian word-formation can be traced to MLG influence through the suffix *-lich*.

In the data from E 8902 we can see that *-uker* is still the most popular form of the *-iker/-uker* suffix, while *-liker* is the only form that occurs of the *-liker*/*-luker* suffix.

TABLE 8 *Various forms of the suffix* -ig *in E 8902*

		Suffix	Number of occurrences	%
-(l)iker	*-liker*	1. *-ligher*	40	7.08
		2. *-liker*	436	77.167
	-iker	3. *-igher*	1[145]	0.177
		4. *-iker*	1[146]	0.177
-(l)uker	*-luker*	5. *-logher*	0	0
		6. *-loker*	0	0
		7. *-lugher*	0	0
		8. *-luker*	0	0
	-uker	9. *-ogher*	36	6.372
		10. *-oker*	3[147]	0.531
		11. *-ugher*	48	8.496
		12. *-uker*	0	0
		Total	565	100

145 In "fatigha [poor]", *p.* 31: 7; cf. "fatogha", *pp.* 7: 23 (×2); 27: 2; 63: 23. The words derives from "fā + tøker", so the ending is not really a genuine *-iker* suffix (or an *-uker* suffix for that matter). It is rather a reduced form of the morpheme *tøker* (< Gmc **tōkia-*). Cf. ON *fátœkr*.

146 In the compound "fatikdoom [poverty]", *p.* 99: 15. See the footnote above.

147 Always in the strong neuter ending *-okt*.

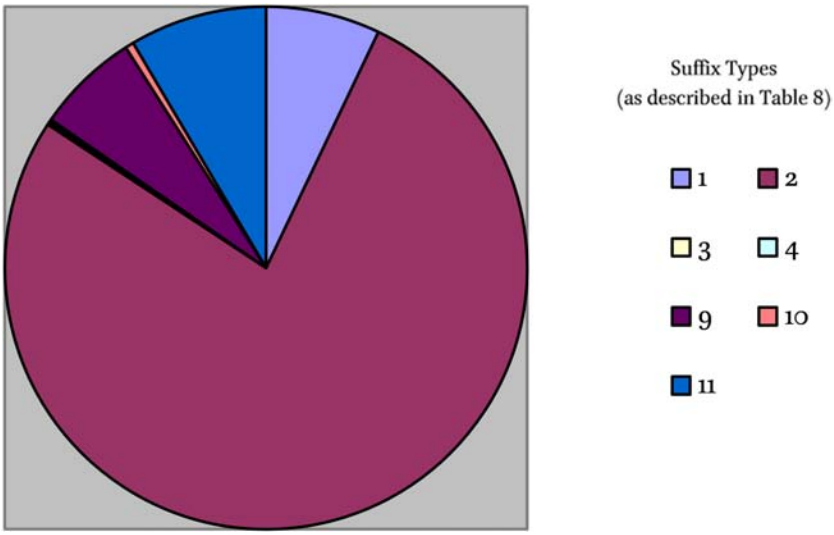

FIGURE 28 *Proportion of the various forms of* -ig *in E 8902*

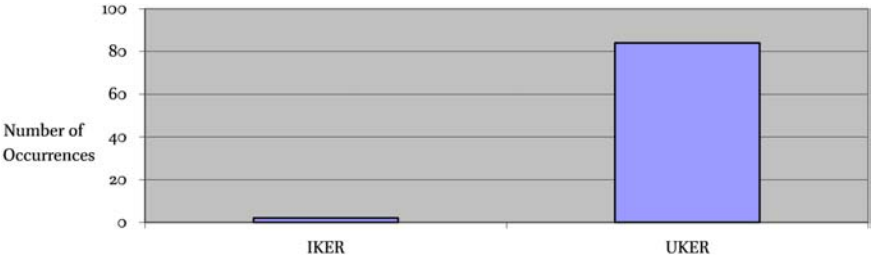

FIGURE 29 *Frequency of* -iker (*suffix types 1–3*) *and* -uker (*suffix types 9–12*) *in E 8902*

6.2.3 *Summary*

The trendline in the diagram below shows the increasing frequency of MLG loanwords throughout the manuscript. The increase is due to the change in subject matter, *viz.* the increasing focus on the nobility.

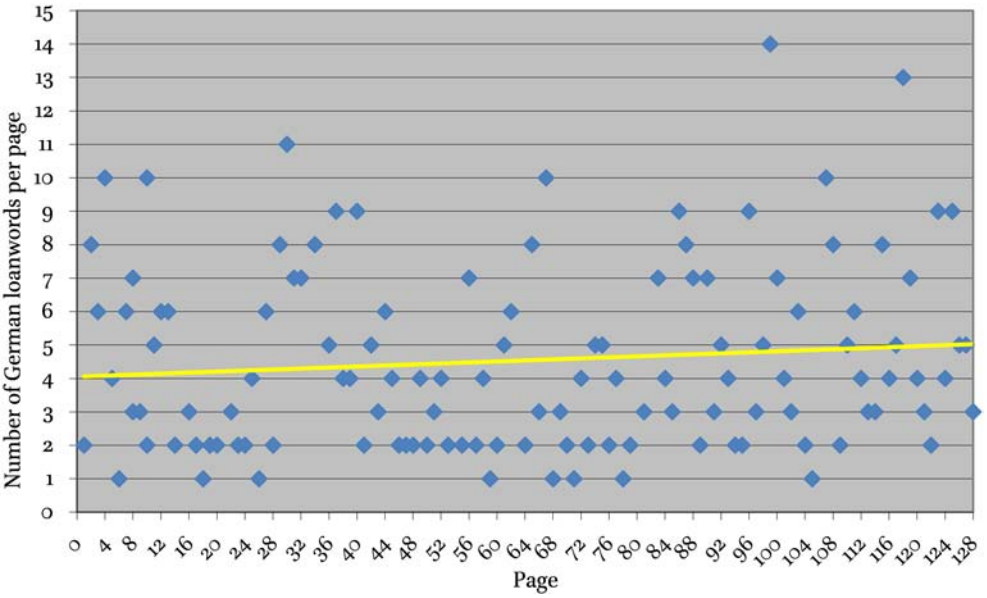

FIGURE 30 *Occurrences of Middle Low German loanwords in E 8902* (*does not include -iker suffix unless stem is also MLG*)

6.3 Latin Words and Phrases in E 8902

This section includes words of Irish, Greek, or Semitic origin for which Latin was the channel for borrowing into Scandinavian. The manuscript opens with a standard invocation in Latin, "Assit principio sancta maria meo [May St Mary assist at my beginning]", and closes with "amen".[148] There are a further 123 occurrences of Latin words and names within the body of the main text (less than 0.5% of the total text), all of which are listed below.

There are 51 occurrences of Latin adjectives and nouns, of which just six are by Hand 2 and the remainder by Hand 1:

148 The same invocation to the Virgin Mary can be found in the *Old Swedish Pentateuch Paraphrase* (Thott 4 4°) and *Kung Alexander* (in Holm. D 4). The Virgin is also invoked in Aslak Bolt's cadastre (*Aslak Bolts jordebok*, Det Norske Riksarkivet, München perg. 4292, fol. 2^{r}, ll. 1–2: "Duc pe*n*nam / rege cor | v*ir*go maria / precor [Guide the pen, lead the heart, the Virgin Mary, I pray]").

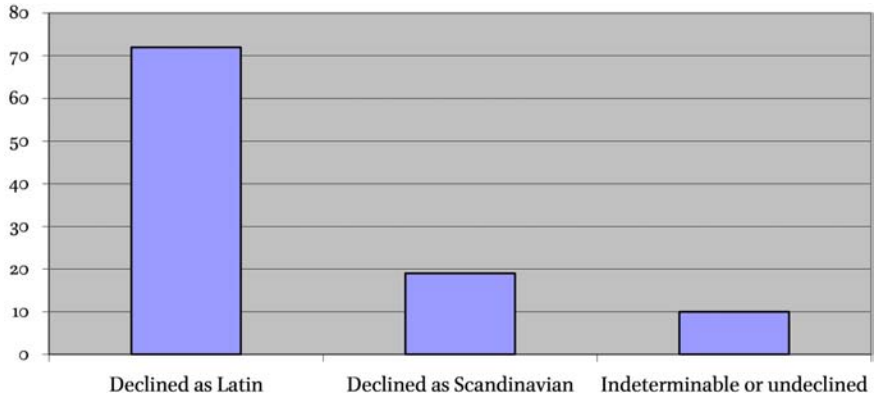

FIGURE 31 *How Latin adjectives and nouns are declined in E 8902 (by percentage)*

Many of the words are inflected as Latin throughout, but we also find a few mixed declensions. Nouns can be declined as Latin, but then acquire a Scandinavian form in some cases (for example, in the accusative or dative plural, and when inflect for the definite form):

Apostle (Lat.: *apostolus*, OSw. *apostol*)
As Lat.: "apostolos" (acc. pl), "apostolis" (dat. pl)
As Scand.: "apostla" (acc. pl)

Patriarch (Lat.: *patriarcha*, OSw. *patriarke*)
As Lat.: "patriarchas" (acc. pl)
As Scand.: "patriarcha" (acc. pl.)

Prophet (Lat.: *propheta*, OSw. *prophete*)
As Lat.: "prophetas" (acc. pl.)
As Scand.: "prophetane" (nom. pl. def.), "prophetanna" (acc. pl. def.), "prophetom" (dat. pl.), "prophetomen" (dat. pl. def.)

We have no way of knowing what the forms of these words were in the original text, but it is interesting to note that in Klemming's edition of the Old Swedish versions (based on Holm. A 33 and Holm. A 5a) they are all inflected according to Scandinavian patterns. The word "pharao" causes Hand 2 difficulties and the word remains uninflected resulting in some unusual compound nouns (see under section 6.3.1). The adjective "sancta [saint]" is also not inflected for case and acts like a prefix for the name "Birgitta".[149] The word "paradiis

149 Latin *sanctus* often appears as *sankte* or *sankta* in Scandinavian texts before the names

[paradise]" has become Scandinavian, but shows its non-Scandinavian tonic structure through vowel gemination.

There are a total of 72 occurrences of Latin names in the manuscript. They appear declined either as Scandinavian or Latin:

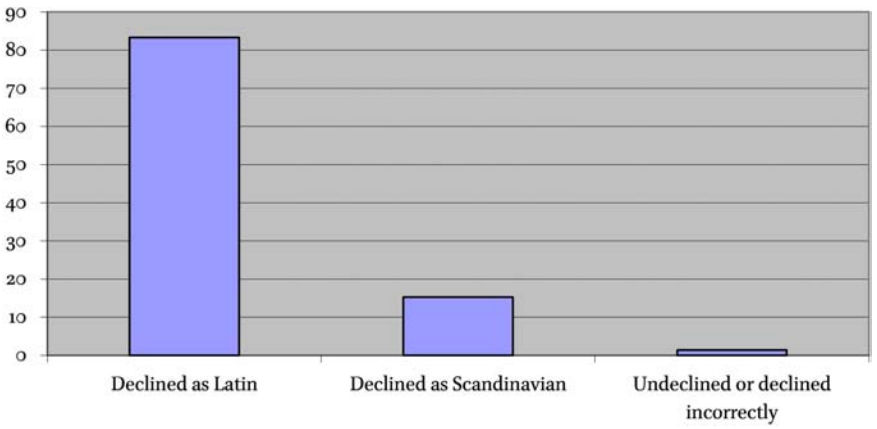

FIGURE 32 *How Latin proper nouns are declined in E 8902 (by percentage)*

The names that have been fully adapted to the Scandinavian morphological system are Birgitta ("Birgitta"), Paul ("Paual", "Paal"), and Peter ("Petar", "Pætar"). The Biblical names, Peter and Paul, had been used for name-giving since the arrival of Christianity in Scandinavia. They soon evolved into vernacular forms, probably under the influence of forms used by the West Germanic missionaries, and through analogy they were declined like other strong masculine nouns in Scandinavian. The name Birgitta, however, was not so common.[150] In E 8902, "Birgitta" is declined as a weak feminine noun, whereas in some Old Swedish translations "sancta Birgitta" is declined as in Latin:

Jomfrv maria ordh til sanctam byrgittam acc.[151] (*BU* 1, 25, l. 1)
[The Virgin Mary's words to St Birgitta]

---

of saints (male or female respectively). The form is indeclinable, but probably derives from the Latin vocative—*sancte* (masc.) and *sancta* (fem.)—common in invocations and prayers. See Thors 1957, 404–405, *s.v.* "sanctus".

150 See Morris 1999, 35 n. 1; Hellquist 1922, *s.v.* "Birgitta".

151 The choice of case after the preposition *til* appears to be influenced by Latin *ad* + acc. Old Swedish *til* is followed by the genitive or dative.

Christus manar sina brudh sanctam birgittam [Christ exhorts his bride St Birgitta]	acc.	(*BU* IV, 115, ll. 11–12)
Christi brudh sancte byrgitte bøn for rom [Christ's bride St Birgitta's prayer for Rome]	gen.	(*BU* I, 381, l. 28)
EN frw […] sagdhe […] j sancte birgitte ahøro [A lady said in St Birgitta's hearing/audience]	gen.	(*BU* III, 218, ll. 3–5)
EN siæl syntis sancte birgitte sighiande [A soul appeared to St Birgitta saying]	dat.	(*BU* II, 334, l. 4)

Certain *nomina sacra* appear only in Latin forms; for example, "Christus", "Iesus", and "Maria" are all declined as Latin.[152] The names of figures from the Old Testament do not appear in as full a range of cases, but seem also to comply with Latin paradigms—there is even a hypercorrect "Chaim" for the accusative "Cain". This stands in contrast to the findings of Muriel Norde, who in her analysis of Latin names in "Vidhemsprästens anteckningar"[153] finds that:

> [Ä]ven om namnen bibehåller den latinska nominativändelsen *-us* får de en svensk ändelse i alla övriga kasus. Det finns bara ett belägg på en latinsk ändelse i *sancta mariæ kyrkyæ* (men även: *sancta mariu kyrkyu*). […] Av denna lilla granskning av en kort fornsvensk text framgår, att främmande namn eller till och med främmande ändelser inte erbjuder problem för ett låntagande språk med ett "levande" kasussystem.[154]
>
> [Even if the names keep the Latin nominative ending *us* they receive a Swedish ending in all other cases. There is only one example of a Latin ending in *sancta mariæ kyrkyæ* (but also: *sancta mariu kyrkyu*, "St Mary's Church"). (…) From this small investigation of a short Old Swedish text it appears that foreign names or even foreign endings do not pose a problem for a borrowing language with a "living" case system.]

152 The reluctance to use vernacular morphology in sacred names is even evidenced today in *Kristus* and *Jesus*, which can maintain their Latin genitive endings (*Kristi, Jesu*) in the modern Scandinavian languages.

153 In Collin and Schlyter 1827, I, under "Incerti auctoris variæ adnotationes".

154 Norde 1994, 103.

This is clearly not the case for E 8902 where Latin words and names often retain their Latin morphological forms.[155] The key factor is surely familiarity with the accidence of Latin as well as the requirements of the genre; a scribe trained in Latin would probably not change Latin morphological forms to those of the recipient (target) language as he would simply not recognise any need to do so. Indeed, the vernacularisation of religious terms and biblical names may well have been deemed irreverent (as well as unnecessary). It is not so much a question of how a "låntagande språk [borrowing language]" copes with foreign names, but rather how scribes using that language treat foreign names in their source texts within certain contexts.

6.3.1 *Adjectives and Common Nouns*[156]

agnus[157]	"lamb"		1 occurrence
"agnus"	nom. sg.	126: 2	as Latin[158]
angelus[159]	"angel"		2 occurrences
"angelorum"	gen. pl.	116: 7; 118: 13	as Latin
apostolus[160]	"apostle"		3 occurrences
"apostla"	acc. pl.	63: 25	as Scandinavian
"apostolis"	dat. pl.	46: 14	as Latin
"apostolos"	acc. pl.	65: 23	as Latin
dominus[161]	"lord"		1 occurrence
"dominus"	nom. sg.	76: 19	as Latin

155 Norde's text is earlier than E 8902 when the case system of the Swedish was presumably more extensive. However, in order to generalise from Norde's conclusions we would have to accept that after the declensional rot had set in, Scandinavian scribes felt they had to revert to or reintroduce Latin morphology for names of Latin origin. This seems highly unlikely.

156 The list does not include the invocation on *p*. 1: 1 or the concluding doxology on *p*. 128: 5.

157 On this occurrence of "agnus" in E 8902, see the Commentary for *p*. 126: 6. See also Thors 1957, 417–418 (*s.v*. "lamb").

158 If the nominative singular form of the noun or adjective in Latin matches the form in the manuscript, I have classified the form as being declined as Latin.

159 See Thors 1957, 425–427 (*s.v*. "ängil"); Green 1998, 284.

160 See Thors 1957, 398–399 (*s.v*. "apostol").

161 See Green 1998, 103, 105, 110, 115, 118, 124, 284–285, 358, 361–363.

deus	"God"		2 occurrences
"dei"	gen. sg.	126: 2	as Latin
"deus"	nom. sg.	76: 19	as Latin
fons (Lat. stem font-)[162]	"font"		1 occurrence
"fwntenom"[163]	dat. sg.	88: 19	as Scandinavian
legio	"legion"		7 occurrences
"legio"	nom. sg.	118: 14, 18, 23; 119: 5, 15	as Latin
"legiones"	nom pl.	116: 7; 118: 13	as Latin
palacium	"palace"		4 occurrences
"palacio"	dat. sg.	17: 14	as Latin
"palacium"	nom. sg.	37: 13	as Latin
"palacium"	acc. sg.	37: 12; 39: 15	as Latin
paradisus[164]	"paradise"		1 occurrence
"paradiis"	dat. sg.	46: 4	as Scandinavian
patriarcha[165]	"patriarch"		2 occurrences
"patriarcha"	acc. pl.	65: 12–13	as Scandinavian
"patriarchas"	acc. pl.	63: 6	as Latin
persona[166]	"person"		2 occurrences
"persone"	nom. pl.	70: 17	as Latin
"personis"	dat. pl.	46: 13–14	as Latin
pharao	"pharao"		8 occurrences
"pharao(-)"	in compound nouns[167]	114: 3, 18, 20	undeclined

162 See Green 1998, 333–334.

163 The word, meaning "font" (see Thors 1957, 148–150, *s.v.* "fonter"), is used in E 8902 (*p.* 88: 18–20) to clarify the phrase "well of unguent" (cf. Gr. χρῖσμα) in the text—or perhaps "well of unguent" is used to clarify "font": "þa ho*n* ko*m* | wt af þino*m* smørilsso bru*n*ne. þ*æt* ær w fwntenom | þa var ho*n* þik liik [Then she came out of the well of unguent, that is the font. Then she was like you]".

164 See Thors 1957, 446 (*s.v.* "paradis").

165 See Thors 1957, 373 (*s.v.* "patriarke").

166 See Thors 1957, 421–422 (*s.v.* "persona").

167 The word "pharao" has been used as the first part of a compound noun in 3 instances:

"pharao"	nom. sg.	114: 10, 22; 115: 11	as Latin
"pharaonem"	acc. sg.	67: 1	as Latin
"pharaoni"	dat. sg.	115: 6	as Latin
processio[168]	"procession"		1 occurrence
"processiones"	acc. pl.	31: 5–6	as Latin
propheta[169]	"prophet"		9 occurrences
"prophetam"	acc. sg.	43: 12	as Latin
"prophetane"	nom. pl. (def.)	64: 13	as Scandinavian
"prophetanna"	acc. pl. (def.)	65: 12	as Scandinavian
"prophetanom"	dat. sg. (def.)	77: 28–29	as Scandinavian
"prophetas"	acc. pl.	63: 5; 66: 26	as Latin
"prophetom"	dat. pl.	63: 8; 122: 19	as Scandinavian
"prophetomen"	dat. pl.	97: 9	as Scandinavian
sabaoth[170]	"Hosts", "armies"		
"sabaoth"	nom. sg.	76: 20–21	?

1) *p.* 114: 3 "þæ. hafua af pharao. konu*n*gæ" dat. sg.
[they have at the hands of the pharao king]
2) *p.* 114: 18 "þæ pintos hardlika. af pharao swenom" dat. pl.
[they were cruelly tormented by the pharao's men]
3) *p.* 114: 20 "Thette m*i*t. folk. bygde pharao konu*n*ghe. twa borge" dat. sg.
[These my people built the pharao king two castles]

Alternatively, these examples could be viewed as:

1, 3) Two dative singular nouns in apposition, but the first noun ("pharao") has not been declined.
2) A genitive singular noun + a dative plural noun, but the genitive noun ("pharao") has not been declined.

The word *pharao* is often used as an indeclinable personal name in classical writings; for example, Gr. Φαραώ is indeclinable.

168 See Thors 1957, 265 (*s.v.* "proces").
169 See Thors 1957, 378 (*s.v.* "prophete").
170 Ultimately from Hebrew (for example, 1 Samuel 17: 45), the word was taken via Latin liturgy (here the *Sanctus*) and is found in combination with the name of God.

sacramentum[171]	"sacrament"		1 occurrence
"sacramenta"	acc. pl.	51: 11–12	as Latin
sanctus[172]	"saint"		5 occurrences
"sancta"	fem. nom. sg.	56: 3	as Latin
"sancta"	fem. acc. sg.	25: 15	undeclined[173]
"sanctus"	masc. nom. sg.	76: 18 (×3)	as Latin

Total number of occurrences of Latin words: 51

6.3.2 *Proper Nouns*

Adam			4 occurrences
"adam"	nom.	46: 4; 109: 6	as Latin
"adam"	acc.	121: 1	as Latin
"adam"	dat.	121: 12	as Scandinavian?[174]
Baal			1 occurrence
"baal"	acc.	43: 14	as Latin
Brigitta			2 occurrences
"birgitta"	nom.	53: 5–6	as Scandinavian
"birgitto"	acc./gen.	25: 16	as Scandinavian

171 See Thors 1957, 185–187 (*s.v.* "Sakramenten").

172 See Thors 1957, 404–405 (*s.v.* "sankta").

173 On *p.* 25: 15–16 we have "Gudhz son taladhe til sinna brudh. s*anc*ta birgitto [The Son of God spoke to his bride, Birgitta]". The pronoun "sinna" has been declined for the accusative and "birgitto", a weak feminine noun, has the oblique form ending in *-o*. The Latin adjective "sancta", however, remains uninflected for case, although it obviously is inflected for feminine gender. See also the following footnote.

174 The Latin dative form is "Adae". We might expect the Scandinavian dative form to end in *-i* (or *-e*), but having looked through other vernacular versions of Birgitta's revelations, the name *Adam* can also appear uninflected in the dative. This means that we could also view the nominative and accusative forms ("Adam") as Scandinavian rather than Latin. In all, there are five forms of the name *Adam* in OSw.: "Adambir" nom. (in Holm. A 1); "Adam" nom., acc., dat. (for example, Birgitta's *Revelations* in Holm. A 33 and Holm. A 5a; *Old Swedish Pentateuch Paraphrase* in Holm. A 1; *Sicælinna thrøst* in Holm. A 108); "Adams" gen. (for example, in Holm. A 33; Holm. A 5a; Holm. A 1); "Adama" dat. (for example, in Holm. A 1); "Adame" dat. (for example, in Holm. A 33; Holm. A 5a; Holm. A 1).

Cain			1 occurrence
“chaim”	acc.	121: 1	Error/Hypercorrection[175]
Christus			17 occurrences
“christe”	voc.	66: 5	as Latin
“christi”	gen.	1: 3; 23: 5; 31: 9; 104: 6	as Latin
“christum”	acc.	56: 3; 60: 16; 72: 24	as Latin
“christus”	nom.	1: 24; 39: 13; 58: 9; 60: 4; 62: 13; 76: 27; 79: 17; 97: 5; 103: 6	as Latin
Georgius			1 occurrence
“georgius”	nom.	103: 2	as Latin
Helias			1 occurrence
“heliam”	acc.	43: 12	as Latin
Hierusalem			2 occurrences
“iherusalem”	acc.	53: 25	as Latin
“jherusalem”	nom.	54: 4	as Latin
Iesus			14 occurrences
“ihesu”	gen.	104: 16	as Latin
“ihesu”	voc.	66: 5	as Latin
“ihesum”	acc.	56: 3; 60: 16; 72: 24	as Latin
“ihesus”	nom.	37: 9; 39: 13; 58: 8; 60: 4; 62: 13; 76: 27; 97: 5; 103: 6	as Latin
“Jhesus”	nom.	79: 17	as Latin
Maria			13 occurrences
“maria”	nom.	24: 17–18; 56: 3; 57: 26; 60: 15; 61: 27; 67: 18; 70: 18; 72: 24; 78: 25; 79: 15	as Latin
“mariam”	acc.	63: 14; 65: 17	as Latin
“marie”	gen.	46: 7	as Latin

175 The form “chaim” has erroneously been written for the accusative form “Cain”, an indeclinable masculine noun. The scribe has applied the *-m* ending, characteristic of the Latin accusative, to this name. This is, however, a fairly common form in medieval texts.

Moses			5 occurrences
"moyse"	dat.	97: 8–9	as Latin[176]
"møysen"	acc.	114: 4	as Latin[177]
"møyses"	nom.	113: 17, 20	as Latin
"møysi"	gen.	113: 16	as Latin
Noe			2 occurrences
"noe"	gen.	46: 4; 66: 10	as Latin
Paulus			4 occurrences
"paal"	nom.	98: 2	as Scandinavian
"paual"	nom.	98: 10, 13	as Scandinavian
"pauale"	dat.	98: 3	as Scandinavian
Petrus			4 occurrences
"petare"	dat.	98: 2	as Scandinavian
"Petare"	dat.	98: 12	as Scandinavian
"pætar"	nom.	98: 2	as Scandinavian
"Pætar"	nom.	98: 7	as Scandinavian
Sodomita			1 occurrence
"sodomitas"	acc. pl.	67: 2	as Latin

Total number of occurrences of Latin names: 72

6.4 *Vadstenaspråk*-like, *Östgötska*, and Danish Features

In much research on Old Swedish there is mention of *Vadstenaspråk* [Vadstena language] to refer to the written language that was shaped, used, and taught at Vadstena monastery during the later Old Swedish period.[178] This norm is described as conservative and is not thought to reflect the contemporary pronunciation. It includes features such as vowel balance, the elision of palatal R in

176 This is either a weakened form of the Latin dative *-i* ("moysi" > "moyse") or a similarly weakened Scandinavian masculine dative ending (*-i* > *-e*). As the other forms of the noun have followed the Latin declension, it seems most likely that this is also an attempt to decline the noun in a Latin form.

177 Hand 2 uses the distinctive spelling "møys-" in the name "Moses".

178 See Henning 1960; Wessén 1960, 103; Larsson 1975; Pettersson 1996, 140–141.

final position, the use of certain lexical items (*nar*, "when", for *nær*; *fira*, "four" for *fyra*; *fran*, "from", for *fra*), and various orthographical conventions (use of *ff* and *dh*, gemination of long vowels in closed syllables).

However, nowadays philologists mostly disassociate themselves from *Vadstenaspråk* as something substantial. Although a sort of norm evolves during the late fifteenth century, it is clear that the features described above do not really hold. So-called *Vadstenaspråk* features occur in manuscripts from other scriptoria than Vadstena, and there are manuscripts from Vadstena that do not contain these features. They are thus not particularly useful in determining a manuscript's origin, and indeed, in E 8902 we find words in these presumed *Vadstenaspråk* forms alongside other forms of the same word.

The scriptorium at Vadstena was producing manuscripts from before 1400 and any sort of identifiable norm took about a century to develop. E 8902, dating from around 1400, can thus be considered as being contemporary with the earliest works from Vadstena and even if the manuscript were copied from texts produced in Vadstena we might only expect a few, if any, of the so-called *Vadstenaspråk*-like features. Indeed, any such features are most probably the result of coincidence rather than a connection between E 8902 and the embryonic scribal practices of Vadstena. Indeed, this is the case as there are just eleven occurrences of forms that can be described as typical of *Vadstenaspråk*, and a further three forms that demonstrate *Östgötska* features (*Östgötska* is thought to be the dialectal basis of *Vadstenaspråk*).

Vadstenaspråk-like forms (all by Hand 1):

"nar [when]"	× 1 (18: 2)[179]
"fran [from]"	× 2 (40: 4 ("f\r/aan"); 113: 13)[180]
"of- [very, too]"	× 8 (77: 24; 87: 5, 6, 15; 96: 15, 16–17; 100: 23; 110: 16)

Östgötska forms (all by Hand 1):

"badhel [nest]"	× 1 (7: 8)
"w [from]"	× 1 (88: 19)
"wkh [yoke]"	× 1 (125: 10)

179 The form "naar" occurs 25 times and "nar" once.

180 The form "fra" occurs 13 times and "fraa" once.

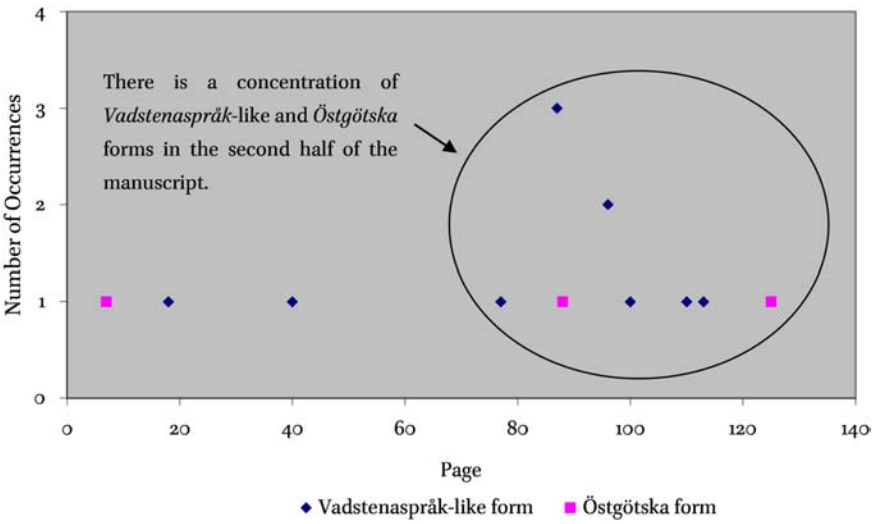

FIGURE 33 *Number of occurrences of* Vadstenaspråk-*like and* Östgötska *features in E8902*

It is not possible to tell whether the higher number of these forms in the latter part of the manuscript is due to the copying of such forms from the original or to their independent use by the scribe.

Finally, there is a noteworthy example of Danish influence: "ønkelikin [pitiful, wretched]", *p.* 85: 23. The shift [m > ŋ/__k], typical of Danish, is very unusual in Swedish; cf. OSw. *ømka, ymka*; ON *aumka,* but ODan. *ønkæ*.[181]

181 Hansen 1962–1971, II, 198–199.

CHAPTER 7

Language Mixture in Medieval Scandinavian Manuscripts

E 8902 is written in a mixture of linguistic forms, some common in late medieval Swedish manuscripts and some in late medieval Norwegian manuscripts. In this chapter the different types of language mixture found generally in Scandinavian manuscripts are described as is the method for investigating the phenomenon specifically in E 8902. It is first necessary to look at why we find mixtures of linguistic forms in late medieval Norwegian manuscripts and to define what is meant by written Norwegian during this period. Different types of intentional and unintentional language mixing are presented, before the process of scribal copying (reading and writing) is described.

7.1 Causes of Swedish Influence on Norwegian in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

There are both internal and external reasons for the influence of Swedish on Norwegian in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. We shall begin by looking at definitions of the languages, the concept of norm in the context of medieval Scandinavian, and then consider the causes of linguistic mixture.

7.1.1 *Early Definitions*

Inhabitants of Denmark, Norway and Sweden have never had particular difficulties understanding each other's languages.[1] A millennium ago they all spoke the same language, albeit with dialectal differences, and in early sources the expression "dǫnsk tunga [Danish tongue]" is used to refer this language (or collection of dialects) spoken by Norsemen from Greenland in the west to the Volga in the east. The language spoken at this time was of course not uniform: there was much dialectal variation, as is even evidenced in runic inscriptions,[2] and presumably also sociolectal variation.[3] Literary sources from the beginning

1 Petersen 1829–1830; Melberg 1949–1951; Hammerich 1953; Seip 1954, 7–13; Seip 1955, 31, 59–60, 83–84, 213–217, 336–340; Skautrup 1957; Karker 1977; Schulte 2002b, 872–873.

2 See Syrett 1994, 31–34; Barnes 1997.

3 Ohlsson 1978, 151–152.

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of the fourteenth century show that dialectal differences had greatly increased and more distinct regional variants were developing fast. By the fourteenth century various terms were used to refer to the languages spoken in the different parts of Scandinavia. The expression "dǫnsk tunga" came to be used to refer solely to Danish, whilst "norrǿna [Norse]" was used exclusively for the Old West Norse languages with "íslenzka [Icelandic]" and "íslenzk tunga [Icelandic tongue]" being used to refer to the variety spoken in Iceland. In Sweden terms such as "svænsk tunga [Swedish tongue]" and "gøtsk tunga [Gothic tongue]" or "gøta mal [Gothic language]" were used to refer to the language spoken in Svealand and Götaland respectively. Across Scandinavia phrases such as "materna lingua [mother tongue]", "natale idioma [language of birth]", "vulgari nostro [in our vernacular]", and "lingua patria [native language]" (these taken from Anders Sunesøn) were used by writers to refer to their own language.[4]

7.1.2 *The Problem of Defining "Norm" in the Context of Old Norwegian*

Unfortunately, there are no sources that describe Norwegian (or Swedish) in the fourteenth century,[5] so whatever we do know about Norwegian has had to be reconstructed from the written evidence available. Furthermore, describing Norwegian-Swedish language mixture at this time could be regarded as something of an impossible task. Neither of the languages had gained a level of standardisation required to make foolproof, comprehensive distinctions between them—particularly in the border regions of south-eastern Norway.[6] Indeed, when looking at Norwegian manuscripts from the Middle Ages,[7] does

4 In his Latin translation of *Skånske Kirkelov*, *Lex Scaniæ prouincialis*, Anders Sunesøn (*c.* 1160–1228) provides the reader with translations of certain Latin terms in the vernacular, which he most frequently refers to as "lingua patria"; for example, Thorsen 1853, 129, 134, 139 (×2), 190. He also uses such terms as "natale idioma" (p. 115), "lingua materna" (p. 115), "uulgariter [vernacularly]" (p. 115), and "ex/in uulgari nostro [from/into our vernacular]" (pp. 118, 136). Further examples in Skautrup 1957. For a list of such phrases in glosses to refer to Danish, see Adams 2010, 134–136.

5 The Icelanders, however, had earlier written a number of grammatical treatises on their language. See Hreinn Benediktsson 1961; Hreinn Benediktsson 1972; Haugen 1972; Ulvestad 1976; Raschellà 1982.

6 On distinctions in south-eastern Norway, see Seip 1934, 157. On defining "norm", see also Koht 1927a; Koht 1927b; Hægstad 1906–1942; Indrebø 1951; Seip 1955; Knudsen 1967; Skard 1973; Almenningen *et al.* 1981; Vannebo 1980; Hagland 1984; Hagland 1986; Venås 1986; Hagland 1988; Hagland 1992; Johansson 2000.

7 By 1560 all vernacular documents in Norway were produced entirely in Danish (Haugen 1976, 330).

it make sense to talk of *a Norwegian language* at all, and if so, what characterises this language?

The question of a late medieval written norm for Norwegian has of course been addressed by scholars, but even though all linguistic descriptions and analyses of Old Norwegian involve an implicit understanding of the notion of norm, this notion has rarely been defined. Some, such as Kjell Venås, are sceptical about the use of terms such as norm in discussions of the medieval period:

> Elles er det snautt noka stor ulukke om nemningsbruken er noko blanda hjå dei som har skrive om gammalnorske skriftformer. Til arbeidet med dette treng vi ikkje særlig finstilte definisjonar.[8]
>
> [Otherwise it is hardly any great misfortune that the use of terminology by those who have written about Old Norwegian written forms is somewhat mixed up. To work with this we do not need particularly fine-tuned definitions.]

His definition of the concept of norm is:

> Med "norm" meiner ein faste reglar for å gje skriftleg att ein fonologisk, morfologisk og syntaktisk språkbygnad. Desse reglane, denne norma, kan vi eventuelt sjå eller ikkje sjå i dei ferdige skriftstykka. Reglane kan vera lærte ved munnleg rettleiing frå lærar til elev, eller dei kan vera lærte ved avskrift i samband med skriveopplæringa. Ein «fast skriftspråktradisjon» er ein verknad av ei eventuell norm.[9]
>
> [By "norm" is meant fixed rules to reproduce in written form a phonological, morphological and syntactic language structure. These rules, this normalisation, we may or may not see in the finished pieces of writing. The rules can be learned through oral instruction from teacher to pupil, or they may be learned through copying in conjunction with training in writing. A "fixed written language tradition" is an effect of a possible norm.]

Venås is here suggesting that a norm should be regarded as the established rules for writing a language. Magnus Rindal has put forward a different definition of norm:

---

8 Venås 1986, 4.

9 Venås 1986, 4.

> Med norm meiner eg her ei språkform som er karakterisert ved at eit sett av språklege kriterium dominerer i den og ikkje i andre språkformer. Ei norm vil i regelen vere regionalt eller miljømessig avgrensa.[10]
>
> [By norm I here mean a form of language characterised by a set of linguistic criteria dominating in it and not in other forms of languages. As a rule, a norm will be regionally or environmentally restricted.]

In other words, a norm is present in a text when a set of linguistic "criteria" are used consistently.[11] We thus have two quite different concepts of norm: Rindal's requires nothing more than the expectation of some kind of regularity; Venås' requires a norm to be seen as a set of rules that may or may not be followed. Renate Bartsch would approve of Venås' usage, but would add that a norm is a social creation with a normative force.[12] Hagland has shown that such a socially constructed norm with a normative force did indeed exist in medieval Norwegian and that it was transmitted through legal codices and diplomas, that is, the text production of the chancery. This norm was so prestigious and therefore had such a great normative force, that Swedish scribes working in the Norwegian chancery (1360–1380) produced texts in Norwegian that do not stand out linguistically from other texts of the period produced by Norwegian scribes.[13] It is, of course, necessary to recognise that this written norm was just that, a *written* norm, from which we cannot make assumptions about the spoken language in Norway at the time.

To describe a late fourteenth-century written norm for Norwegian is thankfully neither the task nor a requirement of this study of E 8902.[14] However, the recognition that some sort of norm existed (even just a localised one) and that deviation from it must have occurred for a reason is an important prerequisite for any analysis.[15] Although we cannot reconstruct a norm, we can describe some of the features that we would expect to appear with regularity (Rindal's requirement) and assume that such forms are governed by a set of rules (Venås'

10 Rindal 1984, 172.

11 It is questionable whether "kriterium [criteria]" is the best choice of word as it will surely be features, not criteria, that dominate.

12 Bartsch 1987, 166–172.

13 Hagland 1988.

14 Hagland (1986) has described such a norm for the period 1200–1350 using empirical research.

15 We should, however, be careful not to regard the written language as a fixed standard and to assume that any deviation from it must be due to Swedish (or Danish) interference.

requirement). For our purposes, however, the rules will be taken to be of a very broad phonological, morphological, and graphemic nature, and they will serve only to differentiate between Old Norwegian and Old Swedish. They will be the basis of the distinguishing features that will be used in this study.

Norway had a long tradition of using the vernacular in writing, and the *lingua franca* of the Church, *viz*. Latin, never got the same foothold there as it did in Denmark and Sweden; it was used primarily internally in church affairs and in international correspondence.[16] In Sweden, where there were two main dialectal norms (*Sveamål* and *Götamål*), Church and State used Latin almost exclusively until the late fourteenth century.[17] The oldest extant diploma in Swedish is from 1343, and not before the 1360s do we find a greater number texts being produced in Swedish than Latin. It is possible that Queen Margrete pushed the case for using the vernacular in administration during her reign. Whilst growing up in Norway, she would have observed that both official and private documents could be produced in the vernacular.[18]

7.1.3 *Internal Causes of Mixture*

From a linguistic point of view, Swedish and Norwegian can even today be regarded as dialects of a single Scandinavian language—they are only languages by virtue of separate standardisation and not by their linguistic difference from one another.[19] They are so-called *Ausbau* languages; that is, they are languages that have been built up ("ausgebaut")—they contain all the useful vocabulary they need and are recognised for all registers and domains of language. They can also be placed along the same geographical dialect continuum and be linked by a chain of mutual intelligibility.[20] The present-day national

16 On the influence of Latin on Norwegian, see Berulfsen 1962–1965. It should also be noted that there are a good few runic inscriptions in Latin (see Ertl 1994; Gustavson 1994; Spurkland 2001, 193–196).

17 Old Gutnish, the medieval language of Gotland, differed greatly and is by many considered a separate language. It demonstrates a few similarities to the Gothic of Wulfila's Bible translations. See Gordon 1957, 325–326 § 227; Wessén 1959; Wessén 1972; Bandle 1973, 106–109; Schulte 2002b, 878–879.

18 Although Swedish is common in diplomas and charters after the 1360s, it did not become the normal administrative language until *c*. 1400. The corresponding dates for Danish are somewhat later (1371 and *c*. 1425). See Seip 1958, 92–95; Bagge 2004, 357 n. 6. Denmark was one of the last countries in Europe to change from Latin to the vernacular; see Damsgaard Olsen 1990, 403.

19 Trudgill 1992, 11; Haugen 1981, 101.

20 Kloss' (1967) linguistic framework is the most suitable for describing the interaction

borders in mainland Scandinavia, that determine how the language one speaks is classified, are political constructions and superimposed, there is nothing inherent in the languages themselves that make them separate (*Abstand*) languages.[21] For example, dialects in what is now Swedish Jämtland have features more in common with standard Norwegian than standard Swedish. The national borders have also changed so that *Skånska* [Scanian], once considered an eastern Danish dialect, is nowadays referred to as a southern Swedish one; however, the dialect of Bornholm, *Bornholmsk*, remains Danish.[22] Whereas *Abstand* is a predominantly linguistic concept based on the objective structural properties of the language, *Ausbau* is a predominantly sociological one based on political, social and/or historical factors.

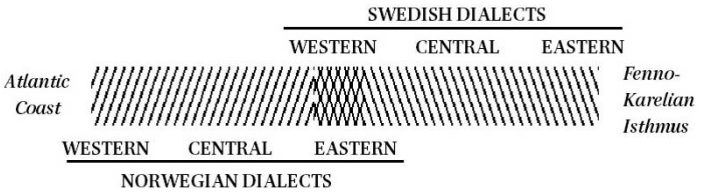

FIGURE 34 *The geographical dialect continuum in Norway and Sweden*[23]

We can represent the relationship between spoken and written Norwegian and Swedish thus:

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between medieval Swedish and Norwegian. Goossens' framework for describing language interaction between closely related languages in terms of a diasystem (using the "Kriterium der Überdachung" and "Kriterium der Bruchstelle") is not applicable here. See Goossens 1973; Schludermann 1996, I, 24.

21 An *Abstand* language is a language by "distance"—there is no close relative with which it can be confused and it cannot be placed on a geographical dialect continuum. Some languages are languages by both criteria of *Ausbau* and *Abstand* (for example, Finnish).

22 On the svecisation of the former east Danish territories, see Ohlsson 1978–1979.

23 Schulte (2002c, 882), comparing Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, writes:

> The uniform character of written Icelandic through the ages is indeed striking. Diametrically opposed to this normative scribal tradition, Old Norwegian split up into a true dialectal continuum and developed divergently: its eastern varieties ran into Old East Nordic and bordered Old Swedish, whereas its western varieties were on a par with Insular Nordic.

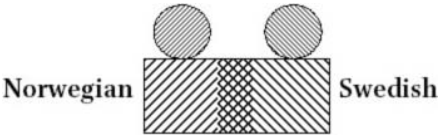

FIGURE 35 *The relationship between spoken and written Norwegian and Swedish*[24]

The written norms, represented by circles in the diagram above, were far from standardised. Because of the "intrinsic" proximity of the spoken dialects, represented by rectangles in the diagram above, upon which they were built, what looks like a linguistic mixture today may not have done so to medieval eyes.[25]

7.1.4 *External Causes of Mixture*

There are a number of social and political reasons why written Norwegian came to be influenced by Swedish during the fourteenth century.

a) Royal Unions and Intermarriage

Norway was ruled from Sweden by Magnus Eriksson between 1319 and 1355, and then by his son Hákon VI (r. 1355–1380), and the country was in union with Denmark from the latter part of the 1380s. Although Norway in 1390 had a king who was Danish and ruled from Denmark, contact with Sweden continued, not least in the form of anti-Danish support, culminating in 1449 with the reintroduction of a Swedish sovereign. However, Danish rule was quickly reinforced in 1450, and Norway became officially incorporated into Denmark in 1536.

There was a great deal of intermarriage between the Swedish and Norwegian nobility in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[26] Some scholars have suggested that this resulted in a mixed written language that was more prestigious than the purer Norwegian. Peter Andreas Munch wrote in a letter, dated 31 May 1845, to George Stephens:

> I cannot deny, that there really exists or more correctly have existed a sort of Sveco-Norwegian *lingua franca*, meant by writers to be Norwegian or at least to be understood by Norwegian hearers or readers; […] I no

24 Based on Kloss 1967, 32.

25 Schludermann 1996, I, 22.

26 See section 3.1.

> longer object to the classification of those Mss as norwegian, but still more I agree with you in adopting a third name, the *lingua brigittina*; for at present it is clear to me, that this was the language or at least the orthography of the *soi-disant* upper or learned classes in those times, the purer language then regarded as more vulgar.[27]

Others have gone as far as to say that intermarriage resulted in a spoken variety of Norwegian-Swedish being used in the mixed Norwegian-Swedish aristocratic milieu, although in the absence of audio-recordings of fifteenth-century Norwegian nobility it is unclear how such a conclusion can be reached. For example, Finn Hødnebø describing the language found in the Birgittine-Norwegian texts writes:

> Birgittinordenen kom også til Norge, Birgittas skrifter var vel kjente, noe blev oversatt. Språket er en blanding av svensk og norsk, *ikke ulikt det som praktisertes i adelsfamilier med svenske inngifte*.[28]
>
> [The Birgittine Order also arrived in Norwegian, Birgitta's writings were well-known, some were translated. The language was a mixture of Swedish and Norwegian, *not unlike that which was used in noble families with Swedes who had married in*.]

b) The Black Death[29]

It is hardly surprising that the Black Death, which arrived in Norway in 1349–1350, also rang the death-knell for written Norwegian. The plague effectively emptied the monasteries and centres of writing of scribes and scholars.[30] Norway suffered more than its neighbours and the intellectual vacuum created by the plague came to be filled by foreign clerics and scribes. Some have argued

27 Munch (1924, I, 136). On prestige as a motivation for linguistic change or borrowing, see Hock 1991, 205–206, 409–420, 426–428.

28 Hødnebø 1996, 173; my *emphasis*.

29 On the Black Death in Scandinavia, particularly Norway, see Seip 1934, 158; Seip 1955, 224–225; Indrebø 1951, 213–214; Skard 1976, 77; Almenningen *et al.* 1981, 40; Vågslid 1989, 12; Authén Blom 1992, II, 543–573; Torp and Vikør 1993, 117; Haugen 1993; Mæhlum 1998; Mæhlum 1999, 110–152; Harrison 2000, 349–370, 381–410; Mæhlum 2000.

30 For example, the population of the Benedictine monastery at Munkeliv, Bergen, was decimated by the plague, allowing its transference to the Birgittine Order and its subsequent repopulation with Birgittine monks and nuns.

that the continuity of a written Norwegian tradition was thereby broken,[31] whereas others, such as Ragnar Hagland, believe that the written tradition was very much alive in Norway and was adopted by Swedish scribes working in the Norwegian chancery.[32] There are thus two views of what may have subsequently happened and why we find Swedish forms in manuscripts during this period:

1) Swedish forms result from the break in continuity of a written tradition caused by the Black Death. The "pressure" of a Swedish norm was stronger (and, perhaps, seen as more modern) than the collapsing Norwegian scribal tradition.
2) Swedish forms result from the "lapses" of Swedish scribes working in the Norwegian chancery and trained in a surviving Norwegian scribal tradition.

However, Brit Mæhlum sees the Black Death as a red herring and argues that its central placing in the development of Norwegian by language historians is unscientific.[33] According to her, the Black Death has been used as a scapegoat, a suitable catastrophe, to mark the collapse of Norway—socially, culturally, politically, and also linguistically. She points to the fact that some of the linguistic changes often ascribed to the period following the Black Death appear to have been underway long before that. She even argues that there was no *mellomnorsk* ("Middle Norwegian", that is Old Norwegian from 1350/1370 to 1525); the term was coined by the national romantics to emulate the old-middle-modern tripartite division of other languages (such as German and English).[34]

c) The Birgittine Movement and *lingua brigittina*[35]

The Birgittines were responsible for a huge amount of translation work both in Sweden and elsewhere in Scandinavia.[36] Their output was substantial and the influence of Birgittine scriptoria, particularly Vadstena, on the development of the national written language was, at least in the case of Swedish, not without importance. However, *lingua brigittina* (or, for that matter, *linguæ brigittinæ*) is a somewhat vague term, coined by Peter Andreas Munch in 1845 and used to characterise a type of inter-Scandinavian written language that appeared

31 See, for example, Seip 1934, 158.
32 See Hagland 1986; Hagland 1988.
33 Mæhlum 1998; 1999; 2000.
34 Mæhlum 1999, 110–152.
35 See Munch 1928, I, 136–137; Sandvei 1938; Seip 1937; Seip 1955; Seip 1956; Schulte 2002a, 216.
36 Wollin 2001.

at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Munch seems to have recognised—or intended—a degree of vagueness in the terminology. He writes that "the language or orthography in question is Sveconorwegian, Normanno-Swecian, Brigittine or corrupted Norwegian, intended to be understood by Norwegians."[37] The terms Birgittine Danish and Birgittine Norwegian are used to mean Danish and Norwegian with considerable Swedish influence.[38] However, Didrik Arup Seip describes Birgittine Danish and Norwegian as being not just mixed with any type of Swedish, but with Birgittine Swedish ("det svenske birgittinerspråk").[39] As can be seen, the terminology is somewhat loose and imprecise. Birgittine Norwegian is used to refer both to the language of a manuscript like E 8822 which contains sporadic Norwegian forms and to the language of E 8902 with its considerable and relatively consistent use of Norwegian features. It is unclear from the term whether an intentional, stylistic mixing is meant by *lingua brigittina* or whether it is "merely" unintentional interference, the result of a scribe copying a text written in another mutually intelligible language. Although the Birgittines' translation work is usually placed centrally as *the* cause for Swedish influence on Norwegian,[40] it is surely

37 Munch 1928, I, 136–137.

38 Note that there is no particular reference to the Birgittines in this description and we find *lingua brigittina* being used to refer to *any* mixture regardless of its milieu. For example, Michael Schulte (2002a, 216) in an article on Scandinavian languages in contact writes:

> As far as continental Scandinavian is concerned, contact between O[ld] Norw[egian] and O[ld] Sw[edish] in the 14th c[entury] gave rise to a mixed Swedish-Norwegian variety, the so-called "Birgittine-Norwegian".

Schulte seems to mean that even the mixed Swedish-Norwegian variety we find outside Birgittine milieux (for example, in diplomas and private letters), is also "Birgittine-Norwegian". Similarly, there is a rather puzzling use of "birgittinerdansk" by Pil Dahlerup (1998, I, 342) to describe a text in an eastern Danish form (*østdansk*) that is not mixed with Swedish (or any other language).

39 Seip (1956) describes Birgittine Norwegian as Norwegian mixed with "det sv[enske] birgittinerspråk [the Swedish Birgittine language]", "birgittinske sv[enske] målmerker [Birgittine-Swedish linguistic traits]", and "sv[ensk]-birgittinsk språklig innslag [Swedish-Birgittine linguistic elements]". He thus sees a particular variety of Swedish, Birgittine Swedish, as having influenced Birgittine Norwegian. He does not describe this Swedish variety, but is probably referring to what is usually called *Vadstenaspråk*, a purported form of standardised Swedish developed by the Birgittines at Vadstena monastery. The term and theory behind it have now largely been debunked. See section 6.4.

40 See, for example, Barðdal *et al.* 1997, 85–86.

questionable whether the Birgittines, who had such a brief and unsuccessful stay in Norway, could really have influenced the development of the Norwegian language in this way.[41] Marius Sandvei believes that the influence was through preaching: The Birgittine Order's insistence on using the vernacular in preaching meant that Birgittine Norwegian became a spoken language for the monks in Munkeliv:

> Deres morsmål måtte bli «birgittinernorsk». Eftersom den som skrev eller talte, var svenske eller nordmann, blev språket farget av deres egentlige morsmål slik at snart svensken, snart norsken gav de fleste elementer. Gjennem sine prekener og skrifter nådde de birgittinske prestmunker videre kretser og kunde på den måten påvirke deres språk.[42]
>
> [Their mother tongue had become "Birgittine Norwegian". Seeing as whoever wrote or spoke was a Swede or a Norwegian, the language was coloured by their actual mother tongue so that at times Swedish, at times Norwegian provided most elements. Through their sermons and writings the Birgittine priest monks reached wider circles and in that way could influence their language.]

The influence of Birgittine Norwegian was short-lived. The closure of the Birgittine monastery in Bergen just a hundred years after its inauguration as well as the rapid rise of Danish as the written language within Norway put an end to its existence as a force affecting the development of the Norwegian language.

There have been attempts to place the use of *lingua brigittina* within a political context and define it as a tool of unification. The thinking behind this runs as follows: During an era of inter-Scandinavian cooperation—political union through Kalmar and spiritual union under the Birgittine movement—it is possible to see *lingua brigittina* as an attempt to create an inter-Scandinavian written language, a linguistic union. For example, in a Swedish university textbook on Scandinavian language history, we read that:

> Inom birgittinerorden tycks ha funnits bestämda planer på att skapa ett homogent nordiskt skriftspråk, som utgjordes av ett blandsspråk byggt på svenska (östgötska) i officiella klosterskrivelser.[43]

41 See, for example, Sandvei 1938, 51–52.

42 Sandvei 1938, 52.

43 Barðdal *et al.* 1997, 82.

> [Within the Birgittine Order there seem to have existed definite plans to create a homogenous Nordic written language, which consisted of a mixed language built on Swedish (*Östgötska*) in official monastic writings.]

Furthermore:

> Som exempel kan man se ansatserna till att skapa ett speciellt nordiskt språk inom Birgittinerklostren.[44]
>
> [As an example (of the growth of common linguistic forms used to communicate with speakers of other languages in Scandinavia), we can see the beginnings of creating a special Nordic language within the Birgittine monasteries.]

If ever there were such definite plans to create a special homogenous Nordic language, we have little evidence of it in the extant documents—and there is certainly no explicit mention of any such intention. It may be the case that lead scribes followed and tried to pass on (with varying levels of success) a writing tradition that included some Swedish forms, but anything beyond this is probably crediting the scribes with an undocumented (not to mention, unwarranted) genius for linguistic and logistical planning. They were working in a Scandinavian environment with Scandinavian manuscripts, so it is hardly surprising that they produced documents in a mixed Scandinavian language. The recognition that the manuscripts had to be comprehensible to a Scandinavian, rather than a solely domestic, audience—if any such a recognition did exist—and the making of appropriate linguistic adjustments, cannot be equated with an attempt to create a "homogenous written Nordic language". The levels of mixture in the scribes' output vary too much to suggest an agreed approach—there is simply nothing approaching an inter-Scandinavian uniform *lingua brigittina*. Indeed, it is preferable to abandon the term *lingua brigittina* altogether because of the way it has been used to describe so many types and levels of inter-Scandinavian mixture, and in effect, therefore, means very little. The possible reasons for mixed Norwegian-Swedish texts need to be looked for elsewhere: They are not the result of "definite plans to create a homogenous Nordic language".

44 Barðdal *et al.* 1997, 117.

d) The Chancery[45]

Historically there were two dominant regions in Norway—Trondheim-Bergen (1150–1300) and Oslo (1300–1370). In the fourteenth century, the Norwegian chancery moved to Oslo and this shift of the administration brought about the displacement of the old centre of linguistic innovations,[46] and moved it to a region geographically close to the Swedish linguistic area. The chancery came under the control of the Swedes during the reign of Erik Magnusson,[47] but the effects of this on the written language, as we have seen, are disputed.

7.1.5 *A Diglossic Situation in Late Medieval Norway?*

The term "diglossia" was coined by Charles Ferguson who described it thus:

> "DIGLOSSIA" is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.[48]

He defines diglossia in more detail under nine points:

1. Function is the most fundamental criterion in diglossia and is the feature that distinguishes it from bilingualism. One of the varieties used is *high* (H) and the other *low* (L), and they are used for different purposes.
2. In most diglossias H has greater prestige than L.
3. The literary heritage is all in H, except for some restricted genres.
4. Acquisition of the L-variety happens first and it is the mother tongue of the speech community. The H-variety is learnt through schooling.
5. The standardisation of H is complete by the usual means of codification (dictionaries, grammars, pronunciation guides, rules for correct usage and spelling and so on). The H-variety has strictly focused norms. L is rarely standardised in the traditional sense.

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45 See Seip 1955; Hagland 1986; Hagland 1988.

46 Hagland 1986.

47 See section 7.1.4 (b).

48 Ferguson 1959, 336.

6. Diglossia is usually an extremely stable phenomenon and can last for centuries or even millennia. Borrowing from H into L is usual; but borrowing from L to H is rare.
7. There are big differences in the grammars of H and L. The grammar of L is always simpler than that of H.
8. The lexicon of H and L are usually shared, although certain words may only exist in H (for example, technical terms) or L (for example, agricultural or homey terms).
9. The sound systems of H and L constitute a single phonological structure of which the L phonology is the basic system and the divergent features of H phonology are either a subsystem or a parasystem. If "pure" H items have phonemes not found in "pure" L items, L phonemes frequently substitute for these in oral use of H and regularly replace them in tatsamas.

The concept of diglossia was expanded by Joshua Fishman in two fundamental ways:[49]

1. He allows for more than two languages (or "codes") to be present in the diglossic situation, although he agrees that there is a separation along H-L lines.
2. He takes the view that "diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies which officially recognise several 'languages', and not only in societies that utilize vernacular and classical varieties, but also in societies which employ separate dialects, registers or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind".[50]

Thus, he uses the term "diglossia" to mean anything from the subtle stylistic differences within a single language to the use of two wholly unrelated languages—as long as the linguistic differences are functionally distinguished by the speakers. Fishman also includes the notion of bilingualism in his approach and shows that diglossia can exist with and without bilingualism.[51] The extent of bilingualism might be varied however.

The external causes for Swedish-Norwegian mixture described above all share one important common feature—they affected only the elite in society. Peasants were not engaged in royal unions or inter-Scandinavian marriage; they

49 Fishman 1967; Fishman 1972.

50 Fishman 1972, 92.

51 Fishman 1972, 75.

were illiterate, and their decimation during the Black Death did not therefore affect the written language; they were not members of the Birgittine Order, and they did not work in the chancery. It is the written—although some, such as Hødnebø and Sandvei, have argued, the spoken—language of the Norwegian elite that became mixed with Swedish, and this openness to mixing has been explained by Munch in terms of prestige. This new mixed variety had greater prestige (like an H-variety) than the peasants' "purer" Norwegian (like an L-variety). What we are seeing in Norway during the fourteenth century is the beginning of a diglossic situation where two varieties coexist, each with its own functional sphere.[52] If we were to include Latin and MLG in our discussion, we would have a tetraglossic situation.

Of course, we have no way of knowing whether a mixed variety was spoken (in spite of Hødnebø's and Sandvei's pronouncements to the contrary) and it would be foolish to say much about the language of others than scribes, but in reviewing Ferguson's nine-point explication of diglossia, there can be few objections that *on the basis of the extant written record*, a mixed Norwegian-Swedish variety would meet many of the requirements of an H-variety.[53]

However, this diglossia never had the opportunity to develop beyond an embryonic stage. From the beginning of the fifteenth century there was a new H-variety—Danish—which proved so prestigious that it became the spoken (albeit with Norwegian pronunciation) as well as written language of all socially ambitious Norwegians for the next four centuries. It is interesting to think that the circumstances were right for the creation of a diglossic situation in Norway during the fourteenth century. Although the H-variety was soon replaced by another, we may wonder what it was at that time that made Norwegian, with its vast body of literature and learning, of such low status, a situation that was to work to the advantage of Danish in the following centuries. What is clear is that the social and political collapse of Norway in the fourteenth century was followed by a cultural and linguistic invasion.

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52 This sort of diglossia without bilingualism, where the elite and the peasantry use two different languages has modern parallels in czarist Russia (French-speaking nobility and Russian-speaking peasants) as well as in the Asian and African colonies of European nations. See Fishman 1972, 75.

53 However, a few of the requirements are difficult to apply (for example, point 5 concerning standardisation). The vast body of literature in Norwegian also conflicts with the Ferguson's point 3 concerning literary heritage, although Swedish literature may have been seen as more prestigious, continental, and modern, at that time. It could also be argued that the complexity of Old Norwegian compared with Old Swedish grammar conflicts with Ferguson's point 7.

7.2 Intentional Types of Language Mixture in Medieval Scandinavian Manuscripts

Most medieval literates were bilingual, in that they could read both Latin and their own vernacular (A), and each of these languages was used in a specific functional sphere. Generally, we can make a somewhat crude differentiation between the use of Latin for religious and often administrative affairs, and the vernacular for worldly affairs and folk literature. Literates were also often able to read and make use of another vernacular language (B). Vernacular B might have had greater prestige or have been used within specific contexts. We can sometimes differentiate between the functional spheres of vernacular A and vernacular B in a way that reveals a cultural predominance of one language over the other. We are even able to identify a conscious manipulation of mixed vernacular languages in a text for a definite effect, be it literary or otherwise.

7.2.1 *Terminology*

During the last couple of decades, the study of mixed languages has come to be considered as an independent branch within the area of language contact research. The term "mixed language" is often used to refer to any language which for one reason or another could be considered as more "mixed" than "normal" languages.[54] A number of mixed-language types have now been described, so terminology is much more precise than previously. The list below summarises the most important types for an understanding of mixed written language specific to the medieval Scandinavian context. Spontaneous speech acts that demonstrate language mixture (such as code switching)[55] are not dealt with here, nor are non-literary types of mixture that presumably were also used in medieval Scandinavia (for example, jargon and pidgins).[56]

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54 Linguistic mixture used to be used with a very narrow meaning, but gradually came to mean any sort of mixed (up) language. In 1994, Bakker and Mous coined the expression "intertwined language" principally in order to avoid the connotations of the too liberally used "mixed language". This term is intended to replace the term "mixed language" for languages whose central aspects of grammar come from a completely different source (and often from a different language family) than the central lexicon through a process of relexification, and so I shall continue to use the term "mixed language" to refer to any linguistically mixed variety.

55 On code switching, see Blom & Gumperz 1972; Poplack 1980; Wenzel 1994; MacSwan 1997 (useful overview in introduction).

56 The Vikings, for example, doubtless made use of pidgins or *Notsprachen* during their trading expeditions abroad. See McDougall 1986–1989.

Underlying the description of medieval mixed-language types is an interpretation of mixture as a bidimensional phenomenon. Firstly, one vernacular language might be mixed with another or with Latin. Secondly, this might be done either on purpose (for example, for a specific stylistic purpose) or unintentionally ("interference"):[57]

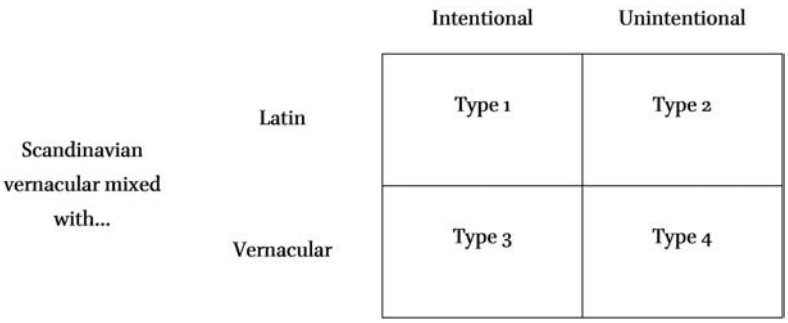

FIGURE 36 *The bidimensionality of language mixture*

We can find examples of each of these mixtures in Scandinavian manuscripts, with the exception of unintentional mixing with Latin (Type 2). It is difficult to imagine how an unintentional admixture of Latin and the vernacular might have come about in Scandinavia. However, there are examples of Latin words that in the same text are afforded both Latin and vernacular morphological suffixes. For example, in E 8902 we have accusative plural forms "apostla" and "patriarcha" (Swedish morphology), but also "apostolos" and "patriarchas" (Latin morphology).[58] We might consider whether such variation and mixture came about unintentionally. Although unconscious mixing of language does occur in spontaneous oral production by bilinguals,[59] it is unlikely that elements of Latin would slip unintentionally into written production in the vernacular (mother tongue). It is simplest to explain the examples above by viewing the forms with Latin morphological endings as words that were felt to be Latin by the scribe, and those with Swedish morphological endings as words that were felt to be "naturalised" and Swedish. They are, therefore, not examples of unintentional Scandinavian-Latin mixture.

57 "Interference" can also be called "mechanical dialect mixture", "inorganic mixture", or "superficial mixture". The terms refer to linguistic mixture as a result of textual transmission.

58 See section 6.3.

59 Poplack 1980.

a) Glossing (Types 1 and 3)

Glossing is simply the explication of an unintelligible word or passage through the use of an interlinear or marginal gloss, that is a short translation or explanation of the word.[60] Glosses can also act as a hyponym, a clearer or more precise term than the word in the main text, or comprise a long explanation or cross-reference. They are usually in the vernacular and appear in Latin texts, although we also find Latin glosses explaining terms in Latin texts and vernacular glosses clarifying words in vernacular texts in Scandinavia.[61] Marginal and interlinear glosses are later additions and do not form part of the text *per se*. In the examples below, the glosses are underlined.

A vernacular gloss of a Latin word

> Sed si pater prius moritur et nouerca cum pueris remanet tunc recipit priuignus [*glossed with* steffsøn] primus de terra empticia [But if the first father dies and the stepmother remains with some sons, then the first-born stepson (: stepson) inherits of the purchased land][62]

A Latin gloss of a Latin word:

> nec auus nec aua possit ei auferre quod auus dedit filio suo (*glossed with* s. mortuo) [neither grandfather or grandmother can take form him what his grandfather has given to his son (: that is, the deceased one)][63]

A vernacular gloss of a vernacular word:

> Thæn tymæ houæthæn ær meør tha styngær man røf [*glossed with* hul] .a. thæm oc lætær løpæ ut mielk af them .i.en skøth. [When the (poppy) heads are soft, prick a hole (: hole) in them, and let the milk pour out of them into a spoon][64]

60 See Quak 1976; Quak 1983; Tjäder 1995; Adams 2010.

61 See further with examples Adams 2010, 120–128.

62 Latin translation of *Jyske lov* in Copenhagen, AM 11 8º, fol. 5ᵛ.

63 AM 11 8º, fol. 7ᵛ.

64 Henrik Harpestræng's *Urtebog* in Copenhagen, NkS 66 8º. The gloss "hul [hole]" clarifies the meaning because after the manuscript was written Old Danish "røf" came to mean "opening" in the restricted sense of "anus". See Adams 2010, 124–125.

Occasionally, we find glosses in the text itself to explain Latin or foreign words (context glosses). They are often introduced by phrases such as "vulgariter nuncupato [in the vernacular is called]", "alias dicuntur [otherwise called]", and "vulgo [vernacularly]":

> exitu domus gangstigh wlgariter nuncupato [the exit of the house, in the vernacular called gangstigh (*footpath*)][65]

> tam immobilia quam mobilia que alias dicuntur varendhaue [both immovable and movable goods otherwise called farendhave (*personal property*)]"[66]

> loricam meam in wlgo panzer [my coat of armour in the vernacular pantser (*coat of armour*)][67]

Occasionally, vernacular terms are clarified by a Latin one (for example, "Saa børies en ffortalæ paa danskæ so*m* | man kaller pr*ologus* paa latinæ [So begins a prologue in Danish which is called prologus in Latin]"),[68] or a Latin term is made more precise using a vernacular phrase (for example, "q*uattuo*r ho*min*es p*er*cusseru*n*t eu*m* slagh oppa slagh si*cu*t q*uod* coste nude | app*ar*ueru*n*t [Four men struck him, hit after hit, so that his bare ribs appeared]").[69]

The many types of glosses—interlinear, marginal, and integral—all have one and the same purpose: to facilitate the correct understanding of a piece of text. This sort of linguistic mixture is very common and the reason for it is not to create a stylistic, literary effect but rather simply to ensure clarity of message.

b) Macaronic Mixture (Type 1)

One of the differences between E 8902 and the Old Swedish versions of Birgitta's revelations, is that E 8902 makes less use of context glossing. We even find examples of Latin phrases in E 8902 where other vernacular versions of the text have substituted a vernacular equivalent and suppressed the Latin completely. Compare:

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65 *Diplomatarium Danicum*, III: 3, 473 (no. 597).

66 *Diplomatarium Danicum*, III: 7, 215 (no. 225).

67 *Diplomatarium Danicum*, III: 5, 81 (no. 97).

68 Copenhagen, AM 26 4°, fol. 1r.

69 Ups. C 396, fol. 108r; Tjäder 1995, 117.

E 8902, *p*. 76, ll. 17–19	Tu æst þrefallelika heilagh*i*r. sæm af siwngx. S*an*c-t*u*s. S*an*ct*u*s. S*an*ct*u*s ❖ d*omin*us de*u*s sabaoth. [You are three-fold holy as is sung: "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth"]
Holm. A 5a, fol. 43^{rb}	thu æs hælagh*i*r swa som sywngx Hælagh*i*r Hælagh*i*r Hælagh*i*r hærskapanna h*er*ra oc dyghdhana [You are holy, as is sung: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord of might and virtue"]
E 8801, fol. 42ra	tw æst hælagh*i*r swa som syongx / Helagh*i*r helegh*i*r / hælagh*i*r / h*er*scapa*n*na h*er*ra oc dygdhanna gudh [You are holy, as is sung: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord of might and virtue"]

And:

E 8902, *p*. 116, l. 7	þa ko*m* mote honu*m*. v.[70] legiones a*n*gelor*um* [Then *v legiones angelorum* came towards him]
Holm. A 5a, fol. 231$^{rb–va}$	ginsta*n* sændos mot hænne fæm ængla skara [Immediately five hosts of angels were sent towards him]

When words appear in another language in this way with no attempt to adapt them to the surrounding vernacular (in terms of morphology) or to explain them, we are dealing with macaronic mixture. Macaronic mixture has been investigated in medieval English sermons by Siegfried Wenzel (1994), particularly sermons written predominantly in Latin with interspersed vernacular phrases. He argues that such sermons were intended to be delivered in this bilingual manner and that such mixture had a definite purpose and function.[71] In the case of "Sanctus. Sanctus. Sanctus", the words mark the beginning of the *Sanctus Benedictus*, part of the Latin mass, and it is not difficult to understand

70 The word "fæm" is used elsewhere in E 8902 for "five", so "v." here may well be meant as Latin "quinque". The word "fæm" occurs on *p*. 67: 29; *p*. 76: 9; *p*. 118: 13. This final occurrence (*p*. 118: 13) precedes the Latin phrase "legiones angelorum".

71 Wenzel 1994, 105–129. For some examples of Latin in Old Danish sermons, see Adams 2004.

why it appears in Latin.[72] However, the reason for writing "legiones angelorum" (apart from making an allusion to Scripture) is not so clear.

We occasionally find macaronic mixture of vernacular languages in Scandinavian manuscripts (for example, Danish and MLG are mixed in *Rimkrøniken*):

> Tha hense stædher finghe th*et* sport | at ieg hade wijsby wundet
> The ginghe i raad the slowz wel stort | th*et* the fulsaare grundet
> The skreffue meg tijl wnsegelsæ breff | the sade the skullæ th*et* wrecthe ||
> For theris gotz ther arresteret bleff | om the wore fød aff æcthe
> Thi skreff ieg th*e*m eth breff i ghen |thesse ordh tha holt th*et* inne
> M*eth* sa*m*me theris bud ieg wor ey seen | ieg skreff hwerken meer elder mynne
> Søwen vnde søwentich henseen | hefft søwen vnde søwentech gensen
> Wo my de gensen nicht en biten | de hensen frage ich nicht en skiten[73]
>
> [When the Hanseatic towns heard that I had conquered Visby,
> They met in counsel; they fought hard for what they had founded with great difficulty.
> They wrote a sealed letter to me, they said that they would fight
> For their goods that had been seized, if they were legitimately born.
> So I wrote a letter back to them; it contained these words
> With their very same messenger, I did not delay; I wrote neither more nor less:
> Seventy-seven hens[74] had seventy-seven geese,
> When the geese don't bite me, I don't ask the hens to shit.]

Although using MLG may add an edge of authenticity to the chronicle at this point, it does seem unnecessary as anything but a literary tool. The MLG would have been intelligible to the reader, both because of the similarity between Old Danish and MLG, but also because this ditty and Valdemar's taunting of the Hansa man was widely known in Denmark. The MLG is being used to mock further the Hansa men and add a humorous tone to this tale.

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72 Names of prayers, liturgical works and the like often appear in untranslated Latin in religious works.

73 *Rimkrøniken* (Copenhagen: Ghemen, 1495), p4^{r}, l. 24–p4^{v}, l. 10; my emphasis marks text in MLG.

74 "Henseen" is a play on the word "hense [hanseatic, hanseate]".

Macaronic mixture can also typically be found in colophons with a switch from the vernacular to Latin: "Hær ændæs førstæ book. | p*er* manum fratris kanuti yuul [Here ends the first book by Friar Knut Juul's hand]".[75]

c) *Barbarolexis* (Type 1)

This term is used to refer to a mixture of Latin and a vernacular language for poetic effect rather than explication, and is thus a rhetorical device. In his *Graecismus*, the thirteenth-century Flemish grammarian Eberhard of Béthune described barabarolexis as: "Quaedam figura grammaticalis [...] cum oratio componitur ex diversis idiomatibus, velut ex gallico et latino, vel ex teutonico et latino [A grammatical form (...) when an address is composed from different languages, for instance from French and Latin, or from German and Latin]".[76] The French poet Alexander of Villa Dei (*c*. 1175–1240) wrote: "Si tamen eloquiis commisces verba latinis Barbara doctores hoc dicunt barbarolensem [However, if you mix Latin words with barbarian ones, teachers call this barbarolexis]".[77] There are two constraints on barbarolexis. Firstly, the language elements, that is the vernacular and the Latin phrases, are syntactically joined into one homogenous whole, and secondly each of the language elements has its own particular semantic function.[78] Examples of this type of mixture can be found in the Danish manuscript, AM 76 8°, which contains a collection of Latin-Danish poems and songs (sometimes accompanied by musical notation):

⟨F⟩Ides spes et ca*ri*tas / Swo fagre søstræ tree
Earu*m* viget cla*ri*tas / Swo bolde æ*r*e the at see
Int*er* o*mn*es femi*n*as / Swo faa æ*r*e nw aff thee
Vinu*m* su*m*ptu*m* dulcit*er* / Forderw*er* swo ma*n*gh*en* man
Sic et mala mulier / om hwn fongh*er* wold ow*er* ha*num*
Salomo*n* f*er*t talit*er* / Th*et* sigh*er* han for sant [...][79]

[Faith, hope, and charity, three sisters so fair,
Clarity blooms from them, they are so beautiful to see
Among all women, there are so few of them now
A wine sweetly taken, has corrupted so many a man

75 NkS 66 8°, fols 75^{v}, ll. 9–10–76^{r}, l. 1; Kristensen 1908–1920, 147–148.

76 Quoted in Zumthor 1960, 570.

77 Quoted in Zumthor 1960, 570.

78 See Zumthor 1960, 570 and Schludermann 1996, 27–29.

79 AM 76 8°, fol. 28^{r}, ll. 11–16; Kroon *et al.* 1993, 110.

Thus also does a bad woman, if she gets power over him
So it went for Solomon, he says that truly (…)]

d) "Bilinguisme poètique" and Parallels in Scandinavian Prose Literature (Type 3)

Paul Zumthor uses the term "bilinguisme poètique [poetic bilingualism]" to refer to a mixture between two adjacent vernacular languages which is thus a "horizontal" mixture.[80] In total, there are five types of "bilinguisme poètique":

1) A very specific use of vernacular language mixture, which is characterised by its allusive use of a foreign word.
2) This is a more complicated use of vernacular language mixture than in (1). Here the changing between languages fulfils a formal function and is determined by the nature of the poem.
3) This type is different to (1) and (2), in that the mixture in the text does not produce bilingualism, but rather "une contamination artificielle des langues [an artificial contamination of languages]",[81] which gives a poem a foreign or exotic "colouring" often through the use of a single word or word ending.
4) This is a difficult phenomenon to define, but involves graphemic alteration during the transmission of a poem or song.
5) This is simply the use of "nonsens [meaningless words]" as a poetic device.

Zumthor's description of linguistic mixture in vernacular poetry within the Romance tradition is interesting, but it is difficult to find examples in medieval Scandinavian poetry that fit into his five types of "bilinguisme poètique". Foreign words, usually for courtly concepts, can be found in some verse, but it is unlikely that they would have actually struck the listeners as foreign-sounding. For example, in the Old Swedish *Floris och Blanzeflor*, we read: "at vaar son fore Blanzaflur | tappe ey sin hedher, for henna amur [that our son does not lose his honour because of her *amour*]",[82] and in the Old Danish *Den kyske Dronning*: "Thy herrær lodh blæsæ i bassonæ | oc brød ap thieris pawlone [as the lords had the *trumpets* blown and their *pavilions* taken down]".[83]

In prose literature, however, we can find examples of linguistic mixture that resemble some of the types Zumthor describes for poetry. As far as Type 2

80 Zumthor 1960, 301–336, 561–594.

81 Zumthor 1960, 591.

82 Olson 1921, 12. "Blanzaflu(u)r" and "amur" appear in rhyming couplets a further nine times in the poem (Olson 1921, 14, 17, 21, 58, 93, 98, 102, 123, 129).

83 Brandt 1869–1877, II, 98, ll. 291–292.

is concerned, one can imagine how this sort of interplay between mutually intelligible languages would have appealed to the Scandinavians; for example, the speech of a Norwegian in an Icelandic work or that of a Swede in a Danish one.[84] However, it has not been possible to find documented evidence for this, although that does not exclude the possibility of "spontaneous adaptation" of the text during a recital.[85]

A parallel to type 4 occurs in Icelandic texts we can find examples of Icelandic scribes' using Norwegian orthographical forms, for example "hafum" for "hǫfum", especially in manuscripts originating in church scriptoria. Stefán Karlsson explains the phenomenon in terms of the prestige of the mainland Norwegian "norm".[86] In mainland Scandinavia we find the adoption of a foreign-looking "h" in spellings, no doubt inspired by German. "Die falsche Setzung des *h* [the false placement of *h*]" is also evidenced in medieval varieties of German, Dutch, and English.[87] For example, in Old Swedish we find *macht* (for *makt*, *mact*, *magt*), *iach* (for *iak*, *iac*, *iagh*), *och* (for *ok*, *oc*, *og*), *march* (for *mark*, *marc*), *iunch* (for *iunk*), and *choor* (for *kor*).[88]

As far as type 5 is concerned, only a few instances of "nonsens" can be found in Scandinavian manuscripts. For example, "male diarik" and "olgeira ragall", meant to be Irish, in *Gísls þáttr Illugasonar*.[89] One can also imagine that during the reading (or recounting) of sagas, foreign characters had much "nonsens" placed into their mouths. The Flemish priest, Johannes flæmingi in *Laurentius saga biskups*, spoke very garbled Norse and in the reading aloud of the saga, the reader could have imitated a foreign accent and nonsense phrases.[90] Similarly, the overexcited "suðrmaðr [German]", Tyrkir, in *Grœnlendinga þáttr*, drunk on fermented grapes, speaks in an incomprehensible tongue to Leifr and

84 On the characterisation of the Norwegian in medieval Icelandic literature, see Callow 2004.

85 It has similarly been suggested that Raimbaut de Vacqueiras (fl. 1155–1160) may have acted the parts of both interlocutors, a poet from Provence and a lady from Genoa, when reciting his *Domna, tant vos ai pregada* (Appel 1930, 131–132). Although there is no written evidence for this in Norse manuscripts, the linguistic adaptation necessary would have been minimal—mimicking an accent or a quality of a vowel probably would have sufficed. It is quite possible that the same thing happened in Scandinavia.

86 Stefán Karlsson 1978; 2000; cf. also Jakobsen 1963.

87 Braune 1987, 143–150 (§ 150–154); Lasch 1914, 188–189 (§ 354); Schludermann 1996, I, 3–5.

88 These spellings could be viewed in the wider context of decorative spelling and the increasing use of digraphs (for example, *hafva* for *hava*, *aff* for *af*, *øffuir* for *øvir*).

89 Discussed in McDougall 1986–1989, 185 (with references).

90 On the language of Johannes flæmingi, see Adams 2008b.

the crew. The opportunity of a little comic improvisation on the part of the saga-teller would surely have been difficult to resist: "Hann talaði þá fyrst lengi á Þýzku ok skaut marga vega augunum ok gretti sik, en þeir skildu eigi hvat hann sagði. Hann mælti þá á Norrænu, er stund leið [(Tyrkir) first talked a long time in German, rolled his eyes and grimaced, but they did not understand what he was saying. After a while he then spoke in Norse]".[91] Thus, although there are no examples in extant poetry, that does not mean we should necessarily assume that "nonsens" was any more absent in Scandinavian literature than elsewhere.

e) *Lingua Brigittina* (Type 3)

This term has already been described above.[92] It is extremely broad and has been used to signify different types of linguistic mixture between Swedish and Norwegian/Danish, and not just that which has come about in a Birgittine milieu. The term has even been used erroneously in descriptions of language that is not mixed. This type of mixture is common, but the term is inaccurate.

f) Other Alphabets and Codes (Type 3)

Within the context of mixture, it is worth mentioning the use of runic letters in manuscripts, either as abbreviations—for example, "runic m" is sometimes used for "maþer [man]"—or as the result of antiquarian or scholarly interest—for example, AM 28 8° (Codex Runicus) and Holm. A 120.[93] Runes and rune-like letters are often found in marginalia in manuscripts where the reason for their use (rather than latin script) is more obscure. For example, names written in runes can be found in AM 45 fol. (fol. 55^{v}) and AM 226 fol. (fol. 95^{r}). Another use of "symbols" in Scandinavian manuscripts is that of codes. For example, a note inserted into a Harpestræng manuscript: "Marochus, pr454c1t f42t5m".[94] A simple key (a = 1, e = 2, i = 3, o = 4, u = 5), is all that is required to decipher the text as "prouocat foetum", which leaves us wondering whether this is a genuine attempt to disguise the words, or whether the scribe simply could not bring himself to mention induced abortion explicitly.

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91 Gordon 1957, 42–43.

92 See section 7.1.4 (c).

93 Thorsen 1877; Lorenzen 1887–1913, 221–226, 228–229; Kålund 1889–1894, II, 344; Brøndum-Nielsen and Rohmann 1929; Brøndum-Nielsen 1932, 13–14; Brøndum-Nielsen *et al.* 1933–1961, I, 1–199, 721, 821–864; Nielsen 1937, 116–119; Frederiksen 1999, 44.

94 Copenhagen, NkS 66 8°, fol. 115^{r}, l. 5; Kristensen 1908–1920, LXXXIII–LXXXIV. Note that "Marochus" is a scribal error for "Barochus".

7.2.2 *Summary*

This overview of intentional language mixture in medieval Scandinavian manuscripts has shown that although there is abundant evidence that the vernacular was mixed with Latin with a definite purpose, there is also evidence of the introduction of words and phrases as well as orthographical practices from another vernacular for stylistic purposes. There was a discernible trend of using innovative forms from the east or south as these were considered more prestigious; thus, Norwegian forms appear in Icelandic, Swedish in Norwegian, and Danish in Swedish. Interestingly, this south–north/east–west direction is the same direction from which linguistic innovations generally spread through the Scandinavian languages, and from which cultural innovations arrived from continental Europe. But the extent to which these mixtures can be ascribed a specific function is uncertain, and whether they are the result of a deliberate act on the part of the scribe is often also difficult to ascertain. In the next section the various influences that act upon a scribe whilst copying a manuscript are described.

7.3 Causes of Unintentional Language Mixture ("Interference") in Medieval Scandinavian Manuscripts

As E 8902 has come about through copying, it is important to understand how scribes read and wrote in the Middle Ages. A number of factors need to be considered when discussing reading. Firstly, there is a difference whether scribes were copying a manuscript in Latin or in the vernacular. In discussing Latin, Malcolm Parkes writes that scribes "tended to regard Latin primarily as a written or 'visible' language used for transmitting texts: they apprehended it as much (if not more) by the eye than by the ear".[95] When discussing the earliest *vernacular* texts, Parkes makes a clear distinction with the Latin texts and shows that scribes very much did make use of their ears and tended to write words as syllables grouped around a single chief stress. However, Parkes is describing the activity of Irish monks from the beginning of the Middle Ages, and what we find in fact is that as time progressed scribes made greater use of visual reading with the vernacular. This can be seen in the development of punctuation: There is a movement away from rhythmic punctuation which highlighted various rhetorical devices in a text to syntactic punctuation which broke the text up into syntactic units.[96]

95 Parkes 1992, 23.

96 See Carlquist 1993; Carlquist 1996, and also section 5.5.3.

We need to understand how a scribe read in order to understand how he wrote. We will get two different results depending on whether the scribe was sounding the words off the page and then writing down what he heard, or if the scribe visually was copying a set of graphic symbols. Henry J. Chaytor writes that if a scribe copied a manuscript in a dialect other than his own, he changed the orthography in accordance with his own dialect.[97] In other words the scribe read the words aloud and transcribed what he heard. As one scribe described it: "Tres digiti scribunt, duo oculi vident. Una lingua loquitur. totum corpus laborat [Three fingers write, two eyes see, one tongue speaks, the whole body works]".[98] However, Chaytor's evidence of sounding out the words on the page in order to copy them, is very early, and he is presenting a very simplified picture of a scribe's language. He mentions just two influences on the language of a manuscript: 1) the language of the original, and 2) the language of the scribe:[99]

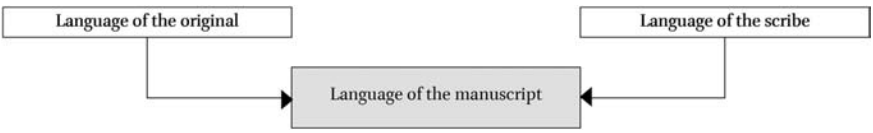

FIGURE 37 *The influences on the language of a manuscript* (*after Chaytor*)

What exactly does Chaytor mean by the language of the scribe? There are other reasons we might expect a manuscript to have some sort of dialectal colouring. Scribes had to write in a language that they had been trained to write in. As Amund Larsen writes:[100]

> I norsk fra den senere del af middelalderen er det endnu vanskeligere end i nabosprogene at rekonstruere det virkelig talte sprogs lyd og former, idet man ikke alene finder traditionel skrivemåde bevaret ved siden af gengivelse af samtidens mere destruerede lydforhold, men også ældre og yngre svensk og dansk skik blandes ind imellem den indenlandske.

97 Chaytor 1941–1942, 55; 1945, 14 n. 1.

98 Vatican Library, MS Pal. lat 46 (s. IX); quoted in Chaytor 1945, 14 n. 1, and Wattenbach 1896, 495–496.

99 By language of the scribe, I mean his own language usage or competence (referred to by de Saussure as *parole*) rather than his language in any broader sense (the set of norms he is expected to use, his *langue*).

100 Larsen's understanding of the written language is supported by the findings of Hagland's research discussed above. Cf. also Seip (1955, 101): "ingen skrev som han talte, men slik som han hadde lært å skrive [no one wrote as he spoke, but as he had learnt to write]".

> Medens idetheletaget diplomatariet og jordbögerne således lidet indbyder til sproglig granskning af dette overgangstidsrum, fordi der så ofte kan opstilles mange fuldt berettigede forklaringer af samme fænomen i skrivemåden, har denne sprogets mangedobbelthed dog også sin fordel, idet den viser os, hvilken metode der kan benyttes: vi må nemlig af den skönne, at man har stræbt at skrive som man havde lært, *ikke som man talte*.[101]
>
> [In Norwegian from the late Middle Ages, it is even more difficult than in the neighbouring languages to reconstruct the sounds and forms of the actual spoken language, as we not only find traditional ways of spelling preserved alongside the rendering of contemporary more destroyed phonological conditions, but also older and younger Swedish and Danish traits mixed in among the domestic ones. While on the whole diplomas and cadastres are thus not very inviting to linguistic scrutiny of this transition period because there so often can be drawn many fully justified explanations of the same phenomenon in spelling, this multiplicity of language also has its advantages, as it shows us which method can to be used: we must in fact judge from this that (scribes) tried to write as they had been taught, *not as they spoke*.]

Larsen presents us with a very different scenario to Chaytor. Nowadays, there is a more nuanced picture of scribal practice and language, and I propose seven factors of varying importance that influence the language of a manuscript:

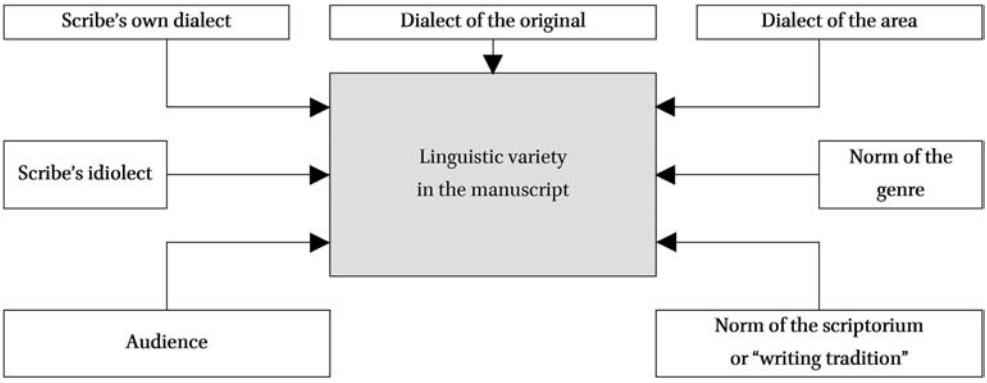

FIGURE 38 *Influences on the language of a manuscript* (*revised version*)

101 Larsen 1897, 244; my *emphasis*.

7.3.1 *Scribe's Own Idiolect*

The term "idiolect" is here used in a very narrow sense to refer solely to those features of individual language usage that are unique, those that cannot be explained by the scribe's dialect, the norm of his scriptorium, the language of the original, and so on. Idiolect here means a defining feature or tag belonging to a scribe (rather than an individual scribe's language usage more generally). There may be no external reason for the use of this feature—it is purely habit on the part of the scribe. Typical idiolect features might include idiosyncratic spellings, word divisions, words used with uncommon meanings, even systems of punctuation (such as the extensive use of the *punctus*).

In examining E 8902 for idiolect features, we need to look for items that cannot be explained by any of the other factors set out in the diagram above. Care has to be taken, however, and clearly an idiolect feature is unlikely to be shared between the different hands.

7.3.2 *Scribe's Own Dialect*

The "sounding out" of words being copied by a scribe would have introduced his own dialect into his writing. This influence is not only phonological (for example, the introduction of diphthongs by a Norwegian scribe), but can also affect other linguistic levels of a text.

7.3.3 *Dialect of the Original*

The dialect of the original can be difficult to place after the text has been copied, as original dialectal features may have been erased by the scribe. The complete eradication of original dialectal features is, however, very uncommon and they usually leave random traces in the copy. A medieval scribe copying a manuscript in a dialect other than his own:[102]

A. may leave it more or less unchanged, like a modern scholar transcribing such a manuscript. This happens rarely. This type of text will tell us nothing about the provenance of the scribe who wrote it, but only about the provenance of the scribe who wrote the exemplar (perhaps also the provenance of yet earlier scribes too).
B. may convert it into his own kind of language making innumerable modifications to the orthography, morphology, vocabulary and, possibly, syntax. This happens commonly. This type of text will tell us something about the provenance of the scribe who wrote it and will demonstrate a high level of

102 Adapted from McIntosh 1973, 61.

internal consistency (as in an A text). However, one must also expect to find occasional lapses, that is unintentional failure to convert alien forms into those normal in his linguistic milieu.

C. may also do something between A and B. Type C texts usually do not contain the type of internal consistency found in A or B texts.

The most common outcome is a type C text.

7.3.4 *Dialect of the Area*

The concentration of textual production in a few sites around Scandinavia necessitated the employment of scribes from outside the local area. In effect, scribes would have been working—and often trained—in a region and among people with a different dialect than their own. It is conceivable that some dialectal forms may appear in a text that do not result from the scribe's own dialectal background or that of the original text. Scriptoria's norms often built on the dialect of the area.[103]

7.3.5 *Norm of the Genre*

Certain genres would have been coloured by distinct features. As has been discussed in section 7.2, certain literature genres and text types may have required or been more susceptible to mixing from a different language or dialect.

7.3.6 *Norm of the Scriptorium*

Chanceries and monastic scriptoria developed writing practices of their own. For example, it has been argued that Vadstena developed *Vadstenapråk*, which in turn was based on the regional dialect, *Östgötska*.[104] We can also detect differences between writings from the Oslo scriptoria in St Mary's Church and at the Cathedral, both of which had developed their own norms or writing traditions.[105]

7.3.7 *Audience*

Audience expectations probably ranked very low among a scribe's concerns when copying a manuscript. However, particularly orally delivered pieces, such as sermons, would have needed to be linguistically comprehensible, persua-

103 See section 7.3.6 below.

104 Larsson 1975.

105 Hagland 1986.

sive, and authoritative (that is the linguistic form had to be acceptable to the audience). There is some evidence for linguistic "re-tuning" in manuscripts that results in unusual or mixed forms in order to try and meet the audience's expectations.[106]

7.3.8 *Summary*

There are many influences on the written linguistic variety found in a manuscript. The scribe would have been less conscious of some of these influences (such as idiolect and dialect), whereas others would have required his making conscious decisions (for example, taking the audience into consideration or the requirements of genre). By far the most important forces at work were subconscious, often described collectively as "interference". The influence of "chance factors"—scribal error, misreading, and so on—that could result in maverick or mixed forms should also not be forgotten. The force of the seven influences described above would have been different if a scribe was simply copying a manuscript in a type of language that was similar to his own or if he was having to translate or modify a text from a type of language that was less like his own. The latter scenario would have caused the scribe to make more decisions about what he wrote.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

Language mixture in Scandinavian manuscripts is an area that remains underresearched. Much mixture has been written off as scribal interference or labelled with vague, poorly defined terms like "Birgittine language". Nonetheless, even this rather preliminary overview of the different types of language mixture suggests that this could be a fruitful area of enquiry. Furthermore, the influences on the language of manuscripts need to be better understood to provide a more nuanced picture of the written language in medieval Scandinavian texts.

106 Adams 2008a; Adams 2008b.

CHAPTER 8

Analysis of Language Mixture in E 8902

The aim of the analysis is to provide an accurate quantitative description of the language mixture in E 8902.[1] The principal objective is to uncover the generative factors behind the mixture, even though we only have their results (the observed features) to hand. We must sift through the observed features to find those that best describe the mixture in E 8902 (the descriptive attributes)—Step A. The descriptive evidence then needs to be traced back to possible generative factors, thus enabling an explanation of the phenomenon—Step B. This approach is summarised in the following diagram:[2]

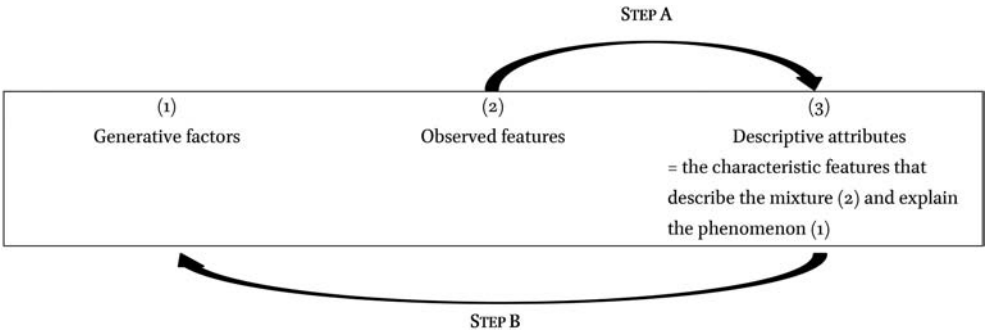

FIGURE 39 *The status and function of descriptive attributes*

In addition to this, it is expected that an investigation of the distribution of certain features in the manuscript will answer the question of how many scribes were involved in its copying.

8.1 The Use of Statistics in Literary Research

The earliest suggestion that statistics might be applied to the study of style came in 1851 when Augustus de Morgan, professor of mathematics at the University of London, proposed that an analysis of word length (measured in let-

1 The method is also described in Adams 2005, 165–216; Adams 2013a.

2 After Schludermann 1992, I, 117.

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ters) could be used to establish the authenticity of some of the Pauline Epistles.[3] The American geophysicist, Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, was the first to test this hypothesis and he published the results in 1887. He coined the term "word spectrum"—a graphical representation of words according to their length and relative frequency of occurrence—and believed every author to have a unique and identifiable word spectrum. Around the same time in Europe, scholars such as Lewis Campbell, Constantin Ritter, and Wincenty Lutosławski began developing statistical methods to study the works of Plato. Work also began to define the statistical laws that underline linguistic data, not least Zipf's law (1932) concerning frequency distribution of words. In the 1930–1940s, the statistician, George Udny Yule, used sentence length and vocabulary to define characteristics of individual writers and undertook much work on Thomas à Kempis' *De Imitatione Christi*. The developing field of measuring an author's style through statistical analysis came to be known as stylometry and it is this area that still dominates in the use of statistics in literary research today.

Since the Second World War and the advent of the computer, there has been a massive growth in the use of statistics in literary research thanks to developments in both computing and statistics as well as the creation of text archives and increased availability of electronic texts. This has led to far more sophisticated studies as well as the appearance of textbooks on the subject. One particular area of interest has been author attribution. Andrew Morton (1966) studied the length of sentences in the Pauline Epistles compared with sentence length in works by other Greek authors contemporary with Paul. By so doing, he was able to attribute just four Epistles to Paul and the rest to different (as yet, unknown) writers. *The Junius Letters*, a collection of political pamphlets that appeared under the pseudonym Junius between 1769 and 1772, were analysed by Alvar Ellegård (1962). By identifying characteristic words for Junius and comparing them with their frequency in the works of forty contemporary authors and after studying more than one million words (tokens), he was able to attribute the *Letters* to Sir Philip Frances. The American statisticians, Frederick Mosteller and David Wallace, studied the so-called *Federalist Papers*, known to be written by Jay, Hamilton, and Madison in 1787 and 1788. Among these political papers were twelve disputed articles that may have been written either by Hamilton or by Madison. Mosteller and Wallace identified "marker words" (that is, favourite words of the two authors), but as these "marker words" were few in number, they also looked at the relative frequency of basic, function words (which are not influenced by context). They combined

3 Kenny 1982, 1.

their statistical analysis with historical evidence and were able to attribute the disputed articles. Their experiences during the study led them to assert that it is the function words of a language that "are the fertile source of discriminators".[4] The *Federalist Papers* were investigated again by Forsyth and Holmes (1995) who, despite using different statistical methods, reached the same conclusion. Göran Kjellmer (1975) examined the much debated authorship of five Middle English poems that were attributed to the "Pearl poet" (*Cleanness*, *St Erkenwald*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *Patience*, and *Pearl*). By analysing a number of features (for example, occurrences of frequent words, sentence length, and alliteration) he could conclude that the author of *Pearl* had not written any of the four other poems. Similar to the use of statistics for author attribution is its use for categorisation. In 1978, Anthony Kenny published his work on Aristotle's *Ethics*, in which he used diagnostic features to locate three disputed books within the Eudemian, rather than the Nicomachean, context.

Statistical studies of texts have also been used in sociological studies. Suitbert Ertel (1978) analysed different words expressing certainty and uncertainty; some words have a dogmatic, and others a tentative meaning (for example, "always", "absolutely", and "never" are dogmatic and contrast with the tentative "sometimes", "up to a point", and "occasionally"). He was thus able to calculate a "dogmatism quotient". For example, the German National Socialists and Communists of the Weimar Republic scored a high dogmatism quotient whereas the Social Democrats scored a low one (1978).

The 1970s also saw the development of stylometric fingerprinting in court and forensic science. It has been used to distinguish between fabricated and genuine confessions to the police and to identify the authors of unsigned confessions, written threats, and suicide notes. However, although particularly popular in the United States, such fingerprinting is not always admitted as evidence in court and has been shown to be unreliable.[5]

More recently, stylometry has moved away from concerns about authorship to questions of a broader nature, not least the historical development of style and genre. John F. Burrows' study of Jane Austen's novels (1987) based on common, functional words showed how the author used these common words to construct distinct idiolects for her different characters. Two other important studies on genre and style are Brefeld 1994 and Biber 1995. Josephine Miles, meanwhile, has looked at how sentence structure has changed since the sixteenth century in both British and American prose literature. Through her

4 Mosteller and Wallace 1964, 265.

5 Michaelson, Morton, and Hamilton-Smith 1979.

work, she has shown that there has not been a unilinear development in the use of such structures in prose style, but rather a rising and falling pattern over the centuries. Together with Hanan Selvin (1966), Miles has also investigated how clusters of favoured words vary in different eras.

In medieval studies, there has been a recognition that statistical methods offer the scholar an opportunity to describe accurately the language, in the sense of dialectal variant, used in a manuscript. How do dialectal features vary through the course of a text? Are certain forms preferred by certain writers? Are various features correlated with one another? Important and experimental work in the quantitative analysis of language mixture can be found in Brigitte Schludermann's study of mixed Dutch-German medieval poems (1980; 1996). Another innovative statistical study of medieval literature is Saskia Murk-Jansen's work on the mystic Hadewijch's *Mengeldichten* (1991). Statistical analysis of modern Scandinavian texts has been conducted by Vibeke Sandersen, who in 2003 published her thesis on the language in letters home written by Danish soldiers during the First Schleswig War.

Although there was a growth in the statistical examination of literary works during the twentieth century, it must be said that the field has fallen somewhat out of favour in recent years. There are a number of reasons for this development. Nowadays, literary criticism values subjective and intuitive approaches to the minutiae of a text; the general tendencies or characteristics of literature or the language in a text or texts is no longer appealing.[6] The division of academic disciplines also means that the education system does not produce researchers who are both "numerate" and "literate" (that is, competent in statistics as well as linguistics and literary research). This is regrettable as statistics can be a valuable aid in addressing questions of interest to the modern-day critic about authorship, the development of an author's style, and the influence of genre on language.

8.2 The Diagnostic Test Features for E 8902

In order to produce a descriptive statistical analysis of the language mixture in E8902, we must first decide what it is that we wish to measure and describe. The difficulties of using terms such as Norwegian versus Swedish were discussed in section 7.1.2, but the analysis is necessarily based on the dichotomous pairing "West-Scandinavian form" (w-form) versus "non-West or East Scandinavian

6 Bailey 1969, 232.

form" (e-form). It is therefore necessary to draw up a series of features which occur either in forms typically found in West Scandinavian manuscripts and in forms typically found in East Scandinavian ones. The checklist of dialectal traits in medieval Scandinavian found in Einar Haugen's *The Scandinavian Languages* provided a starting point for compiling a list of diagnostic features that could be used.[7] Haugen's list was adapted, supplemented, and converted into a list of dichotomous pairings; for example, the monophthongisation "ęi > ē" in Haugen became "ęi:ē" (Test Feature No. 23) in this study. The result was a list of some forty-nine diagnostic test features (TFs), which are listed over page.[8] The type of mixture in the manuscript is phonological, morphological, lexical, and orthographical.

The diagnostic test features listed are *abstract* distinctions between West and East Scandinavian and they are mutually exclusive.[9] For example, the relative particle falls under TF47 SEM:SUM. Each occurrence in the manuscript of the relative particle must be placed either under the abstract west umbrella form (w-form) SEM or under the abstract east umbrella form (e-form) SUM. The actual tokens "sæm" are therefore grouped under SEM and "som" under SUM. The spelling of the words (tokens) in the manuscript ("sæm", "som") is thus not necessarily the same as in the abstract w- and e-forms (SEM and SUM).

The intricacies of linguistic mixture between two closely related languages as well as the fact that distinctions do not always emerge easily from the written evidence[10] meant that every occurrence—or suspected occurrence—had to be carefully considered before being classed as a w- or e-form. In this sort of west-east analysis, there is little accounting for "linguistic islands", such as Bergen where the local written language in the later Middle Ages contained many features also found in East Norwegian but not in the varieties spoken in the city's immediate hinterland.[11] However, such factors can be taken into account, if necessary, once the numerical material has been processed.

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7 Haugen 1976, 210–213, fig. 11.

8 They are described in greater detail in Adams 2005, 746–809, where their suitability for the analysis of the mixed language in E 8902 is also assessed.

9 It should be noted that the terms "West Scandinavian" and "East Scandinavian" only indicate the general character of the mixture—they are not intended as definitions of the exact philological character of each of the forms listed under them.

10 For example, the use of digraphs for monophthongs and monographs for diphthongs (Rindal 1981, 50–53 § 6.5.2).

11 Sørlie 1969, 47–53.

Brief description						Reference number and dichotomous pairing (w-form : e-form)	
Phonology							
Vowels, Stressed	Short	Lowering			i > e / ___rC	TF1	i : e
					y > ø / ___rC	TF2	y : ø
					u > o / ___rC	TF3	u : o
					e > æ	TF4	e : æ
					æ > a / v___r	TF5	æ : a
		Raising			e > i / g___, ___gj	TF6	e : i
					ǫ > u / ___g̃w	TF7	ǫ : u
		Mutation	Regressive		a ≯ ǫ / __C_0[u]	TF8	ǫ : a
					u ≯ o / ___C_0[a]	TF9	o : u
					a ≯ e / ___gi, ___ki	TF10	e : a
			Progressive		a > æ / j___	TF11	ja : jæ
					ǫ > ø / j___	TF12	jǫ : jø
		Fronting			ǫ > ø / ___r, l	TF13	ǫ : ø
		Itacism			y > i	TF14	y : i
		Diphthongisation			e > ja, jǫ	TF15	e : ja
					y > ju / ___r, lC, ggw, ŋgw	TF16	y : ju
		Secondary diphthongisation			æ > æi / ___ŋC_0	TF17	æi : æ
	Long	Lowering			ũ- > õ- (negative prefix)	TF18	ũ : õ[12]
					ē > ǣ / ___C_0	TF19	ē : ǣ
					ū > ō / ___a	TF20	ū : ō
		Mutation	Regressive		ǣ > ā / ___ʀ	TF21	ǣ : ā
	Diphthongs	Consonantisation			V_f > C / ___V	TF22	C : V
		Monophthongisation			ęi > ē	TF23	ęi : ē
					øy > ø̄	TF24	øy : ø̄
					ǫu > ø̄	TF25	ǫu : ø̄
					jū > ỹ	TF26	jū : ỹ

12 The tilde in TF18 ũ:õ does not represent nasalisation; it serves only to differentiate this diagnostic test feature from the two others containing the same sequence of vowels (*viz*. TF3 u:o and TF20 ū:ō). Although these vowels in the negative prefix are thought to have been nasalised in Proto-Scandinavian, there is no medieval evidence of this.

	Vowels, Unstressed		Vowel harmony	(i, u) > (e, o) / $V_{not\ high}$ (C) ___	TF27	+ VHa. : – VHa.
			Vowel balance	(a, i, u) > (æ, e, o) / long syllable	TF28	+ VBal. : – VBal.
			Vowel merger	(a, i, u) > (ə) in unstressed positions	TF29	a/i/u : ə
			Svarabhakti vowel	∅ > V / C___R, r, l, n	TF30	∅ : ẹ
	Consonants	Elision		R > ∅ / ___#	TF31	ʀ : ∅
				v > ∅ / ___rV	TF32	r : vr
		Assimilation	Dental	ð, d, t > l / l___	TF33	ld : l̄
				ð, d, t > n / n___	TF34	nt : n̄
			Nasal	m > p / ___p	TF35	p̄ : mp
				n > t / ___t	TF36	t̄ : nt
				n > k / ___k	TF37	k̄ : nk
Morphology	Nouns	Definite dative plural suffix		-unum : -umin	TF38	-unum : -umin
	Verbs	Indicative present	Second person plural suffix	-ir : -in	TF39	-ir : -in
		Subjunctive pret.	Strong ± i-mutation	V_{back} > V_{front}	TF40	+ ¨ : – ¨
		Medio-passive	Suffix	-sk, -st : -s	TF41	-sk : -s
Lexicon	Pronouns	Personal	1st person sg.	ek : iak	TF42	ek : iak
			2nd person pl.	yðvarr : idhir	TF43	yðvarr : idhir
			3rd person sg. fem.	hun : hon, hōn	TF44	hun : hon
		Demonstrative	masc./fem.	þann : þæn	TF45	þann : þæn
			nt.	þat : þæt	TF46	þat : þæt
		Relative particle		sem : sum	TF47	sem : sum
	Conditional conjunction			ef, en : um, en	TF48	ef : um
Orthography	Anglo-Saxon letter forms			Anglo-Saxon/Insular “ſ” in the west : Latin/Continental “f” in the east	TF49	ſ : f

FIGURE 40 *Reference list of diagnostic test features*

From this list of forty-nine diagnostic test features it was necessary to select those that most adequately described the linguistic mixture in E 8902. For example, TF26 (the monphthongisation of *jū* to *ȳ*) would probably only be helpful in describing the language in E 8902 if it included much Danish influence, which it does not.[13]

In order for one of the test features to be used in the quantitative analysis it also had to occur in fairly large quantities. Given the relatively small size of the corpus, it was concluded that to be included in the quantitative analysis a feature had to have a rate of occurrence (RO) of 0.01 or higher; that is, the feature had to occur at least once per hundred tokens (or 271 times out of a total 27,089 words in the manuscript).[14]

TABLE 9 *Index of the test features and their rates of occurrence*

TF	RO	TF	RO	TF	RO	TF	RO
1	0.0037	14	0.0167	26	–	39	0.0010
2	0.0038	15	0.0116	27	–	40	0.0041
3	0.0016	16	0.0002	28	–	41	–
4	–[15]	17	0.0086	29	0.3986	42	0.0272
5	0.0055	18	–	30	–	43	0.0024
6	0.0076	19	0.0047	31	–	44	–
7	0	20	0.0014	32	0.0006	45	0.0041
8	0.0094	21	0.00004	33	0.0137	46	0.0008
9	–	22	–[16]	34	[0.0242]	47	0.0209
10	0.0008	23[17]	[a 0.0442]	35	0.0004	48	0.0009

13 For example, compare the adjective "deep" in Old Norwegian *djúpr*, Old Swedish *diūpẹr* and Old Danish *djūp* > *dȳb*. See Noreen 1897, 92–93 § 100; Brøndum-Nielsen 1950, 345–347 § 179(3).

14 The more frequently a feature occurs, the more reliable it may be considered as a way of measuring mixture.

15 This test feature and TF9, TF18, TF26, TF27, TF28, TF30, TF41, and TF44 have been excluded from the analysis on the basis of philological criteria. See Adams 2005, 755, 761–762, 772, 781–785, 787–788, 799–780, and 803.

16 This test feature and TF34 have been excluded from the analysis because of difficulties in counting the forms. See Adams 2005, 857 and 904–905 for details.

17 There are two different counts for this feature. Count (a) includes all occurrences of the diphthong *ęi* and the monophthong *ē*, whereas count (b) excludes occurrences of the negative particle "ei(g)".

TF	RO	TF	RO	TF	RO	TF	RO
11	0.0115		b 0.0362	36	0.0003	49	0.0208
12	0.0041	24	0.0059	37	0.0004		
13	0.00004	25	0.0089	38	0.0015		

The 1% or 0.01 rate-of-occurrence hurdle excluded the more unusual words which can be susceptible to exotic spellings and reduced the list of TFs to just 10 diagnostic features (A–J listed below).[18]

8.2.1 *Diagnostic Test Feature A: Progressive i-mutation* (= *TF11*)

By the influence of a preceding /j/, a short /a/ was shifted to /æ/.[19] For example:

	West Scand.	East Scand.
"heart"	*hjarta*	*hiĕrta*
"self"	*sjalfr*	*siĕlvẹr*
"help"	*hjalpa*	*hiĕlpa*
"even"	*jafn*	*iĕvn*, *iĕmn*
"star"	*stjarna*	*stiĕrna*

This shift was common in East Scandinavian and usually affected the combination /ja/ that had arisen through the breaking of short stressed /e/.

8.2.2 *Diagnostic Test Feature B: Itacism* (= *TF14*)

The short vowel /y/ was unrounded to /i/ in unaccented syllables and also in accented syllables if there also follows an /i/ in the next syllable.[20] For example:

18 Features that occur infrequently in the material are dealt with separately in the linguistic description, but do not form part of the statistical study *per se*. This is in order to prevent the results from being skewed by maverick forms.

19 See Noreen 1897, 90–91 §§ 96–97; Brøndum-Nielsen 1950, 335–340 § 177; Bandle 1973, 55–56; Hreinn Benediktsson 1982, 38–58.

20 See Brøndum-Nielsen 1950, 230–235 § 140; Seip 1955, 126, 131, 154, 249, 251, 273; Gordon 1957, 322 § 212; Grøtvedt 1969, *s.v.* "fyrir"; "jamning" (in *emne* index); Rindal 1981, 62–64 § 7.1.4.

	West Scand.	East Scand.
"over"	*yfir*	*ǐvir*
"for"	*fyrir*	*fǐrir*

Itacism can be found in both East Scandinavian and East Norwegian manuscripts.

8.2.3 *Diagnostic Test Feature C: Diphthongisation (e:ja) (= TF15)*

A short stressed /e/ diphthongises to /jă/ in a syllable before an /a/.[21]

	West Scand.	East Scand.
"steal"	*stela*	*stiăla*, *stiĕla*
"pay"	*gelda* (usually *gjalda*)	*giălda*, *giĕlda*, *giĕlla*
"mountain"	*berg*	*biărgh*, *biĕrgh* (also *berg*)

This a-breaking was more common in East Scandinavian than in West Scandinavian. The other occurrence of breaking of ĕ {ĕ > jǫ̆ / ___[u]}, u-/w-breaking, seems to be just as common in West as in East Scandinavian and is therefore not included in this analysis. The breaking of *ek* to *iăk* (*iĕk*) is treated separately under personal pronouns, as occurrences of *iak* in the manuscript are more likely to be due to lexical borrowing than phonological influence. One would expect to find a number of broken forms in a fourteenth-century Norwegian manuscript, so the use of unbroken forms would deserve attention.

8.2.4 *Diagnostic Test Feature D: Monophthongisation (ęi > ē) (= TF23b)*

The diphthong /ęi/ was monophthongised to a long /e/.[22] For example:

21 See Noreen 1897, 72–75 § 75–79; Brøndum-Nielsen 1950, 148–161 § 93–97 (an alternative theory is offered by Svensson 1944); Bandle 1973, 52–54.

22 See Noreen 1897, 75–78 § 80; Brøndum-Nielsen 1950, 331–332 § 173; Moberg 1953; Gordon 1957, 321 § 203 (iii); Grøtvedt 1969, *s.v.* "diftongutvikling" (in *emne* index); Sørlie 1969, 30–36; Bandle 1973, 64–66; Faarlund 1975; Rindal 1981, 45–53 § 6.4–6.5.2, 61–62 § 7.1.3; Strid 1989; Widmark 1994; Barnes 1997 (*passim*); Elmevik 1998, 586–588; Schulte 2002, 873.

	West Scand.	**East Scand.**
"stone"	*steinn*	*stēn*
"leg"	*bein*	*bēn*
"angry"	*reiðr*	*vrēdhẹr*
"play"	*leika*	*lēka*
"mean"	*meina*	*mēna*

The diphthong /ęi/ was monophthongised to a long /e/ in much of East Scandinavian (Old Danish and much of Old Swedish). Previously, this East Scandinavian monophthongisation was believed to have occurred as late as the tenth century, as the the first documented evidence was thought to be the ninth-century Gørlev stone.[23] However, Barnes (1997) has suggested this might not to be the case and that it might be possible to place the shift much earlier. The monophthongisation is thought to have spread slowly into Sweden.[24] Monophthongisation did not reach the easternmost areas (Gotland,[25] Finland, and Estonia) nor did it affect Northern Swedish. It did, however, affect some parts of easternmost Norway.

8.2.5 *Diagnostic Test Feature E: Vowel Merger* (= *TF29*)

In East Scandinavian, the unstressed vowels /a/ and /u/ were frequently reduced (/i/ less so). This reduced vowel (/ə/) was written either /e/ or /æ/.[26] For example:

23 Jacobsen and Moltke 1942, II, col. 853; Brøndum-Nielsen 1932–1974, I, 330–331 (§ 172).

24 Perridon 2002; cf. Moberg 1953, 90: "företeelsen synes ha spritt sig förvånansvärt raskt [the phenomenom seems to have spread surprisingly quickly]".

25 In Gutnish /ęi/ > /ai/ (*stain*, *bain*, *laika*, and so on).

26 See Noreen 1897, 137–139 § 149–150; Brøndum-Nielsen 1950, 405–418 § 205–218; Grøtvedt 1938; Grøtvedt 1939; Indrebø 1951, 138–139; Gordon 1957, 323 § 216; Sørlie 1969, 24–30; Haugen 1976, 207 § 10.5.9(3), 263 § 11.3.10(3).

	West Scand.	East Scand.
"donkey"	*asni*	*asnæ*
"called"	*kallaði*	*kalladhe* (ODan. *kallæthæ*)
"shall"	*skulu*	*skolæ*
"take"	*taka*	*takæ*

This feature had spread from central and western Denmark to south-eastern Norway by the beginning of the fourteenth century.[27] It can also be found in some varieties of Old Swedish. It can sometimes be difficult to distinguish the effects of this merger from that of vowel harmony and vowel balance.

8.2.6 *Diagnostic Test Feature F: Elision* (ʀ > ∅ / ___#) (= *TF31*)

The (originally) palatal ʀ was lost in morpheme-final position in East Scandinavian.[28] For example:

	West Scand.	East Scand.
"horses"	*hestar*	*hesta*
"guests"	*gestir*	*gæsti*
"the fish"	*fiskarnir*	*fiskani*
"dies"	*deyr*	*dø*
"the streets"	*gǫturnar*	*gatuna*
"we"	*vér*	*vī*

Morpheme-final palatal /ʀ/ (< Gmc */z/) was sometimes lost in Old Danish and Old Swedish varieties with the exception of *Västgötska* where it became /r/. This occurred particularly after /a/. In Old Norwegian, palatal /ʀ/ was shifted to /r/ whatever position it was in and was not lost.

27 Grøtvedt 1939, 79.

28 See Noreen 1897, 248–253 § 321; Brøndum-Nielsen 1932, 354–364 § 399; Gordon 1957, 324 § 223; Grøtvedt 1969, *s.v.* "konsonantbortfall" (in *emne* index); Tjäder 1961.

8.2.7 *Diagnostic Test Feature G: Dental Assimilation* (*ð, d, t* > *l* / *l*___) (= *TF33*)

An immediately following dental consonant assimilates to /l/ giving long /l/.[29] For example:

	West Scand.	**East Scand.**
"well", "source"	*kelda*	*kælla*
"hold"	*halda*	*hālla*
"would"	*vildi*	*ville*
"should"	*skuldi*	*skolle*

This assimilation occurred in East Scandinavian and in eastern Norwegian. Both Seip and Sørlie suggest that the spelling ⟨ld⟩ arises from a "literary spelling tradition" and that the spoken language had long /l/ to a larger extent than can be inferred from manuscripts.[30] However, Spurkland finds no evidence amongst the medieval runic material to support the idea that the assimilation was complete by 1300.[31]

8.2.8 *Diagnostic Test Feature H: First Person Singular Pronoun* (= *TF42*)

The form *ek* is the first person singular pronoun used in West Scandinavian (and Jutlandic) and *iak* (or *iæk*) is the form in East Scandinavian.[32] The e-form also occurs in south-eastern Norwegian manuscripts.

8.2.9 *Diagnostic Test Feature I: Relative Particle* (= *TF47*)

The form of the relative pronoun was *sem* in West and *sum* in East Scandinavian.[33] The form *sum* can be found sporadically in Old Norwegian. An early occurrence is in Inscription 149. Atrå kirke II which has "som".[34] Other forms

29 See Brøndum-Nielsen 1932, 232–242 § 341; Seip 1938; Grøtvedt 1969, *s.v.* "assimilasjon"; Sørlie 1969, 37; Spurkland 1998.

30 Seip 1938, 165–166; Sørlie 1969, 37.

31 Spurkland 1998, 597–598.

32 See Noreen 1897, 90 § 96; Brøndum-Nielsen 1965, 7–14 § 561B; Grøtvedt 1969, *s.v.* "personlige pronomen" (in *emne* index).

33 See Noreen 1897, 410 § 513; Brøndum-Nielsen 1965, 347–353 § 588; Grøtvedt 1969, *s.v.* "relativt pronomen".

34 Olsen and Liestøl 1941–1990, II (1951), 198–199.

can be found in two short notes written in younger hands on the backs of two thirteenth-century Norwegian letters, although taking the later date and the number of other svecisms in the language into consideration, these notes may well have been written by Swedish clerks: "som nempnas i brefueno [as is mentioned in the letter]",[35] and "som kyrkiunne i Nidrose burdhe hafa [as the churches in Niðaróss should have]".[36]

8.2.10 *Diagnostic Test Feature J: Anglo-Saxon Letter Forms* (= *TF49*)

The Anglo-Saxon (insular) "ſ" is used in manuscripts from the West Scandinavian area and the continental (Latin) "f" is used in manuscripts from the East Scandinavian area.[37] After the introduction of continental "f" into Norway, scribes often used "ff" where they had previously used a single Anglo-Saxon "ſ".[38] An example of this, the only one in E 8902, is on *p*. 19: 15 "ffly".

8.3 Statistical Procedure

Having selected the diagnostic test features and checked their appropriateness for the analysis, both philologically and statistically, it was possible to begin processing the material. The statistical procedure is outlined below (using the feature SEM:SUM as an example) and references are provided for the reader who would like a fuller explanation of any stage or calculation. The over-all purpose of this analysis is to measure the quantities in which w- and e-forms occur in E 8902, whether their use varies between the hands and between the sections in the manuscript, and whether there is any relationship between the features themselves. Ultimately, the analysis will make it possible to characterise the mixture within the manuscript.

8.3.1 *Total Number of Occurrences and Proportion*

The first step was a straightforward enumeration of the tokens, in which each occurrence of a feature's w- or e-form was counted.[39] This provided the total number of occurrences (TNO) for each form—the basis of all further calculations. This information is used to group the occurrences by section (of which

35 *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, II (1852), 20 (no. 19).

36 *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, III (1855), 31 (no. 30).

37 See Munch 1924, I, 107; Vágslid 1930, 118; Seip 1954b, 118.

38 See Munch 1924, I, 107; Seip 1954b, 118.

39 Kenny 1982, 15–31; Butler 1985, 14–26; Woods, Fletcher, and Hughes 1986, 8–24.

there are 34 of varying length),[40] and by hand. The preference of each hand (1, 2, 3, or 4) for the w- or e-form of a given feature is subsequently calculated from the number of occurrences to give a figure between 0 and 1, thus:[41]

$$\frac{\text{Total number of occurrences of } x \text{ in east form}}{\text{Total number of occurrences of } x \text{ in east form} + \text{Total number of occurrences of } x \text{ in west form}}$$

Obviously, if the scribe prefers an e-form to a w-form, then this proportion (p) will be greater than 0.5. Otherwise the proportion will be equal to or less than 0.5. For example, with regard to the diagnostic feature I (SEM:SUM), Hand 1 has written 492 occurrences in a w-form and 25 in an e-form:

$$\frac{492}{492 + 25} = 0.9516$$

Hand 1 clearly has a marked preference for the w-form SEM. We can illustrate this proportion graphically:

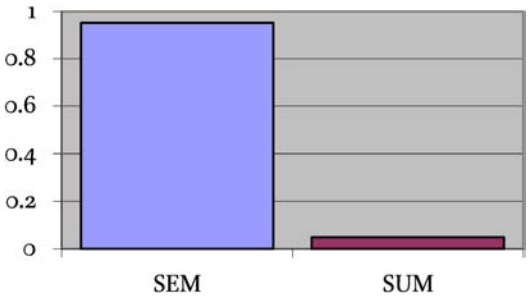


FIGURE 41 *The proportion of SEM:SUM for Hand 1*

8.3.2 *Rate of Occurrence*

A comparison of how frequently a particular feature occurs in the total output by each hand is a useful way of comparing the use of a feature by each hand.[42] In order for the results of each hand to be comparable they should use the feature in roughly equal quantities. The rate of occurrence (RO) is calculated by dividing the total number of occurrences of a token by a hand's total number of words written by that same hand. Because the features are separated into e-

40 That is 1; 2; 3; 4; 5a; 5b; 6a; 6b; 7a; 7b; 7c; 8; 9; 10a; 10b; 11; 12; 13; 14a; 14b; 15; 16; 17; 18; 19; 20a; 20b; 21; 22; 23; 24; 25a; 25b; 25c. See section 5.3 and fig. 6.

41 Kenny 1986, 67.

42 Kenny 1986, 68.

and w-forms, it is necessary to calculate the RO in two stages. Again, this is best explained using an actual example (diagnostic feature I—SEM:SUM).

Stage 1: Calculate the RO for each form:

a. $\frac{\text{Total number of occurrences of SEM (Hand 1)}}{\text{Total number of words (Hand 1)}}$ = RO of SEM in Hand 1

b. $\frac{\text{Total number of occurrences of SUM (Hand 1)}}{\text{Total number of words (Hand 1)}}$ = RO of SUM in Hand 1

Stage 2: Add the two ROs together in order to calculate Hand 1's RO of the feature SEM:SUM.

For example:

Stage 1a:	SEM	492 / 24925	=	0.0197
Stage 1b:	SUM	25 / 24925	=	0.0010
Stage 2:	SEM + SUM	0.0197 + 0.0010	=	0.0207

If this procedure is repeated for Hand 2, we have:

Stage 1a:	SEM	1 / 2087	=	0.0005
Stage 1b:	SUM	45 / 2087	=	0.0216
Stage 2:	SEM + SUM	0.0005 + 0.0216	=	0.0221

We can now compare these two ROs. If they are comparable, the RO for H1 divided by the RO for H2 should be close to unity (1):

$$\frac{\text{SEM:SUM RO of H1}}{\text{SEM:SUM RO of H2}} = \frac{0.0207}{0.0221} = 0.9367 \text{ (that is } -0.0633 \text{ from unity)}$$

In order to compare different hands it is clearer if the results are either all above or all below unity. For this reason, it is sometimes necessary to swap the position of the hands in the calculation. In order to achieve a positive result, it is necessary to perform the following calculation:

$$\frac{\text{SEM:SUM RO of H2}}{\text{SEM:SUM RO of H1}} = \frac{0.0221}{0.0207} = 1.0676 \text{ (that is } 0.0676 \text{ from unity)}$$

A high level of similarity would be below 0.1 either side of unity, so, having made any necessary adjustment (as described above) to create a positive result, we

shall use 0.1 above unity as our hurdle of acceptability. In the case above, the Hands use the feature SEM:SUM in almost equal quantities (the difference is less than 0.1 above unity), so it is possible to compare their use of the feature.

8.3.3 *Ellegård's Distinctiveness Ratio*

We can compare the proportions characteristic of one hand with the proportions characteristic of another by using a simple statistic known as the distinctiveness ratio (DR), devised by Alvar Ellegård for the purposes of attribution studies.[43]

$$\frac{\text{RO in A}}{\text{RO in B}} = \text{DR}$$

For example:

$$\frac{\text{RO of SEM in H1}}{\text{RO of SEM in H2}} = \frac{0.0197}{0.005} = 39.4$$

If the form is more common in Hand 1 than Hand 2, then the DR is greater than unity; if it is more frequent in Hand 2, then the DR is fractional. In the calculation above, the DR is extraordinarily high and we are dealing with a clearly discriminating characteristic of the two hands. Words with a DR higher than unity are known as "plus-words", and those with a DR lower than unity "minus-words".[44] We could, for example, say that defined from the point of view of Hand 1, SEM is a plus-word.

8.3.4 *Testing for Significance*

In order to test for significance, the features were subjected to a simple chi-squared test (χ^2), with Yates' correction when necessary:[45]

43 See Ellegård 1962a, especially pp. 12–19; Ellegård 1962b, 104. Ellegård developed his measure because he felt that Yule's characteristic K (Yule 1944) did not have enough discriminating power to deal with texts written in a fairly consistent style. See also Kenny 1982, 69–70; Bailey 1969, 224–225.

44 In order to be considered as being a clearly discriminating characteristic, the DR should be higher than 1.5 for plus-words, or lower than 0.67 for minus-words (Kenny 1982, 70).

45 Hald 1952, 40–43; Lancaster 1969; Butler 1985, 112–123; Kenny 1986, 110–116; Woods, Fletcher, and Hughes 1986, 132–153. On the necessity for Yates' correction in this calculation, see Butler 1985, 122–123; Kenny 1986, 118–119; Woods, Fletcher, and Hughes 1986, 146.

$$\chi^2 = \Sigma \frac{(|\,O - E\,| - 0.5)^2}{E}$$

O = observed frequency for a cell

$$E = \text{expected frequency for a cell} = \frac{\text{row total} \times \text{column total}}{\text{grand total of items}}$$

The chi-squared test provides us with a degree of confidence in accepting (or rejecting) the hypothesis that the feature as it is used by Hand 1, that is as w- or e-form, is different enough to Hand 2 that we can generalise from our samples that the populations from which our samples are drawn are also different. For example:

TABLE 10 *The chi-squared test for significance for the feature* SEM:SUM *betweens Hands 1 and 2*

Observed frequency

	SEM	SUM	Total
H 1	492	25	517
H 2	1	45	46
Total	493	70	563

Expected frequency

	SEM	SUM	Total
H 1	(493 × 517) / 563 = 452.7194	(70 × 517) / 563 = 64.2806	517
H 2	(493 × 46) / 563 = 40.2806	(70 × 46) / 563 = 5.7194	46
Total	493	70	563

Calculations

O	E	| O - E | - 0.5	(| O - E | - 0.5)²	(O - E)² / E
492	452.7194	38.7806	1503.9349	3.3220
1	40.2806	−38.7806	1503.9349	37.3365
25	64.2806	−38.7806	1503.9349	23.3964
45	5.7194	38.7806	1503.9349	262.9533
				Σ 327.0082

χ^2 at 327.0082 > 0.001 significance level at 1 *df*

The chi-squared test shows that the distribution of the feature SEM:SUM between Hands 1 and 2 is highly significant, because the probability of such a distribution occurring by chance is very small (less than 0.1% or 1 out of 1000 cases).

8.3.5 *Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient*

Finally, when all the features have been analysed, it is possible to see whether their occurrences are related by comparing the behaviour of the features with one another. This is done using Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient (r).[46] The resulting correlation coefficient lies between –1 and 1:

r is close to +1.000 — Positive Correlation—An increase in the occurrence of the w-form of feature *x* is related to an increase in the occurrence of the w-form of feature *y*. Similarly, an increase in the occurrence of the e-form of feature *x* is related to an increase in the occurrence of the e-form of feature *y*.

r is close to 0.000 — Lack of Correlation—The occurrence of the w-form of the features *x* and *y* is unrelated. Similary, the occurrence of the e-form of the features *x* and *y* is unrelated.

46 Butler 1985, 142–145; Kenny 1986, 79–84; Woods, Fletcher, and Hughes 1986, 162–169; Schludermann 1996, I, 127–129.

r is close to –1.000	Negative Correlation—An increase in the occurrence of a w-form of feature *x* is related to a decrease in the occurrence of a w-form of feature *y*. Similarly, an increase in the occurrence of an e-form of feature *x* is related to a decrease in the occurrence of an e-form of feature *y*.

A high correlation is 0.5 to 1.0 or –0.5 to –1.0, and a medium correlation is 0.3 to 0.5 or –0.3 to –0.5. If all the features in the manuscript correlate significantly then we say the mixture is unidimensional. However, it could well be the case that a feature correlates significantly with some features but has a low correlation with others. This sort of multidimensional mixture reveals feature clusters in the manuscript.

8.3.6 *Summary*

This statistical analysis of the language mixture in E 8902 is the first attempt to present a quantitative description of the language mixture in the manuscript. The method has a comparative element allowing the use of mixture in various parts of the manuscript and by the different hands to be investigated as well as identifying any patterns among or concentrations of western or eastern features.

8.4 Language Mixture

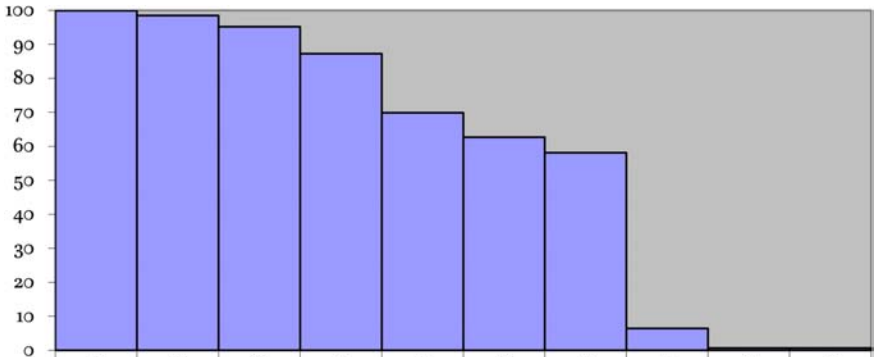
The first part of this section looks at the results of the statistical analysis to see what it can tell us about the mixture of Norwegian and Swedish in the manuscript and between the hands. The second part of the section considers other aspects of the language in E 8902, especially Norwegian forms. The final part provides a description of each hand's mixture type.

8.4.1 *Findings of the Statistical Analysis of Language Mixture*[47]

a) Introduction

The most noticeable aspect of the way the features occur in the manuscript is that levels of West and East Scandinavian forms vary, sometimes greatly. Just because one West Scandinavian form is in frequent use—even nearly 100 % of the time—does not mean that other west forms are in use even by the same hand.

47 Full data sheets and calculations can be found in Adams 2005, 746–1018.



	J	H	G	I	E	D	F	A	B	C
%	99.92	98.51	95.15	87.26	69.88	62.65	58.13	6.43	0.66	0.64

FIGURE 42 *The percentage of feature in west form*

Not only are some west (or east) forms more frequent than other west (or east) forms, but their rate of occurrence varies in different parts of the manuscript. This can be demonstrated quite simply by plotting the occurrences of the features on a graph either as raw figures or proportions.

The data comparing the ten features (A–J) is summarised in a manuscript feature matrix (table 11; below under b). Each feature is divided into hands. The features have been listed in the rows and the hands in the columns. The manuscript feature matrix allows, therefore, for a comparison of the features on the basis of the four hands. Each proportion has also been adjusted, because in addition to showing how often each form is written by each hand, I have tried to demonstrate what the proportion of each form for each hand would be if all the hands were responsible for the same length of text (this allows for a more accurate comparison between them). For example, if Hand 2 accounts for 15 out of 20 occurrences of the west form of feature A, then 75 % of occurrences of A (west) are by Hand 2. However, Hand 2 is responsible for less than 10 % of the total text (whereas Hand 1 for more than 90 %), so we need to adjust the number of occurrences in order to be able to compare to the other hands. The adjusted occurrences were arrived at using the calculation:

$$\text{Number of occurrences by Hand a} \quad \text{x} \frac{\text{Total number of words in E 8902}}{\text{Total number of words by Hand a}}$$

In addition to taking each feature as the basis of a comparison and seeing how it compares across the hands, it can be interesting to take the hands themselves as the basis of the comparison and to compare how often a hand writes a given feature in a west or east form. It is also possible to summarise the frequency

of each form in the hands through the creation of a stacked bar chart that compares the percentage each west or east form contributes to the overall profile of each hand. These findings are presented in section c below.

Following these diagrams, I have summarised each feature's distinctiveness ratio (d) and the results of the chi-test (e). These diagrams show how distinctive each of the hands' use of a form is and whether the difference in rate of occurrence between the hands is statistically significant. These diagrams also show which features are best suited for comparing between the hands.

Finally, a correlation matrix was constructed in order to compare the level of association between the features to see whether there are any clusters of features and whether the mixture is unidimensional or multidimensional (f). The rates of association between the features is also shown on the cluster mapping diagrams.

b) Frequency and Proportion for Each Hand

TABLE 11 *Manuscript feature matrix* (*w-forms*)

Feature	Hand	Frequency	Total	Proportion	Adjusted frequency	Adjusted proportion
A	1	5	20	.2500	5.43170	.02697
	2	15		.7500	195.94005	.97303
	3	0				0
	4	0				0
B	1	3	3	1	1.08634	1
	2	0				0
	3	0				0
	4	0				0
C	1	0	2			0
	2	2		1	13.06267	1
	3	0				0
	4	0				0
D	1	547	614	.8909	594.22798	.40439
	2	67		.1091	875.19889	.59561
	3	0				0
	4	0				0
E	1	6833	7546	.9055	7422.96122	.21652
	2	688		.0912	8987.11696	.26215
	3	9		.0012	9978.93337	.29108
	4	16		.0021	7893.43858	.23025

Feature	Hand	Frequency	Total	Proportion	Adjusted frequency	Adjusted proportion
F	1	989	1148	.8615	1074.39026	.17045
	2	155		.1350	2024.71385	.32121
	3	2		.0017	2217.54075	.35180
	4	2		.0017	986.67982	.15653
G	1	336	353	.9518	365.01024	.62174
	2	17		.0481	222.06539	.37826
	3	0				0
	4	0				0
H	1	667	727	.9175	724.58878	.11876
	2	53		.0729	692.32151	.11347
	3	2		.0028	2217.54075	.36346
	4	5		.0069	2466.69956	.40430
I	1	492	493	.9980	534.47928	.97614
	2	1		.0020	13.06267	.02386
	3	0				0
	4	0				0
J	1	2271	2493	.9110	2467.07814	.21640
	2	212		.0850	2769.28604	.24291
	3	2		.0008	2217.54075	.19451
	4	8		.0032	3946.71929	.34618

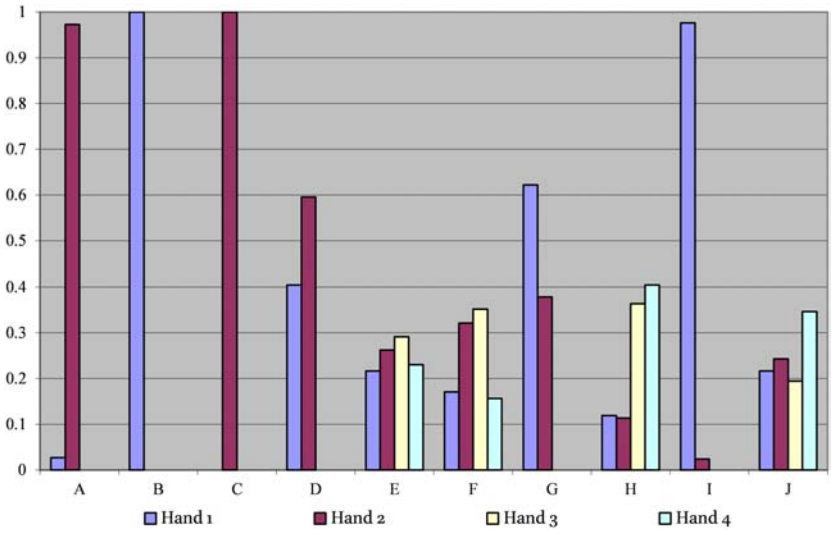


FIGURE 43 *Comparison of the feature proportions (w-forms)*

Most of the west forms are by Hand 2, but note that features G and I are predominantly by Hand 1. Feature B (west)—a Hand 1 feature—only occurs three times, and H (west) occurs in roughly equal proportions between Hands 1 and 2.

TABLE 12 *Manuscript feature matrix* (*e-forms*)

Feature	Hand	Frequency	Total	Proportion	Adjusted frequency	Adjusted proportion
A	1	280	291	.9622	304.17520	.67917
	2	11		.0378	143.68937	.32083
	3	0				0
	4	0				0
B	1	438	450	.9733	475.81692	.27531
	2	11		.0244	143.68937	.08314
	3	1		.0022	1108.7703	.64155
	4	0				0
C	1	285	311	.9164	309.60690	.47688
	2	26		.0836	339.62942	.52312
	3	0				0
	4	0			649.23632	0
D	1	361	366	.9863	392.16874	.19286
	2	3		.0082	39.18801	.01927
	3	1		.0027	1108.77037	.54526
	4	1		.0027	493.33991	.24261
E	1	2899	3253	.8912	3149.29966	.20197
	2	339		.1042	4428.24513	.28399
	3	1		.0003	1108.77037	.07111
	4	14		.0043	6906.75876	.44294
F	1	812	827	.9819	882.10808	.81825
	2	15		.0181	195.94005	.18175
	3	0				0
	4	0				0
G	1	14	18	.7778	15.20876	.22545
	2	4		.2222	52.25068	.77455
	3	0				0
	4	0			67.45944	0

Feature	Hand	Frequency	Total	Proportion	Adjusted frequency	Adjusted proportion
H	1	5	11	.4545	5.43170	.06481
	2	6		.5455	78.37602	.93519
	3	0				0
	4	0			83.80772	0
I	1	25	72	.3472	27.15850	.01225
	2	45		.6250	587.82015	.26513
	3	1		.0139	1108.77037	.50010
	4	1		.0139	493.33991	.22252
J	1	2	2	1	1.08634	1
	2	0				0
	3	0				0
	4	0				0

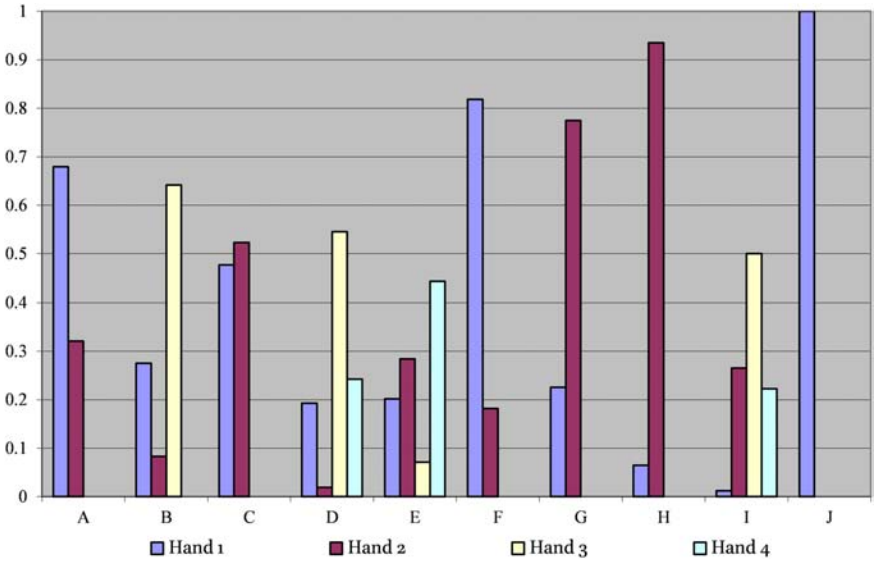
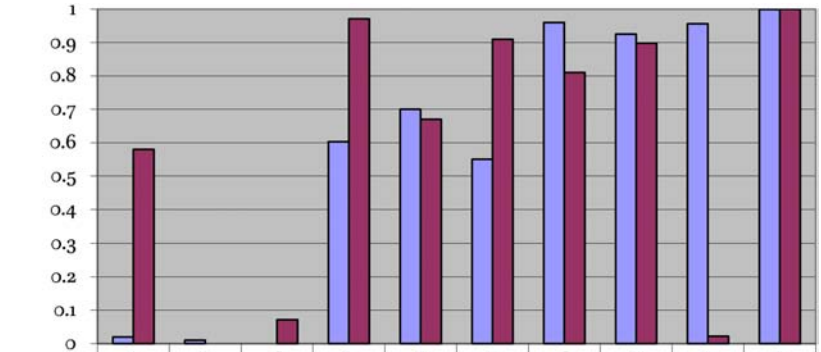


FIGURE 44 *Comparison of the feature proportions (e-forms)*

Most east forms are by Hand 1, but note that G, H and I are predominantly written by Hand 2. Perhaps it is the use of "iak" (H east) by Hand 2 that is the most surprising as this hand generally prefers west forms. Feature C (east) occurs in rough equally proportions between Hands 1 and 2.

c) Feature Proportion of Each Hand



	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Hand 1	0.02	0.01	0	0.6024	0.7	0.55	0.96	0.925	0.956	0.9991
Hand 2	0.58	0	0.0714	0.971	0.67	0.91	0.81	0.8983	0.0217	1

FIGURE 45 *Proportion of each hand in west forms*

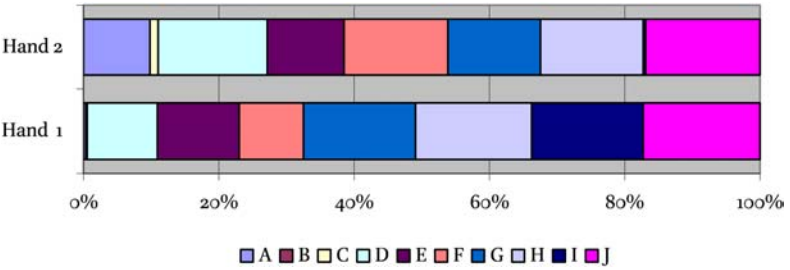
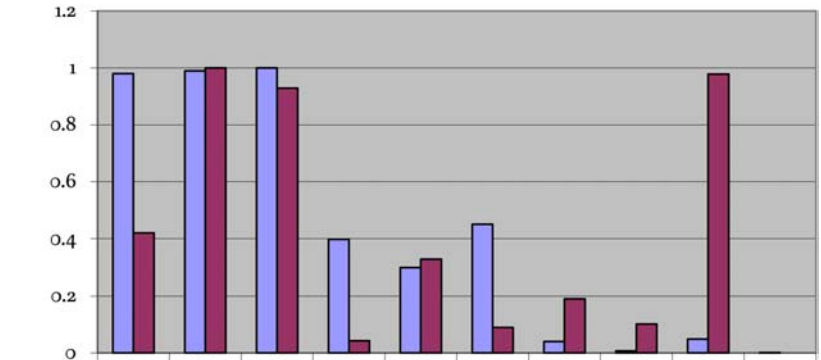


FIGURE 46 *Stacked bar chart comparing the percentage that each west form contributes to the total across both hands*



	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Hand 1	0.98	0.99	1	0.3976	0.3	0.45	0.04	0.0075	0.0484	0.0009
Hand 2	0.42	1	0.9286	0.0429	0.33	0.09	0.19	0.1017	0.9783	0

FIGURE 47 *The proportion of each hand in east forms*

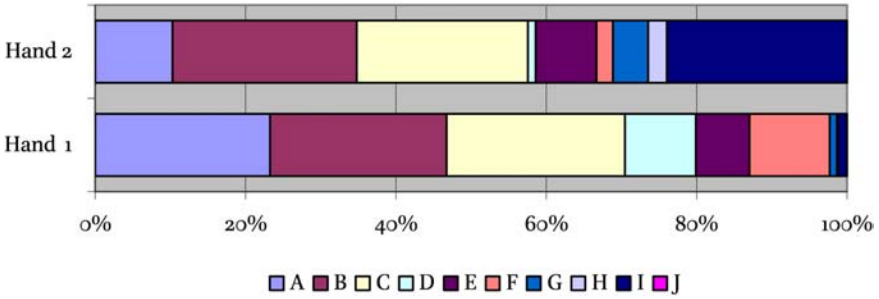


FIGURE 48 *Stacked bar chart comparing the percentage that each east form contributes to the total across both hands*

d) Ellegård's Distinctiveness Ratio

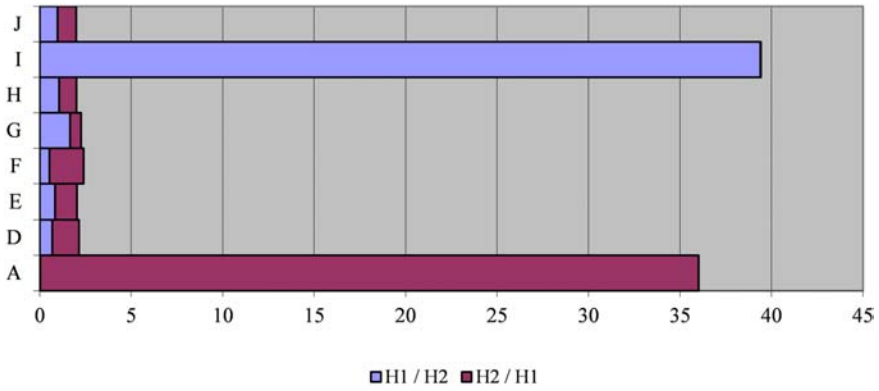


FIGURE 49 *The sum of Ellegård's distinctiveness ratio of west forms for Hand 1/2 and Hand 2/1*

e) Significance and Probability—Chi-Squared Test

Feature	Significant?	χ^2	$p \leq$
A	Y	117.3294	0.001
B	N	000.0815	1.000
C	Y	012.9139	0.001
D	Y	035.3455	0.001
E	Y	010.4056	0.025
F	Y	087.9915	0.001
G	Y	007.3803	0.010

(cont.)

Feature	Significant?	χ^2	p ≤
H	Y	027.6496	0.001
I	Y	327.0082	0.001
J	Y	003.9908	0.005

χ^2

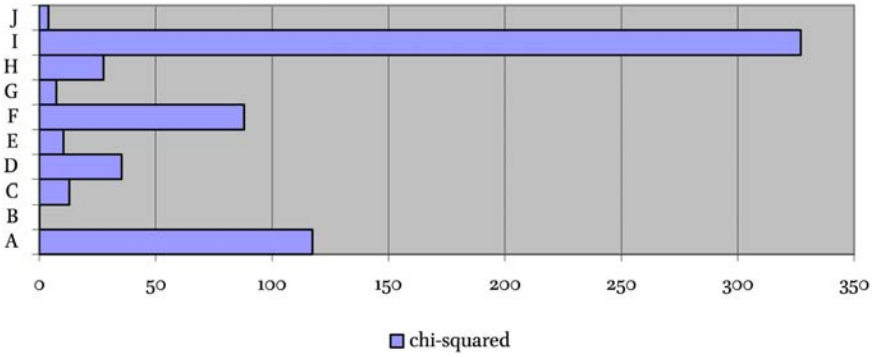


FIGURE 50.1 *Summary and charts of significance and probably—chi-squared test, barchart 1*

p

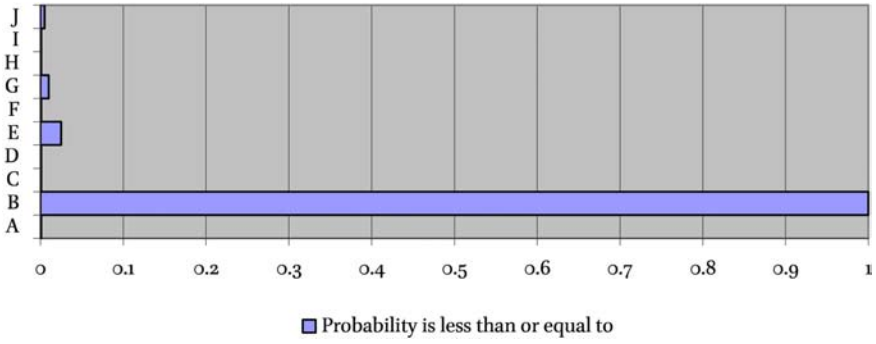


FIGURE 50.2 *Summary and charts of significance and probably—chi-squared test, barchart 2*

The features that distinguish most clearly between the hands are A, D, F, H, and I. All of these features, with the exception of F, have similar rates of occurrence across Hands 1 and 2.

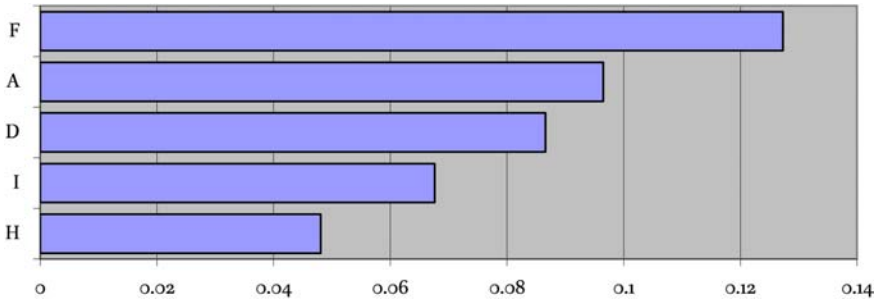


FIGURE 51 *Comparison of rate of occurrences* (*Hand 1 / Hand 2 from unity*)

f) Pearson's Moment Product Correlation Coefficient
(*see next page*)

TABLE 13 *Correlation matrix (w-forms): Figures*

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
1	−0.104511	0.935721	0.630029	0.850465	0.854775	0.412761	0.773682	0.512950	0.768573	A
	1	−0.054153	−0.041717	0.041988	0.073202	0.193124	0.110094	0.111613	0.073499	B
		1	0.588942	0.862158	0.845571	0.415867	0.855811	0.589869	0.771949	C
			1	0.836804	0.816738	0.685991	0.690110	0.827106	0.825791	D
				1	0.992193	0.720189	0.915465	0.863015	0.969019	E
					1	0.725065	0.899283	0.851487	0.976760	F
						1	0.747122	0.822146	0.739224	G
							1	0.793270	0.857498	H
								1	0.881837	I
									1	J

TABLE 14 *Correlation matrix (w-forms): Level of correlation*

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
–	L	H	H	H	H	M	H	H	H	A
	–	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	H	B
		–	H	H	H	M	H	H	H	C
			–	H	H	H	H	H	H	D
				–	H	H	H	H	H	E
					–	H	H	H	H	F
						–	H	H	H	G
							–	H	H	H
								–	H	I
									–	J

H = high correlation
M = medium correlation
L = low correlation

TABLE 15 *Correlation matrix (e-forms): Figures*

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
1	0.484505	0.997152	0.888176	0.943693	0.848464	0.687120	0.413329	0.767460	0.857548	A
	1	0.464729	0.618318	0.609864	0.718214	0.472294	0.006812	0.229404	0.344272	B
		1	0.876992	0.951011	0.845589	0.708784	0.440384	0.806244	0.885196	C
			1	0.893870	0.910041	0.696730	0.251912	0.597412	0.753745	D
				1	0.938375	0.749110	0.379811	0.806319	0.862962	E
					1	0.727014	0.215042	0.628225	0.760806	F
						1	0.308824	0.698118	0.796347	G
							1	0.662685	0.469790	H
								1	0.882250	I
									1	J

TABLE 16 *Correlation matrix (e-forms): Level of correlation*

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
–	M	H	H	H	H	H	M	H	H	A
	–	M	H	H	H	M	L	L	M	B
		–	H	H	H	H	M	H	H	C
			–	H	H	H	L	H	H	D
				–	H	H	M	H	H	E
					–	H	L	H	H	F
						–	M	H	H	G
							–	H	M	H
								–	H	I
									–	J

H = high correlation
M = medium correlation
L = low correlation

The same results can be illustrated more clearly using cluster maps:

Key to diagrams: All lines represent a positive correlation—the thicker the line, the greater the rate of correlation.

r is equal to or less than 0.25 (no line)
r is equal to or less than 0.50 .....
r is equal to or less than 0.75 ▪▪▪▪▪
r is equal to or less than 0.100 ▬▬▬

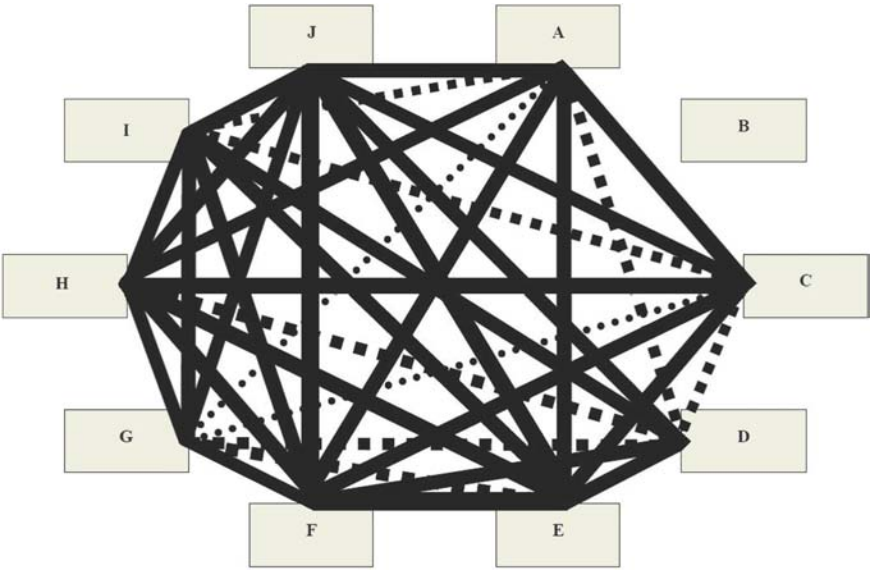


FIGURE 52 *Cluster map of w-forms*

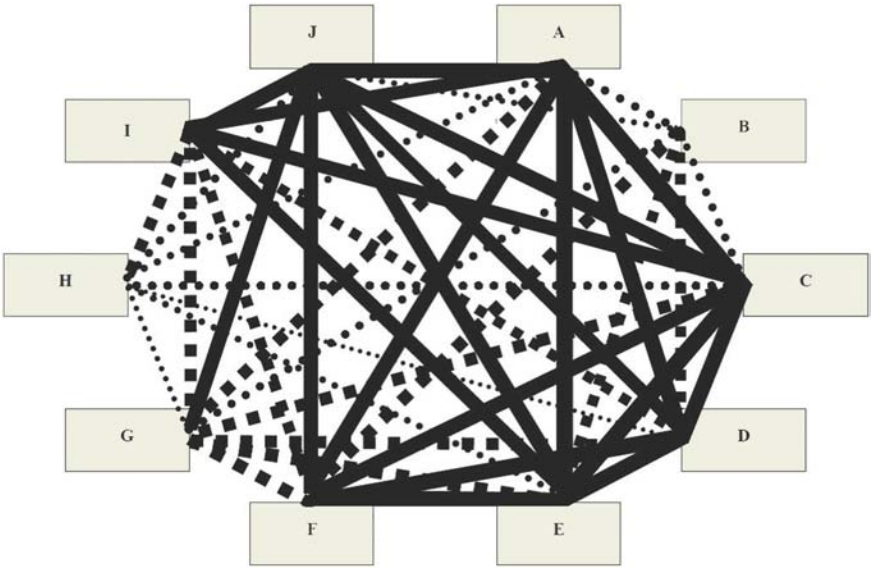


FIGURE 53 *Cluster map of e-forms*

When there is a high or medium correlation, the degree of association between west forms is generally greater than that between east forms. This means that the west forms tend to occur in related quantities whereas east forms are more sporadic. There are nonetheless high levels of association between certain east forms. Some forms occur very infrequently and the degree of association between them and the others is therefore based on only a few occurrences and should be regarded as a somewhat unreliable measure. These forms are:

West: A (20 occurrences); B (3 occurrences); C (2 occurrences)
East: G (18 occurrences); H (11 occurrences); J (2 occurrences)

8.5 Miscellaneous South-Eastern Norwegian Forms

There are three west forms that are particularly typical of south-eastern Norwegian:[48]

1) ⟨a⟩ svarabhakti vowel[49]

48 Moberg 1998, 10–11.

49 See Seip 1955, 272; Seip 1937, 36; Grøtvedt 1939a, 96–98; Noreen 1923, 140–141 (§ 161b); Beito 1942, 88–89 (§ 51.1).

2) Metaphony[50]
3) Metathesis of "vr"[51]

Of these three forms, Hand 2 is responsible for all of 1 and 3, and Hand 1 for all of 2.

8.5.1 *The Intrusive Svarabhakti Vowel*

In East Scandinavian, an epenthetic, or svarabhakti, vowel appears inside a consonant cluster when the second element of that cluster is /ʀ/, /r/, /l/ or /n/. In West Scandinavian (Old Norwegian), we often find a svarabhakti vowel in these positions as well, although it has a greater variety of representations than in East Scandinavian, with ⟨a⟩ (in certain southern dialects such as Vestfold and Telemark), ⟨e⟩, ⟨u⟩ (from around Hardanger and Voss), and ⟨æ⟩ all appearing. In East Scandinavian, ⟨e⟩ and ⟨æ⟩ are most usual, with ⟨i⟩ being used before /r/. As there is huge variation within manuscripts, even those written in the same dialect, this is not an appropriate feature to measure. Also, the words in which there is no svarabhakti vowel in E 8902 (*dicækn*, *tekn*, *vatn*, and *vapn*) are far from remarkable as they are commonly also found in East Scandinavian manuscripts. The insertion of a svarabhakti vowel before /l/ and /n/ is usually placed in the *yngre fornsvenska* period (1375–1526).

Therefore, it was decided not to measure the occurrence:non-occurrence of the svarabhakti vowel in the consonant clusters described in TF30 and include it in the quantitative analysis. However, the svarabhakti vowel in E 8902, or rather the orthographic representation of it, does raise a number of interesting points.

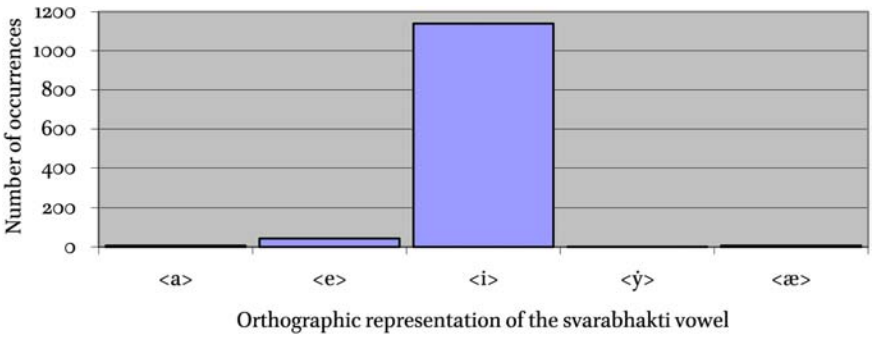


FIGURE 54 *Occurrences of the svarabhakti vowel in E 8902*

50 See Larsen 1948, 34–35.

51 See Eklund 1991, 130–135; Knudsen 1967, 23, 45.

The vast majority of occurrences of the svarabhakti vowel are found before ⟨r⟩ where they are denoted by the grapheme ⟨i⟩. This is considered an East Scandinavian orthographic form.[52] Of the other orthographic representations, the following are particularly noteworthy:

⟨a⟩ 6 occurrences[53], all by Hand 2
This is the grapheme used by Birgitta herself for the svarabhakti vowel. However, it is also found in other Old Swedish works (for example, Holm. A 34) and in Norwegian manuscripts from Telemark and Vestfold—it is considered a south-eastern Norwegian form.[54] It could also simply be an incomplete ⟨æ⟩ without the short diagonal top-right stroke.

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52 Riad 2002, 901.

53

"føtannæ"	*p.* 21: 11	Section 1	cf. ON *fœtrnir*
"føtar"	*p.* 20: 13	Section 1	cf. ON *fœtr*
"hændanna"	*p.* 35: 19	Section 5B	cf. ON *hendrnar*
"kærlæikar"	*p.* 18: 8	Section 1	cf. ON *kærleikr*
"takar"	*p.* 127: 18	Section 25C	cf. ON *tekr*
"wardar"	*p.* 112: 11	Section 23	cf. ON *verðr*

The word "ødmiukar" (vb. 3 sg. pres. indicative, *p.* 75: 11, Section 13, Hand 1) presents a problem as the other occurrence of the verb has a preterite in *-te* ("ødmiukte", *p.* 60: 19; Section 9; Hand 1). The ON verb (*auðmýkja*) also has *-ti* in the preterite, and *-Ør* in the present indicative third person singular. The ⟨a⟩ in "ødmiukar" could perhaps be a svarabhakti vowel, but it is more likely that the verb is in the process of changing conjugation (second to first) and therefore appears with a mixed conjugation. See Pettersson 1996, 156 (§ 6.5.4 on *ja*-verbs that change conjugation). The word has not been included in the count.

Sandvei (1938) includes the word "idhar" (*p.* 37: 22, Section 6A, Hand 1; *p.* 55: 8, Section 7C, Hand 1; *p.* 55: 9, Section 7C, Hand 1) in his discussion of ⟨a⟩ as the svarabhakti vowel. However, the vowel is not a svarabhakti here; cf. ON *yðvarr*, *yðarr* and OSw. *idhar* (see Wessén 1948, I, 117, § 108). Sandvei also (mis)uses of the spelling "idhur" (*yðvarr*, *yðarr* / *idhar*) as evidence of ⟨u⟩ as a svarabhakti vowel.

54 Grøtvedt (1939a, 97) writes:

Det er særlig i s[ør]ø[st]no[rske] og sørl[andske] kilder at denne nyutviklede vokal er *a*, hvilket motsvarer nuværende uttale i slike ord som *tenn'ar* (*-är*), *føt'ar* (*-är*), *bøk'ar* (*-är*). Også i b[o]h[us]l[ensk] finnes former som *bøg'ar* og *tæn*(*n*)*'ar*.

[It is particularly in south-eastern and southern Norwegian sources that this newly evolved vowel is *a*, which corresponds to current pronunciation in such words as *tenn'ar* (*-är*), *føt'ar* (*-är*), *bøk'ar* (*-är*). Also in *Bohusländska*, forms such as *bøg'ar* and *tæn*(*n*)*'ar* are found.]

⟨e⟩ 43 occurrences, all by Hand 1
Used in both Old Swedish and Old Norwegian.
⟨ẏ⟩ 1 occurrence[55], by Hand 1
Probably being used as (or confused with) ⟨i⟩ here.
⟨æ⟩ 6 occurrences, 5 by Hand 1, and 1 by Hand 2
Used in both Old Swedish and Old Norwegian.

Note also the occurrences of ∅r, ∅n and ∅l (early east or west forms):

"diækn"	× 1	Hand 1	cf. OSw. *diæk(ę)n* and ON *djákn*
"teekn"	× 9	Hand 1	cf. OSw. *tek(ę)n* and ON *teikn*
"vatn"	× 1	Hand 1	cf. OSw. *vat(ę)n* and ON *vatn*
"watn"	× 1	Hand 2	cf. OSw. *vat(ę)n* and ON *vatn*
"vapn"	× 4	Hand 1 × 3; Hand 2 × 1	cf. OSw. *vap(ę)n* and ON *vapn*

8.5.2 *Metaphony*

In some Central Swedish and East Norwegian dialects, vowel balance in short-syllable words was further developed by metaphony.[56] Metaphony is a qualitative regressive assimilation between the stressed and unstressed vowels in vowel balance. An unstressed vowel wholly or partially assimilates itself to the preceding stressed vowel. For example, these infinitive forms:

koma > (*komā* > *komå̄* >)[57] *komå* > *komo*
þola > (*þolā* > *þolå̄* >) *þolå* > *þolo*
skodho > (*skodhā* > *skodhå* >) *skodhå* > *skodho*

Infinitives in -o—the result of this metaphony—were "corrected" by Klemming in his 1862 edition of E 8902 to -a infinitives. It will be remembered that Marius Sandvei included the -o infinitives in his list of Norwegian features in E 8902.[58] It should also be noted that vowel balance has been preserved in some Norwegian dialects and forms the basis of the "kløyvd infinitiv [split infinitive]".[59]

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55 "bezskẏr" (*p.* 77: 3, Section 14A), cf. ON *beiskr*.

56 Geijer 1921; Grøtvedt 1931; Larsen 1948, 34–35.

57 There are conflicting opinions about the part of the shift in parentheses. See Kock 1882–1886: 407–408 and Hesselman 1948–1953: 251, 255–262 for differing views.

58 See also Wessén 1968–1976, II, 91–92.

59 See Faarlund *et al.* 1997, 476–477.

The use of "o" (instead of "a") in morphological endings of words comprising a short syllable with "o" in the stem is particularly East Norwegian–Central Swedish and appears sporadically in the manuscript: 95 times in total, all by Hand 1, and most frequently on *pp*. 25–59 and 92–127. These occurrences presumably reflect the scribe's own spoken language:

Word	**TNO**	**Location (page: line)**
boro, borodha	2	95: 11; 124: 3
dogho	2	72: 27; 108: 4
hopodhis, hopodhos, hopodis, hopos	4	44: 22; 64: 14; 105: 6; 119: 19
komo	35	25: 5; 30: 22; 45: 16, 26; 46: 17; 49: 18; 51: 22, 24, 25–26; 52: 11; 53: 18–19, 20; 55: 7, 25; 59: 18, 19, 21; 67: 12; 76: 26; 78: 16; 81: 28; 87: 5; 92: 14–15, 18; 94: 16, 21; 97: 23; 107: 11; 122: 18, 22; 123: 8; 124: 9; 125: 1; 126: 21; 127: 11
lofuodhe, lofuodz, lofuor, lofuos	12	25: 8; 34: 12; 40: 1; 93: 16; 96: 17; 98: 23; 99: 1; 105: 7, 10; 119: 3–4; 124: 19; 127: 3
lofuon	6	42: 23; 101: 5; 102: 3, 25; 106: 26; 127: 5
skodho	4	4: 16; 29: 13; 52: 23; 123: 15
smolo	1	27: 14
somon	10 (+1)	(6: 24);[60] 30: 22; 101: 5; 102: 3, 25; 106: 26; 127: 5
souo	1	40: 21
tolo, þolo	13	40: 5, 19; 49: 11; 51: 23; 54: 18–19; 55: 13; 94: 3; 100: 8, 21; 101: 10; 102: 8; 123: 13; 124: 8
þoro	2	51: 18; 53: 21
þrodho	2	48: 21; 51: 18

8.5.3 *Metathesis of "vr"*

The aphaeresis /vr/ > /r/ only occurred in Icelandic, Faroese, and western Old Norwegian. Other varieties of Old Norwegian retained /v/ and for this reason the vr:r shibboleth has been used to distinguish between Icelandic and Norwegian manuscripts. Three common words are affected, *viz*. (*v*)*rangẹr*, (*v*)*reidhẹr*, and (*v*)*reidhe*. In E 8902, we find examples of metathesis of /vr/ whereby it has become /rv/. For example, (*v*)*reidher*, has been categorised as

60 The scribe has written "somom".

appearing in a west form ("ruæidan", *p*. 36: 17, Hand 2; "rwæidhir", *p*. 39: 12, Hand 2). However, it is not certain whether this metathesis of "vr" represents 1) a scribal error, 2) a representation of a west Scandinavian *r*-pronunciation, or 3) a different pronunciation, for example /rv/. Metathesis of "vr" can occasionally also be found in Swedish manuscripts.[61]

8.6 Summary of Hand Mixture Types

8.6.1 *Hand 1*

General Comments: The hand is characterised by its large number of eastern features.

Phonology: The phonology of the TFs measured is overwhelmingly east. However, the merger of /a, i, u/ to /ə/ (TF29) and the assimilation of /ld/ to /l̄/ (TF33) are not common. There are three common west forms: the diphthong /ei/ occurs in the majority of cases; former palatal /ʀ/ is not elided in suffixes, and there is south-eastern Norwegian metaphony.

Morphology: The three TFs measured were all east.

Lexicon: There is a very clear preference for west *ek* and *sem*, and east *þæn*. Nearly all the hapax legomena, and all the *Vadstenaspråk*-like and *Östgötska* features are in Hand 1.

8.6.2 *Hand 2*

General Comments: Generally there is a greater mix of e- and w-forms than in Hand 1, but overall the hand prefers w-forms.

Phonology: The phonology of the TFs measured is largely west. There are a number of "minor" east forms that occur in preference to the west-form alternative: æ > a / v___r (TF5); a ⊁ ǫ/ __C_0[u] (TF8); y > i (TF14), and e > ja, jǫ (TF15). The south-eastern Norwegian features of the ⟨a⟩ svarabhakti vowel and metathesis of "vr" are only found in this Hand.

Morphology: The three TFs measured were all east, but more weakly than Hand 1.

Lexicon: Apart from the near exclusive use of east *sum*, the lexical forms are west in character.

61 See Eklund 1991.

8.6.3 *Hand 3*

General Comments:	The paucity of material makes the description inconclusive.
Phonology:	The phonology of the TFs measured is approximately half east and half west. Particularly noteworthy is the east use of "i" in "spiri[a]a" (cf. OSw. *spyria*, *spøria*; ON *spyrja*).
Morphology:	East in character.
Lexicon:	East *som*, but west *ek*.

8.6.4 *Hand 4*

General Comments:	The paucity of material makes the description inconclusive.
Phonology:	The phonology appears fairly east in character. Particularly noteworthy, however, is the west assimilation in "vsaat" (cf. OSw. *osant*; ON *ósatt*).
Morphology:	East in character.
Lexicon:	East *som*, but west *ek*.

8.7 Summary of Linguistic Analysis

E 8902 is a linguistically complex manuscript comprising what is thought to be a translation from Latin and adaptation from Swedish with text in a mixed Swedish-Norwegian and Latin that also includes a number of MLG loanwords. The original Swedish (and, it has been suggested, Latin) text has been Norwegianised in different ways by the various hands. This has resulted in different levels of mixture in the manuscript and enabled us to identify and describe the mixture types. These differing types correspond to the different hands that are also identifiable palaeographically.[62]

The multi-textured language in the manuscript is further enriched through the use of words not found anywhere else and MLG loans (of which some are also hapax legomena). It is, however, the high level of Norwegian influence in phonology and the lexicon that strikes the reader. In addition to the west forms of features discussed in this study there are other Norwegian words used throughout the manuscript. For example:

62 See section 5.5.

1) *svefn* / *svemn* (sleep; cf. OSw. *symn*)[63]
"swæmn" *p*. 1: 13

2) *jǫkull* (icicle; cf. OSw. *ikil*)
"jakklom" *p*. 21: 15

3) *hvítasunnudagr* (Whitsun; cf. OSw. *pingste*)
"hwita su*n*nodagh" *p*. 46: 15

4) *kross* (cross, crucifix; cf. OSw. *kors*)[64]
"krossens" *p*. 28: 11
"krosseno" *p*. 68: 18

5) *eðr* (or; cf. OSw. *æller*)[65]
"eddir" *p*. 30: 1
"edd*i*r" *pp*. 30: 1, 5, 6, 7 (×2); 38: 23; 65: 21; 88: 14, 15; 89: 1

An interesting point is that the first five sections (Part 1) of the manuscript also contain large numbers of east forms (cf. for example, features D, G and I). It has been argued by the majority of scholars, that Part 1 is translated from Latin, however the appearance of such forms must mean that either 1) it was not translated directly from Latin, or 2) the east forms are forms typically used by the Norwegian scribes who copied the manuscript. Kraft (1929) and Moberg (1998) have argued that none of E 8092 is translated from Latin, but that there was an intervening Swedish translation—one of the very earliest—between the Latin text and E 8902. However, if we reject hypothesis 1, we need to answer the question why Norwegian scribes would introduce east forms rather than write west forms when translating from Latin. There may be a number of reasons, such as prestige, genre requirements, scribal training, and scriptorium spellings. Judging from the number of south-eastern Norwegian forms as well as the occasional so-called Vadstena spelling, it may be possible that we are dealing with Norwegian scribes from the Oslo area who lived and worked in the monastery at Vadstena. This question will be addressed in the conclusion.

63 Elsewhere: "sømpn" (*p*. 38: 10).

64 Elsewhere: "kors" (*p*.125: 12); "korsit" (*pp*. 49: 8; 54: 20; 72: 18; 124: 2); "korsena" (*p*. 28: 9; 94: 15); "korssena" (*p*. 49: 21); "korseno" (*pp*. 4: 17; 26: 11; 104: 16; 123: 8); "korsseno" (*pp*. 64: 7; 72: 8).

65 Elsewhere: "ellir" (19 occurrences); "ælla" (11 occurrences); "ællir" (4 occurrence); "ella" (4 occurrences).

CHAPTER 9

Conclusion

9.1 Summary of Aims, Methods, and Findings

The present study has two major aims: 1) to present an edition of the so-called Birgittine-Norwegian manuscript E 8902 together with a manuscript description, diplomatic transcription, textual notes, and a general commentary; and 2) to present a linguistic analysis of the manuscript using quantitative and statistical analyses of key features, particularly those reflecting Norwegian-Swedish language mixture, and taking into account the linguistic variations between the different scribes who wrote the manuscript.

The edition includes an outline of the background to the text, a summary of previous research on the manuscript, a manuscript description as well as a transcription with critical and comparative apparatuses and commentary. The background to the text (chapters 1–3) aimed to show the importance of E 8902 as a vernacular collection of St Birgitta's revelations and to describe Birgittine influences in medieval Norway. The summary of previous research (chapter 4) pinpoints the areas of disagreement among earlier scholars on aspects of E 8902, especially dating, place of copying, number of scribes, and language. The manuscript description (chapter 5) gives particular prominence to those aspects that distinguish the sections written by different hands, especially scribal characteristics and punctuation. The approach to editing the text (chapter 10) was diplomatic, but not all allographs were distinguished (for example, long and short "s", and long "r" and "r" rotunda). I have amended the text as little as possible, preferring to suggest alternative interpretations in the apparatus rather than in the transcription. This was partly in order to present the reader with an honest picture of the text as it stands, but also to provide an accurate machine-readable text for the linguistic and statistical analyses. In the commentary (chapter 11), I have endeavoured to point out Birgitta's literary and theological sources, either inspirational ("reminiscences") or direct. Clearly, the greatest source of imagery in Birgitta's works is the Bible, but we can find other sources of inspiration in the works of this highly educated, well-travelled woman who lived on farms, in palaces and in monasteries, married a lawman, gave birth to and raised eight children, and spoke at least one foreign language. These rich, non-biblical aspects of her worldview have also left traces in her works.[1]

1 See Klockars 1966; Myrdal 2003.

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The question of language mixture and the categorisation of different types of mixture in Scandinavian manuscripts are dealt with in chapter 7. Since no ready-made quantitative method was available for the analysis of this kind of medieval Scandinavian text, it was necessary to develop an appropriate method as well as a categorisation of types of mixture found in Scandinavian manuscripts (chapter 8). A list of diagnostic test features (TFs) that described the principal differences between idealised versions of fifteenth-century Norwegian and Swedish was developed. The list of 49 features was inspected to check each feature's philological and statistical suitability leaving just ten diagnostic test features. It could be argued that we are subsequently left with an incomplete picture of the mixture in the manuscript, but it is my intention to develop an accurate and reliable means of measuring the mixture rather than just plotting every occurrence of a Norwegian or Swedish form in E 8902. The different mixture types could then further be tested in a number of ways (for example, Ellegård's distinctiveness ratio, the chi-squared test, and Pearson's product moment correlation coefficient).

The statistical analysis was supplemented with a study of the manuscript's lexicon (chapter 6) which aimed to see whether there was any relation between the hands and the use of hapax legomena, so-called *Vadstenaspråk*-like features, MLG loanwords, and Latin words and phrases. Probable south-eastern Norwegian forms that appear in E 8902 were also investigated and again it was possible to find differences across the hands. These supplementary investigations provided further insights into the character of the language.

9.2 Writing E 8902

9.2.1 *Scribes*

The palaeographical and to a lesser extent linguistic analyses show that four hands are found in E 8902. For Hands 3 and 4, the palaeographical evidence is stronger than the linguistic because the short length of the sections written in these hands precludes a meaningful study of the language. The principal differences between the hands lie in the realisation of the graphemes ⟨a⟩, ⟨d⟩, ⟨f⟩, ⟨g⟩, ⟨h⟩, ⟨k⟩, ⟨o⟩, ⟨r⟩, ⟨æ⟩ and ⟨ø⟩, the distribution of ⟨y⟩ and ⟨ẏ⟩, and the number of lines per page. The linguistic features that distinguish most clearly between the hands are progressive i-mutation, monophthongisation (of *ęi* > *e*), the elision of (original) palatal ʀ in morpheme-final position, the first person singular pronoun, the relative particle, and the use of MLG loanwords.

The appearance in the manuscript of Hands 3 and 4 is particularly interesting as they are responsible for very short sections. Hand 3, taking over from

Hand 4 before handing over to Hand 1, writes just three lines—introduced by a dittographic "ok"—at the top of a new page. Hand 4 is responsible for just seven lines written at the top of a new page and sandwiched between writing by Hand 1. There are several reasons why a scribe writes just a few lines of text in a manuscript, such as celebrating the text or its author and being honoured as a visiting scribe. However, E 8902 does not appear as a magnificent codex that could bestow honour upon its scribes, so the reason for these short scribal stints is almost certainly more mundane, such as testing a scribe's hand or allowing an assisting scribe to practise or take over during a short break.

The changes in hands—also Hands 1 and 2—occur suddenly in the middle of a revelation, although usually on the first line (62 % of changes of hand occur on the first line, and 85 % within the first five lines of a new page). This suggests that the act of copying was rather mechanical with little regard paid to the precise contents, a picture supported by the numerous mistakes and rough appearance of the manuscript.

9.2.2 *Language*

The language of E 8902 is the result of Norwegian scribes copying a text in Swedish. The language of the original has been Norwegianised orthographically, phonologically, and morphologically. This sort of Norwegian-Swedish hybrid is found in several manuscripts produced in Norway or for Norwegian audiences/readers in the late Middle Ages. For example, the language of the nine rules for judges written inside Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, GkS 1154 fol.; *Herr Ivan* (a translation of Chrétien de Troyes' *Yvain*) and *Kristi pina* in Stockholm, Riksarkivet, E 8822, or the sermons in Linköpings stifts- och landsbibliotek, T 180.

A very important finding is that although Lennart Moberg (1998) has shown that the language is more archaic in part 2 (sections 6–25) than part 1 (sections 1–5), as far as language mixture is concerned the two parts contain similar proportions of east and west forms. For the mixing of Swedish and Norwegian to be identical in these two parts must mean that they were translated from original texts in the same language. Thus, unlike Klemming, Westman, Seip, Wessén, and Wollin, I agree with Kraft and Moberg that the language of the original for both parts of E 8902 was Swedish, not Latin for Part 1, and Swedish for Part 2. None of E 8902 is translated directly from Latin. The scribes could not have translated from Latin and produced the exact same language mixture as they did when copying from Swedish. For them to have done so would mean that they were taught a stable (though for each scribe different) mixture of Swedish and Norwegian for composing, translating, and copying texts.

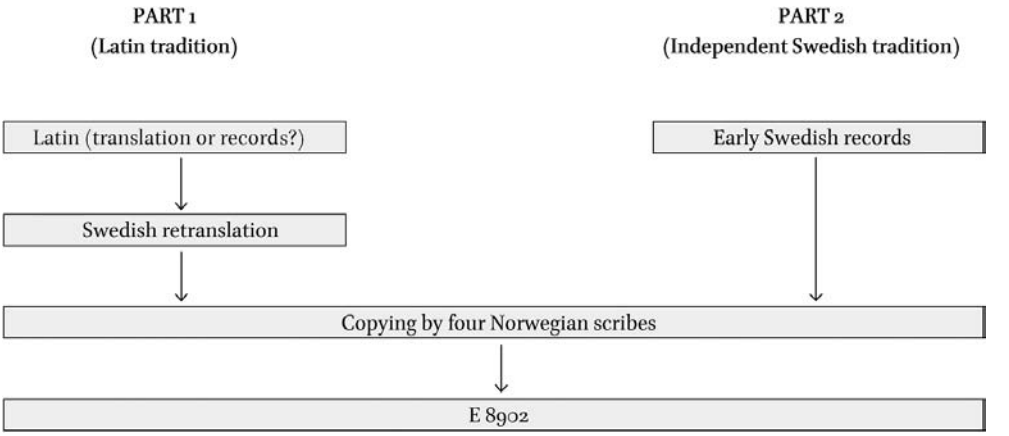


FIGURE 55 *Source texts for E 8902*

The fact that the different hands in E 8902 demonstrate different types of mixture suggests that although a Norwegianised text in a mixed Norwegian-Swedish language was considered desirable, there was no agreed or uniform way of creating it. Although each hand might consistently use a particular form, this form may appear only sporadically, if at all, in one of the other hands (for example, Hand 1 uses west *sem* in 95 % of cases, but in Hand 2 it appears in just 2 % of cases). It is difficult to believe that this could be the result of scribes' having learnt a uniform Birgittine-Norwegian "language".[2] The fact that each hand uses its own forms fairly uniformly may show that the *intra*-hand distribution of east and west forms is not just the result of unintentional interference, but rather that E 8902 is the result of a concerted adaptation process on the part of the scribes. The original has been intentionally adapted because Swedish-Norwegian was the required written language for Birgittine literature and might have been the prestige written language for a much wider selection of original literature and writings at the time. I would therefore disagree with Wessén's statement that "the language is Swedish, but with numerous, very irregularly inserted Norwegian elements [...] and rather whimsically shaped."[3] For Wessén there was just one hand responsible for E 8902 and this may explain why he found the mixture to be so irregular. If we divide the text in four hands, we can see that each hand's language mixture is surprisingly regular. Differences in the

2 See section 7.1.4 (c).

3 Wessén 1968–1976, II, 88.

language with regard to Swedish or Norwegian features are solely dependent upon the scribe, not the manuscript's sections.

The existence of mixed Norwegian-Swedish in other manuscripts could mean that desirability for this sort of language was widespread. The language of Aslak Bolt's cadastre (*Aslak Bolts jordebok*, Det Norske Riksarkivet, München perg. 4292) appears, at least on initial reading, to be very similar to that found in E 8902. It is described by Jon Gunnar Jørgensen (1997, xxix) thus: "I *A*[*slak*] *B*[*olts jordebok*] er også tekstens solide norskspråklige preg langt mer iøynefallende enn de enkelte svesismer [In Aslak Bolt's cadastre the solid Norwegian-language traits in the text are more noticeable than the individual Svecisms]". The manuscript is thus viewed by him as having been written in Norwegian, but the cadastre is interesting because it shows that extensive use of east forms like in Birgittine-Norwegian texts could also occur in works composed in Norwegian.[4]

The question of expectation with regard to genre is relevant here, although it is difficult to address.[5] We have seen that the requirements of genre are influential in the creation of mixed language manuscripts in Scandinavia[6] and also discussed whether in Norway a mixed Swedish-Norwegian variety was prestigious at the end of the fourteenth century. Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing whether vernacular translations of Birgitta's *Revelations* were expected (or required) to contain Swedish forms or be written in a Norwegian-Swedish hybrid. However, the fact that the language in both E 8902 and GkS 1154 fol. contains many Swedish forms does suggest that such forms were felt to be desirable in Norwegian translations of St Birgitta's *Revelations*, perhaps for the reasons discussed in section 7.2.1 (d) on type 3 mixture, that is to provide a colouring of some sort—of authenticity, authority, prestige, or maybe even modernity, cosmopolitanism, or transnational aristocraticism.

Texts written in this mixed variety clearly had an appeal in Norway rather than Sweden. They were produced by Norwegian scribes and intended for Norwegian readers. Although largely belonging to the religious sphere, they include a variety of genres; for example, the *Herr Ivan* text in E 8822 can be placed within the Franciscan milieu in Trondheim.[7]

4 Jørgensen 1997, xxix.

5 The question of genre classification and St Birgitta's *Revelations* is dealt with by Wollin (1991, 243–248), who places them under the heading "de i vid mening edifikatoriska texterna [texts that are edifying in the broadest meaning of the word]" (p. 245).

6 See section 7.3.5.

7 Bandlien 2013.

9.2.3 *Place of Composition*

Given that south-eastern Norwegian forms are found in both main hands albeit with a distinct distribution,[8] it is very likely the scribes came from south-eastern Norway. Further, Löfkvist has shown that, in a Swedish context at least, the use of "th" for "t"—as we find it in E 8902[9]—"har med cisterciensk loster att göra [is associated with Cistercian monasteries]".[10] This could well point to the Cistercian monastery at Hovedøya in the Oslo Fjord as the home of our scribes. However, Moberg has demonstrated that confusion between "th" and "t" was present in the original copied by the scribes,[11] so it may tell us nothing about the provenance of these forms, although the scribes' inability to disambiguate between "th" and "t" may tell us something about the scribes' origins or training.

The original texts, early Swedish versions of Birgitta's revelations, may have been stored in Vadstena. The Norwegian scribes could either have travelled there in order to use these revelations—and perhaps other works too—or they may already have been based at Vadstena. The hurried, almost unfinished nature of the manuscript points to scribes copying under pressure. The revelations had undoubtedly caused something of a sensation throughout Scandinavia at the time and rapid copying would have been the order of the day. We know in particular that there was a demand for them in Norway; for example, Eskill, the archbishop of Niðaróss (1402–1428), wrote to Vadstena and requested a copy of the *Revelationes extravagantes* in 1416, and his successor, Aslak Harniktsson Bolt, is also known to have owned a copy of "liber reuelacionum".

9.2.4 *The Manuscript's Place in the Swedish Tradition*

a) Part 1 (Sections 1–5)

As mentioned above,[12] the mixing of Swedish and Norwegian is the same in Part 1 as Part 2 which must mean that the language of the original for both Part 1 was the same as Part 2—that is, Swedish—and that a now lost vernacular version lies between the Latin text in part 1 and E 8902. Therefore, along with Kraft and Moberg, I agree that the first five sections of E 8902 were copied from Swedish, not Latin, and that these sections belong to the Swedish retranslation

8 See section 8.5.

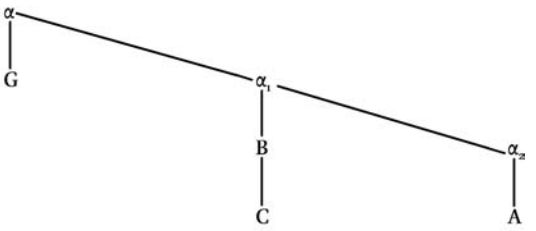
9 For example, "otolikin" (for *opolikin*), *p*. 11: 11; "toliko" (for *þoliko*), *p*. 12: 18; "þimano*m*" (for *timanom*), *p*. 99: 2; "Toathwarist" (for *þoathwarist*), *p*. 123.

10 Löfkvist 1976, 434.

11 Moberg 1998, 16.

12 See section 9.2.2.

tradition. The many variant readings in these five sections suggest, however, that it does not belong to the same part of the stemma as Holm. A 5a and its copy E 8801, the two manuscripts used in the comparative apparatus. Wessén presents the Swedish manuscripts of the retranslation tradition in this manner:[13]



A = Holm. A 33 C = RA, E 8801
B = Holm. A 5a G = Holm. A 110

FIGURE 56 *Stemma for the retranslation tradition*

α is the oldest redaction of Birgitta's *Revelations*, and α_1 a reworking of this produced at Vadstena monastery *c*. 1400. α_2 differs only slightly from α_1 and may not be the result of what Wessén refers to as an "avsiktlig textrevision [intentional text revision]". Indeed, the existence of α_2 has quite rightly recently been called into question, and need not detain us here.[14] The differences between α on the one hand and α_1 and α_2 on the other are, however, too great to be just the result of a single scribe. In α_1 and α_2, Latinisms, such as participle constructions, hypotaxis, genitive constructions, and unidiomatic prepositions,[15] are eliminated and the texts more Swedish in character. Unfortunately, we have no texts in the first five sections that can be compared with the extant manuscripts in the α tradition (A 110 [G], A 5b [L], A 3 [K], A 54). However, the unpolished character of E 8902 and its proximity to the Latin in the many cases where it differs from A 5a and E 8801 favour placing these sections of E 8902 in the α tradition, the oldest redaction of Birgitta's *Revelations*. A few examples should suffice to show the literalness and Latinisms in these sections of E 8902 compared to the α_1 tradition:

13 Wessén 1968–1976, III, 47.

14 Andersson 2015.

15 Wessén 1976, 48.

i. Proximity to Latin

a) *p.* 1: 7–8 E 8902: Ek ouærdugh mænniskia *ok* sỳndirska af minom vngdoom
Latin: Ego igitur indigna et a iuuentute mea peccatrix
A 5a: Jak owærdhogh synd*ir*ska aff mino*m* vngdom
E 8801: Jak ouærdhogh synd*ir*ska aff mino*m* vngdom

b) *p.* 2: 5 E 8902: stỳrare. ok domar*e*
Latin: gubernator et iudex
A 5a: skapar*e* ok domar*e*
E 8801: scapar*e* oc domar*e*

c) *p.* 2: 7 E 8902: forradhare
Latin: proditor
A 5a: mæ*n*niskiona forrædhare
E 8801: mæ*n*niskionna forradhare

ii. Lack of expansion

a) *p.* 1: 3 E 8902: ***Christ***i brwdh
Latin: sponsa
A 5a: *Christ*i brudh s*anc*ta birgitta
E 8801: *Christ*i brudh s*anc*ta byrgitta

b) *p.* 2: 22 E 8902: tiænarom
Latin: seruitoribus
A 5a: vinom oc thiænaro*m*
E 8801: wino*m* ok thiænarom

c) *p.* 5: 9 E 8902: see
Latin: vident
A 5a: see ok skodha
E 8801: see oc skodha

d) *p.* 9: 22 E 8902: mino*m* vilia
Latin: voluptatem meam
A 5a: mino*m* vilia so*m* mik thæktis
E 8801: mino*m* wilia som mik thæktis

e) *p*. 11: 11 E 8902: otolikin
Latin: intollerabile
A 5a: hardh*i*r ok othollikin
E 8801: hardh*i*r oc othollikin

f) *p*. 13: 22 E 8902: gudz ordh
Latin: verba Dei
A 5a: gudz ordh ok p*re*dican
E 8801: gudz ordh oc prædikan

g) *p*. 15: 21 E 8902: køtlika
Latin: carnaliter
A 5a: fafængan værldina ok køtzsins vinskap ok værlzlica ma*n*na
E 8801: fafængan værldinna oc køtzsins vinscap. oc værlzlica ma*n*na

iii. Participle constructions (instead of clauses with finite verbs)

a) *p*. 5: 8 E 8902: rædhande sina sẏni
Latin: filios terrende facit
A 5a: gør ræd sin barn
E 8801: gør ræd sith barn

iv. The same preposition as in Latin

a) *p*. 14: 20 E 8902: j gerningene
Latin: in opere meo
A 5a: aff mi*n*e g*er*ning
E 8801: af minne g*er*ning

v. Preposition and relative pronoun

a) *p*. 7: 8–9 E 8902: i huilkom tu værmdis. ok væxte
Latin: in quo tu calefacta crescebas
A 5a: oc opfødho th*e*r thw inna*n* vændis ok væxte
E 8801: oc vpfødho/ th*e*r tw jnna*n*uændis/ oc væxste

Part 1 is thus copied from one of the earliest retranslations into Swedish and belongs to the α tradition.

b) Part 2 (Section 6–25)

The latter twenty sections of E 8902 constitute a separate strand altogether and do not belong to the retranslation tradition; there is no intervening Latin version between the original vernacular revelations and those in E 8902. Quite what these sections in E 8902 are based on is difficult to know, but they are different in style and content to any of the other extant vernacular texts. Kraft (1929) and Moberg (1998) have suggested the following model:

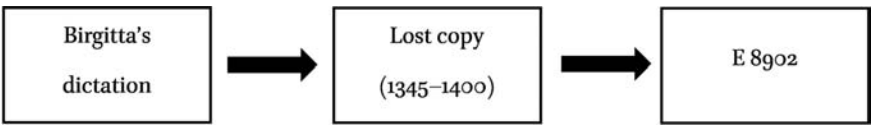


FIGURE 57 *The evolution of E 8902* (*after Kraft and Moberg*)

In other words, a scribe took down Birgitta's dictation in Swedish and that these texts formed the basis of Part 2 of E 8920:[16]

> En möjlighet är, att de här aktuella revelationerna i parti 2 aldrig har existerat i Birgittas egen nedskrift. Normalt skrev hon med egen hand ned uppenbarelserna. Men när hon var sjuk, dikterade hon enl. källorna sin vision för biktfadern i närvaro av en sekreterare. Den senares uppgift var att skriva ner biktfaderns omedelbart till latin översatta version. […] För egen del frågar jag mig, om inte i sekreterarens uppdrag också kunde ingå att skriva ned Birgittas muntliga version, som biktfadern sedan i lugn och ro kunde översätta till latin. Biktfäderna framhåller, att Birgitta själv var angelägen om att kontrollera deras latinska version. Det kan väl förutsättas, att hon var lika nog med att granska den svenska text, som hon inte själv hade skrivit ner, och att därvid innehåll och formuleringar stod i förgrunden, inte språkliga detaljer. Vad som förenar de i parti 2 ingående revelationerna är kanske, att de har nedtecknats inte av Birgitta själv utan efter hennes diktamen. Har månne en samling sådana aktstycken en tid funnits i Vadstena och fått tjäna som förlaga för de norska munkarna?
>
> [One possibility is that these revelations in Part 2 have never existed in Birgitta's own autograph. Normally she wrote down the revelations with her own hand. But when she was unwell, according to the sources, she dictated her vision to her Father Confessor in the presence of a secretary.

16 Moberg 1998, 18.

> The (secretary's) job was to write down the Father Confessor's version which he was spontaneously translating into Latin. (…) For my part, I wonder whether it could not also have been one of the secretary's tasks to write down Birgitta's oral version, which the Father Confessor could subsequently translate into Latin in peace and quiet. The Confessors emphasise that Birgitta herself was keen to check their Latin version. It can certainly be assumed that she was just as thorough in reviewing the Swedish text that she had not written down herself, and thus contents and formulations, rather than linguistic details, were at the fore. What united the revelations that make up Part 2 is, perhaps, that they were not written down by Birgitta herself but were dictated by her. Could, we might wonder, have such a collection of records once existed in Vadstena and served as the original for the Norwegian monks?]

This is, of course, not impossible and would explain the numerous mistakes and the more frequent use of archaic terms that have a parallel in Birgitta's own usage. It may also explain the selection and unusual ordering of the revelations, although I am not convinced that the choice of contents should be explained in this way.[17]

Of the two parts in E 8902, Part 2 is clearly the more important for Birgittine studies. It represents a vernacular (Swedish) tradition that is uninterrupted by the Latin translation and the redactional amendments and deletions found in other versions. If, indeed, it builds upon Birgitta's dictated notes, then, with the exception of Birgitta's short autographs and a few scattered words and phrases elsewhere,[18] it provides us with insights into the saint's language and visions that no other extant texts can offer. Birger Bergh has shown how they can offer insights into the Latin revelation texts and clear up various obscurities there.[19] However, even if they are not based directly on the autographs, they still represent a large body of work that has not been subject to the later reshaping and rewording of the revelations as found in the later retranslation tradition.

17 See section 9.3.

18 For example, the Julita Fragments, the *Quattuor orationes*, and parts of the *Revelationes extravagantes*. See Westman 1911, 48–62; Wessén (Märta) 1949, xxv–xxviii; Högman 1951; Hollman 1956, 104–106, 233–234; Liedgren 1961, 101–106; Moberg 1980, 193–211; Eklund 1984, 5–24; Aili 1986; Morris 1996, 167–186.

19 Bergh 1991, 22–24; with Undhagen 2001, 15–16.

9.3 Contents and Audience

Regarding the division and systematisation of the material in E 8902, I would agree with Gilkær.[20] The manuscript begins by presenting Birgitta as Christ's bride and *canale* before moving on to social and moral issues: the sinfulness of society, Mary's role as *mediatrix*, the punishment of sinners, and the role of the estate of the nobility (and knights) in protecting the Church. It is tempting to see the manuscript as a propaganda tool in the establishment of a Birgittine monastery in Norway in the 1420s aimed at the Norwegian nobility, but I see several problems with this view: The manuscript is probably too early (although dating is difficult); the manuscript is in no way an inspirational work of splendour or material beauty, and the Norwegian nobility at the time were not affluent. For the reasons I lay out in section 3.4, I think that the manuscript was intended for an individual, and the most likely candidate is Aslak Harniktsson Bolt, the nobleman who was elected bishop of Oslo in 1407, but transferred the same year after pressure by Queen Margrete, to Bergen where he served as bishop for some twenty years. Here, together with Sten Stenarsson, he worked to transfer Munkeliv monastery from the Benedictines to the Birgittines, and when he left the city for Niðaróss in 1428 we know that he had a "liber reuelacionum Birgitte" with him and possibly also the manuscript GkS 1154 fol. which included Birgitta's rules for judges.

20 See section 4.11.

PART 4

Edition

∵

CHAPTER 10

Text and Commentary

10.1 Editorial Procedure

The transcription aims to indicate clearly to the reader precisely what each scribe wrote. Every attempt has been made to show which parts of the text have been corrected, inserted, lost or damaged, and how the text has been laid out on the page. Spacing has been regularised according to modern principles, although the original word division, punctuation, and capital letters have been retained even when at odds with modern principles.

The lineation of the manuscript has been reduplicated. The form of the pause symbol, written either as a *punctus*, a *punctus elevatus* or a *virgula suspensiva*—single or double—has been preserved. The double hyphen (usually written at a 45° angle, thus //) is rendered as a single hyphen (-). The scribe makes use of a large number of medial capitals and these have been rendered as capitals in the transcription. It has been particularly difficult to distinguish between capital, medial, and minuscule "h" and "þ".

Abbreviations have been expanded in accordance with the preponderant spelling used by the relevant scribe elsewhere in the manuscript and the expansions are printed in italics. The abbreviated svarabhakti vowel before "r" has been rendered "*i*". The abbreviated forms "mz", "þz" and "þzta"—and their variants—have been expanded as "m*ædh*", "þ*æt*" and "þ*æt*ta".[1] The abbreviation "fr̄" is expanded as "f*irir*". The few Latin abbreviations have been expanded and are also printed in italics.

Letters written above the line have been "drawn down" onto the line and are noted in the critical apparatus. No difference has been made between unicameral and bicameral "a" in the transcription, although occurrences of bicameral "a" have been noted in the apparatus. Long and short "s", and tall, rotunda and short "r" have not been distinguished or commented upon, as they usually follow the expected distribution patterns. However, the use of tall "r" after "o", "þ", "w" or "ø" does occur and is described in section 5.5.1 (h). The grapheme "y" is frequently written "ẏ", particularly by Hand 1, in the manuscript, and this distinction has been maintained in the transcription. Other allographs have not been differentiated.

1 See the section 5.5.2 for further discussion.

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Letters and punctuation written or flourished in red ink are reproduced in bold in the transcription. Letters in green ink are also reproduced here in bold, but their colour is mentioned in the critical apparatus. Where empty spaces are left at the beginning of each section for a coloured initial to be added, the intended letter—if written in the margin by the scribe—is inserted in the indented space. If there is no such guide letter, the intended letter is inserted in the space but is written in angular brackets.

The page numbers at the top of each body of text do not always appear in the original manuscript. The reader is referred to section 5.4.1 for details.

The text contains a number of scribal errors. Such errors that have been corrected by the scribe are shown in the main body of the text in their corrected form, but are described in the apparatus. Errors which are not corrected by the scribe remain uncorrected in the main body of the text. If the error is of such a nature that comprehension may be impeded, a note has been added in the critical apparatus (*x*] read "*y*"). Other unusual spellings that might hamper comprehension, even though they might not actually be scribal errors, are noted and explained in the same way.

The following abbreviations are used to refer to the position and location of items in the manuscript:

b.	bottom of the page
lt.	left-hand side of the page
p.	page in the manuscript
r.	*recto*
rt.	right-hand side of the page
t.	top of the page
v.	*verso*
x (before)	before *x*

Measurements are given in millimetres, with the horizontal always coming before the verticle measurement (*x* mm by *y* mm).

The following symbols are used in the edition:

|	is used when quoting from manuscripts to show a break.
⟨ ⟩	enclose letters which have been supplied in the transcription, where letters have been lost through damage or fading. Letters have only been supplied if it has been possible to determine them from the context. When traces of the letter are still visible in the manuscript, they have been printed in normal roman type. Where no traces of the

letter remain, the supplied letter has been printed in italics. If it is impossible to determine which letter needs to be supplied, a dash has been inserted.

Scribal additions are shown thus:

\ / interlinear
/ \ on line
\\ // in margin

Subsitutions are shown thus:

[a>b] transformation of one letter ("*x*") into another ("*y*") by means of overwriting. Any other method of substitution (for example, deletion or addition of a minim) is always described in the critical apparatus.

Scribal deletions are shown thus:

[abc] legible
[---] illegible. As it has been possible to count the deleted letters, each dash designates one illegible letter.
It is stated for each deletion whether it is by expunction, crossing out, or erasure.

The placing of deletions and corrections is shown in the apparatus by giving the preceding word on the line. If the preceding word appears twice on that line, then both the preceding and following word are provided in the apparatus.

Punctuation is shown thus:[2]

/ *virgula suspensiva*
. *punctus*
: *punctus elevatus*
§ the "triangular" *paragraphus*
¶ the paraph

2 See also section 5.5.3.

⌞ ⌟ various types of lines and alinear symbols used to mark off catchwords or encapsulate text usually at the bottom of the page (always described in the critical apparatus)
- hyphen

The task of describing all the textual variations between the Birgittine-Norwegian text and the Old Swedish and Latin manuscripts would be a considerable one in view of the numerous differences between these versions—not least because some of the revelations in the Birgittine-Norwegian texts are amalgamations of two or more revelations in the Swedish and Latin. I provide a comparative list of corresponding readings from the Latin and the Swedish in those places that appear to be defective, corrupt, or confusing in the first five sections only. It is only in these sections where a word-for-word comparison is possible. Thereafter each folio of the Birgittine-Norwegian text is accompanied by the references to the corresponding versions in the near contemporary Swedish manuscripts as well as to the editions of the Swedish and Latin texts as far as possible.[3] The Swedish manuscripts used for comparison are:

B	Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, Holm. A 5a;
C	Stockholm, Riksarkivet, E 8801;
F	Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, Holm. A 44;
G	Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, Holm. A 110;
Frag. 3c	Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, Aftagne fragmenter, 13a, no. 856.

In the first five sections, variations judged as insignificant have not been noted. By and large all variations have been considered significant, except the following:

– Spelling differences:

p. 1: 3	Lof *vari þik*
Old Swedish	Loff *vari thik*
(Latin	*Laus tibi sit*)

3 In addition to the manuscripts Holm. A 5a, A 44, A 110, and RA E 8801, I have made use of the following editions from the series *Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet* for the comparative apparatus: *BU* I–IV; Undhagen 1978; Undhagen and Bergh 2001; Aili 1992; Bergh 1991; Hollman 1956, and Searby and Morris 2006–2015.

– Small changes in word order:
  p. 1: 20–21 Hungrogh þÿ *at*
  Old Swedish thy hungrogh *at*
  Latin famelica vero, *quia*

– Pronoun dropping:
  p. 1: 9–10 *at tu neka ænghom … vtan Ø spar*
  Old Swedish *ath thw neka ængom … vtan* thw *spar*
  Latin *quod nullis … negas … sed … Ø parcis*

– Differences in choice of common variants (for example, relative pronouns):
  p. 42: 3 þær *gudhlika snille hafua. vænt*
  Old Swedish hulke *som gudhelikin snille vmuændo*
  Latin qui *diuinam sapienciam verterunt*

– Redundancy additions:
  p. 1: 18 *Ok naar ek høre þiin ordh* ta *ær ek*
  Old Swedish *ok nar jak høre thin ordh Ø ær iak*
  Latin *Nam cum verba tua audio, … Ø sum*

– Redundancy omission:
  p. 2: 10 *Ø Þætta eitir ær sÿnden*
  Old Swedish *Ø Thetta etrit ær syndin*
  Latin *Hoc* autem *venenum peccatum est*

Areas that have proved to be of particular interest and are considered significant are:

– Doubling:
  p. 1: 7 mænniskia ok sÿndirska
  Old Swedish syndirska
  Latin peccatrix

– Reduction:
  p. 6: 20 lange spica
  Old Swedish nydhio
  Latin claue nodose et prolixe

– Divergence:

p. 21: 11–12	*swasom langæ* arma
Old Swedish	*swa som lange* orma
Latin	*quasi longi* serpentes

– Content addition:

p. 25: 15–16	*sinna brudh*. sancta birgitto
Old Swedish	*sinna brudh* Ø
Latin	*sponsam* Ø

– Content omission:

p. 25: 13–14	*þæn helghe ande* Ø *giifuir þik vndirstandilsse*
Old Swedish	*then hælghe ande hulkin* som ær j himerike *giuir thik vndirstandilse*
Latin	*Spiritus sanctus dat intelligenciam tibi*, qui est in celis

There is a commentary in Chapter 11 which includes a list of references to relevant texts in the Bible, the Church Fathers, other revelations by Birgitta and others, and scholarly discussions. Parallels or possible influences from other works have also been noted (for example, popular medieval works, such as *Elucidarium* and bestiaries). The commentary includes aspects of the revelations that may not be immediately apparent.[4] Finally, there is an index of names and places mentioned in E 8902 (section 11.2) after the commentary.

4 Notes from other editions (listed in footnote 3 above) have also been incorporated into this section.

10.2 Transcription

1

Assit p*ri*ncipio s*anc*ta maria meo [Section 1]

Christi brwdh sagde. **L**of vari þik **O** h*err*a
gudh f*irir* al þe þing sæm skapad æra
ok heidh*i*r f*irir* alla þina dygde. **O**k tiæ-
-nist giuis þik. af oll*u*m f*irir* þin kær-
-leek. **E**k ouærdugh mænniskia *ok* syndirska af
minom vngdoom. **T**akkar ek þik **O** min gudh
þy. at tu neka ænghom syndoghom þeem sæm
bedhis þina. nadhe. vtan spar ok misku*n*na
oll*u*m vslom. **O** sætaste gudh. þ*æt* ær þ*æt* ær vn-
-dærlikit þ*æt* tu gør m*ædh* mik. þy at tu søue min
likama nær þik tækkis m*ædh* andelikom swæmn
Ok vpuække mina siæl at høra ok see. ok ken-
na andhelig þing. **O** min gudh. **O** huru søøth
þiin ordh æru minne siæl. hwilken. þæim swæl-
-gh*i*r swa sæm søtista mat. **O**k jnga m*ædh* glædhi
i mit hierta. **O**k naar ek høre þiin ordh ta
ær ek badhe mæt *ok* hungrogh. / mæt þy at
ænkte lyste mik vtan þiin ordh. **H**u*n*grogh þy.
at ek geernas. ææ meer. ok hetelikare at hø-
-ra þeem. **T**hy **O** min vælsignadhe gudh gif
mik hielp. at høra. *ok* gøra altiidh. þin vilia
Christus swaradhe. **E**k ær vtan vphof. ok vtan
ænda. **O**k al þe þing sæm æru. **æ**ra skapadh
vm mit waldh. **A**l þingh skipas i minne

1 Assit p*ri*ncipio s*anc*ta maria meo] possibly added by a later hand.
1 s*anc*ta] second "a" is bicameral.
1 maria] second "a" is bicameral.
2 The reference "VI 52" is written in black ink by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions. There is also an erasure here that possibly deletes a guide letter for the initial on ll. 3–6.
2–9 A simple, green decorative scroll runs down left-hand margin.
3–6 *Christ*i] the "χ" of the abbreviation for "*Christ*i" is rubricated in red ink, and filled with simple flourishes and scroll work in green ink.
10 þina. nadhe] the *punctus* is very pale.
11 oll*u*m [o]] expunction and crossed out with one horizontal line in red ink.
11 sæt[i]\a/ste] expunction.
11 þ*æt* ær þ*æt* ær] dittography.
24 A paraph has been written in ink in the left-hand margin.
26 Al] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" with a flourish running through the shaft.
b. lt. "p*ri*m*um*" in black ink.

---

1 **A**ssit p*ri*ncipio s*anc*ta maria meo] B (178ra, rubric) **Hær six rædhelikin syn aff threm q*ui*nno*m* th*e*r en var j rædhelike hæluit*is* pino Annor j skærslo elde Thridhia lifdhe j værldine oc gaffs j klost*ir* vm sidhe Cap*itulu*m lii**; C (179^{rb}, rubric) **Hær sigx rædhelikin syn / aff threm q*ui*nno*m* th*e*r een war j rædhelike hæluitis pino Annor j skærslo elde Thridhia lifdhe j wærldinne oc gaffs j klost*i*r vm sidhe cap*itulum*m liij**; Lat. (rubric) Admirante sponsa et se indignam reputante coram Christo de ista gracia sibi data, scilicet videndi et audiendi in spiritu illa, que aguntur in celo et in purgatorio et in inferno, declaratur de hoc pulchre a Christo et eius matre in principio et in fine capituli. Et ostenditur ei exemplo trium mulierum, quas ipsa videbat, vnam in inferno, aliam in purgatorio grauissime cruciari, qualiter matres prebentes filiabus suis doctrinas et exempla viuendi curiose et superbe et filie imitantes illa horribiliter dampnantur. Cap. LII.
3 ***Christ***i brwdh] B (178ra) *Christ*i brudh s*anc*ta birgitta; C (179^{rb}) *Christ*i brudh s*anc*ta byrgitta; Lat. sponsa
3–4 **O** h*e*rra gudh] B (178ra) **O** herra gudh; C (179^{rb}) o h*e*rra gudh; Lat. Deus
6 giuis] B (178ra) gør*is*; C (179^{rb}) gøris; Lat. impendatur
7–8 **E**k ouærdugh mænniskia *ok* sỳndirska af minom vngdoom] B (178ra) Jak owærdhogh synd*ir*ska aff mino*m* vngdom; C (179^{rb}) Jak ouærdhogh synd*ir*ska aff mino*m* vngdom; Lat. Ego igitur indigna et a iuuentute mea peccatrix
14–15 at høra ok see. ok kenna] B (178ra) at høra ok see ok kænna; C (179$^{rb–va}$) at høra oc see | oc kænna; Lat. ad videndum et audiendum
21 ææ meer. ok hetelikare] B (178ra) æ mer ok hetelicar*e*; C (179va) æ meer oc hetelicar*e*; Lat. feruencius
23 at høra. *ok* gøra] B (178ra), C (179va) til at gøra; Lat. facere

2

snille. **A**l þing stýras m*ædh* mino*m* doom **O**k alla
mina g*er*ninga. skippas m*ædh* kærleek. þý ær mik
enkte omøghelikit. **O**k mýkit ær þ*æt* hiertadh
hart. hwilket sæm eig ælska ok rædhis mik
mædhan ek ær allra þinga stýrare. ok domar*e*
Ok fultkomna hell*i*r diæfwlsins. vilia. hwilke*n*
sæm ær min stupogrefue ok forradhare. **T**hý at
ha*n* skænke rwmlika eit*i*r vm værldena
firi hwilko siælana magho eig lifua. vtan nidh*i*r-
sænkias i heluitis dødh. / **Þ**æt*t*a eit*i*r ær sýnden
huilken søthlika smaka. æn to at hoon ær bæsk
Ok stænkis daglika af diæfwlsens hand ifuir
mangha. **V**tan hwar hørde þolkit. **a**t oll*u*m offras
lifuit. **O**k þe wtuælia dødhin. **T**ho ær ek gudh
tulugh*i*r. **O**k varku*n*nar þeira vsaldh. **V**isselika
ek er swa so*m* konu*ng*i*r*. huilken sæm sænde sinom
tiænaro*m* viin. ***ok*** sagdhe. **S**kænkin vinit flerom
thý at þ*æt* ær heilsamlikit. *ok* gifu*ir* siukom hilso
drøfdom glædhi. heilbrøgdom ma*n*nelikit hier-
-ta. **E**n eig sændis vinit vta*n* i kwæmeliko kari
Swa sende ek min ordh. huilken sæm ræknas
ok liiknas. vidh viin mino*m* tiænarom vm þik
sæm ær mit kar. huilket ek vil vpfýlla. ok
tøma eft*i*r mino*m* vilia. **M**in helge ande skal
kænna þik. hwart tu skalt gaa. æll*i*r hwad

1 Al] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" with a flourish running back through the shaft.
8 ha*n* [sænke]] erasure.
12 da\g/lika
13 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the left-hand margin.
23 kar] the "r" is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.

---

4 eig ælska ok rædhis] B (178^{rb}), C (179va) ey ælska ælla rædhis; Lat. nec diligit nec timet
5 stÿrare. ok domar*e*] B (178^{rb}) skapar*e* ok domar*e*; C (179va) scapar*e* oc domar*e*; Lat. gubernator et iudex
7 forradhare] B (178^{rb}) mæ*n*niskiona forrædhare; C (179va) mæ*n*niskionna forradhare; Lat. proditor
9 hwilko siælana magho eig lifua] B (178^{rb}) hulko siæla*n*na som th*et* smaka formogho ey lifwa; C (179va) hwilko siælanna som th*et* smaka formagho ey liua; Lat. pro quo anime viuere non possunt
11 hoon ær bæsk] B (178^{rb}) ho*n* ær besk; C (179va) hon ær besk; Lat. amarum sit anime
12 stænkis] B (178^{rb}), C (179va) skænkis; Lat. spargitur
13–14 hørde þolkit. at oll*u*m offras lifuit] B (178^{rb}) hørdhe tholikit thi*n*g ælla mer*e* vndir thy at allom offras ok biudz lifwit; C (179va) hørdhe tholikit thing/ ælla mer*e* vnd*i*r thy at allo*m* offras oc bywdz lifuit; Lat. audiuit talia, quod scilicet omnibus offertur vita
16 ek er] B (178^{rb}) jak gør; C (179va) iak gør; Lat. facio
16–17 sinom tiænaro*m*] B (178^{rb}) sinom vinom ok thiænarom; C (179va) sino*m* wino*m* oc thiænarom; Lat. seruitoribus suis
19 glædhi] B (178^{rb}) glædhi ok hugnadh; C (179va) glædhi oc hughnadh; Lat. leticiam
21–22 ræknas *ok* liiknas] B (178^{rb}), C (179va) liknas; Lat. comparantur
22 tiænarom] B (178^{rb}) vinom oc thiænaro*m*; C (179va) wino*m* ok thiænarom; Lat. seruitoribus (cf. ll. 16–17)

3

tu skalt tala. **T**hy skalt tu gladhlika ok oræd-
-delika tala hwad ek biudh*i*r **T**hý at enghin skal
formagha mote mik. **T**ha swaradhe ek. **O** alla æron-
-na konu*n*g*i*r. **O**k alla snillenna jngiutare. Ok alla
dýgdha gifuar*e*. **H**wi tak*i*r tu mik til týlka gerni*n*g
huilken sæm vpnøte. kroppen j sýndomen **V**is-
-selika ek ær swa sæm osniæller aasne **V**anmaktog
i dýgdom. **E**k sýndadhe i oll*u*m dýgdom. **A**wi swa-
-radhe ek. **H**war vndradhe. vm nokor
herra giorde sik krono. ellir fingergwldh. ell*i*r kar
til sinna nýtteligh heit. **A**f thý minte ell*i*r malm
sæm hono*m* presenteradhis. **S**wa ær eig vnd*i*r. at
ek tak*i*r minna vina hierta mik p*re*senteradh. gø-
-rande i þæim min vilia. **O**k f*i*r*i*r þý at en hafuir
mi*n*ne vnd*i*rstandilse. ok a*n*nar meira. nýtia ek swa
hwars ens samuit sæm høwelikit ær til min hei-
-dher. **T**hý at rætwiis mans hierta ær mit mint
thý skal tu vara stadugh. ok redhoboen. til min
vilia. **T**h*e*r æfte taladhe gudhz modh*i*r til mik sig
-hiande. **H**wad sæghia bællinna q*ui*nnor i thino rike
Ek swaradhe. **E**k ær en af þæim. *ok* þý skæmmis
ek at tala i þinne asýýn **M**odheren sagde. Æn
to at ek veit al tingh. þo vil ek þ*æt* høra. þik
talande *ok* mik swarande. **N**aar os p*ræ*dikadhis san
ødhmiwkt sagdom vi. at vare forfædher

4 jngi⟨uta⟩re] smudge over the middle of word.
8 A[u]wi] expunction in red ink. The capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written in bold ink with a flourish running back through the shaft.
9 -radhe [swaradhe]] crossed out with a single horizontal line in red ink.
11 nẏtteligh heit] read "nẏtteligheit".
11 Af] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written in bold ink with a flourish running back through the shaft.
15 mi*n*ne] read "mi*n*dre".
16 ær] the "r" has been written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
19 There is an erasure in the right-hand margin.
22 þinne [s]] crossed out with three diagonal lines.
25 forfædher] the final "r" has been written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.

---

3 **T**ha swaradhe ek] B (178^{rb}), C (179^{vb}) **H**on swaradhe; Lat. Tunc ego respondi
6 vpnøte] B (178^{rb}) haw*i*r opnøt; C (179^{vb}) vpnøt; Lat. consumpsi
8–9 **E**k sẏndadhe i oll*u*m dẏgdom. **A**wi swaradhe ek] B (178^{rb}) **J**ak syndadhe i allo*m* thingom **A**ndin swaradhe; C (179^{vb}) **J**ak syndadhe j allom thingom **A**ndin swaradhe; Lat. et in omnibus deliqui et nichil emandaui. Respondit Spiritus
13 mik p*re*senteradh] B (178^{rb}) som mik vardha p*re*senteradh; C (179^{vb}) som mik wardha presenteradh; Lat. michi presentata
17 mit mint] B (178va) mit mynt ok thækt off*i*r; C (179^{vb}) mith mint oc thækt **Off***i*r; Lat. moneta mea
20 bællinna q*ui*nnor] B (178va) bældi*n*na ok høghfærdhi*n*na q*ui*nno; C (179^{vb}) bældinna oc høghfærdhinna q*ui*nno; Lat. mulieres superbe
22 **M**odheren sagde] B (178va) **G**udz modh*i*r suaradhe; C (179^{vb}) **G**udz modh*i*r swaradhe; Lat. Et mater ait
23–24 þo vil ek þ*æt* høra. þik talande *ok* mik swarande. **N**aar os p*ræ*dikadhis] B (178va) tho vil jak th*et* høra aff thino*m* ordho*m* **J**ak suaradhe **N**ar os p*re*dicadhis; C (179^{vb}) tho wil iak th*et* høra aff thinom ordhom **J**ak swaradhe **N**ar os p*ræ*dicadhis; Lat. "Tamen te loquente audire volo." Et ego respondi: "Quando", inquiunt, "predicabatur nobis …"

4

ærfdo os vidha ægho. Ok faghra sidhi. **H**wi
skulu*m* vi eig ta fỳlghia þæim. **V**aar modh*i*r
sat m*ædh* þæim fyrsta ærlika glædhi hauande
manga tiænara. **O**k vpfostradhe. os m*ædh* heidher
Hwi skal ek eig ærfua minne dott*i*r **Þ**olik þing
sæm ek nam sæm ær at hafua sik ærlikan. ok
lifua m*ædh* likamlighe glædhi. ok døø m*ædh* storom
værldhinna heidh*i*r **G**udhz modh*i*r swaradhe
hwar þe kuinna sæm hafu*ir* þolik ord. *ok* fỳlge
m*ædh* gerningene. gaar rættan heluitis vægh
Ok þỳ æra þolik swar hard. **T**hỳ at hwad dogh*i*r.
hafua þolik ordh. mædhan allra þinga skapar*e*
læth sin likama blifua i værldhinne m*ædh* alle
ødhmiwkt. af sinne fødhzslo *ok* til sin dødh. **O**k
ald*re* kom høghfærdhenna glædhi ifu*ir* han **S**an-
-nelika þolika kuinnor skodho eig hans anlite
Naar ha*n* stoodh liuande ok dødh*i*r a korseno
blodogh*i*r ok blekir af pinomen **O**k akta þe
hans obrỳgdilse. **H**wilken han hørdhe / *ok* eig
hans smælika dødh. **H**wilken ha*n* wtualde. *ok*
eig aminnas. þe stadhin. hwar ha*n* vpgaf an-
-dan. **Þ**ỳ at hwar tiwfua ok ræfuara togho
sina plaghor. **Þ***ær* var ok min son plaghadh*i*r.
Ok ek ær hono*m* kærast af oll*u*m creaturum
Ok i mik ær all ødhmiukt. **O**k ek var þ*ær* næær

3 glædhi] read “klædhi”. See also note in the commentary in section 11.1.
9 þe [h]] crossed out with two diagonal lines.
15 glædhi] read “klædhi”. See also note in the commentary in section 11.1.
16 anlite] bicameral “a”.
18 Ok akta þe] read “Ok eig akta þe”.
22 ræfuara] read “røfuare”; cf. OSw. *røvare*; ON *raufari*.

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1 ærfdo os vidha ægho. Ok faghra sidhi] B (178va) ærfdho ok atirlæto os vidha ægho ok mykyt gooz ok faghra sidhi; C (179^{vb}) ærfdho oc atirlæto os vidha ægho oc mykit gooz oc faghra sidhi; Lat. hereditabant nobis latas possessiones et mores pulchros
3 glædhi] B (178va), C (179^{vb}) klæd; Lat. vestita
15 glædhi] B (178va), C (180ra) klædhe; Lat. vestis
16 skodho] B (178va), C (180ra) see; Lat. considerant
16 anlite] B (178va) ænlite ælla skapnadh; C (180ra) ænlite ællæ scapnadh; Lat. faciem
18–19 Ok akta þe hans obrygdilse] B (178va) ok ey akta the hans obrygdhilse ok gab; C (180ra) oc ey akta the hans obrygdhilse oc gab; Lat. nec curant de obprobriis eius
21 eig aminnas. þe] B (178va), C (180ra) ey akta the ælla minnas; Lat. nec recordantur

5

Ok þe sæm gøra þolik høghfærdug *ok* høgh-
-bællis tingh. **O**k gifua androm tilfælle at fol-
-ghia þæim. æru like stænkilsse i heito vathne
ok brænne. **O**k smitta alla þæim sæm þ*æt* stænke
Swa giifua høghførdoghe. høghfærdinna ef-
-tirdøme. **O**k. brænna. saarlika vm ont eft*i*rdøme
Thý vil ek nu gøra. sæm goodh modh*i*r. huilken
sæm rædhande sina sýni later þæm se liman. huil-
-ken þræælane see. æmuæl. **E**n sýnine seande li-
-man rædhas at gøra vreidha modherena. tak-
kande henne. at hoon høtadhe þæim. **O**k flæng-
-de þæim eig. **E**n trælane rædhis at flængias
vm þe brýta. **O**k swa gøra sýnine flere goodh
þing en før. **O**k trælane. fære ondh þing. **S**wa
vil ek þe sýndana atirløna. **T**hý at er miskun*n*ne-
-na modhir at gudhz vini vordho brænnande af
gudhz kærleek **O**k sýndoghe men vittande sin
vadha. **F**lyyn atenast sýndena af ræddogha. **O**k
m*ædh* þesse maþo. miskun*n*a ek badhe ondho*m* *ok* godhom
Godhom at þe magho fa þæs større krono i hime-
rike. **O**ndom at þe komin i mi*n*ne pino. **O**k ænghin
ær swa stoor sýndare. at ek ær eig redhoboen
at løpa moot hono*m*. *ok* min son at giifua hono*m*
naadh. vm han bedhis m*ædh* kærleek **T**h*e*r æfte

2–3 folghia] read “følghia”.
5 høghførdoghe] read “høghfærdoghe”.
9 þræælane] there is an otiose abbreviation mark over “þræ” (“þæræælane”).
15 er] the “r” is written with an otiose stroke in the form of backward hook.
15 Thý at er] read “Thý at ek er”.
16 modhir] the “r” is written with an otiose stroke in the form of backward hook.
24 naadh.] the *punctus* is raised high above the base line.

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8 rædhande sina sýni] B (178^{vb}) gør ræd sin barn; C (180ra) gør ræd sith barn; Lat. filios terrende facit
9 see] B (178^{vb}) see ok skodha; C (180ra) see oc skodha; Lat. vident

6

syntos þre quinnor **S**wasom modheren *ok* dotte-
-ren. Ok dottordottoren. **E**n modheren. **O**k dot-
-terdotteren. sẏntos dødha. **O**k dotteren liuandis
The dødha foresagda modheren. *ok* dottordote-
ren syntis swaso*m* gripa af eino*m* swartom pwz
j mẏklo mørkre. henna hierta var wtdraghit
Ok læppane afskwrne Ok hakan skalf **T**ændir-
-na skẏnu huita. ok langa. Ok skalradho alla
Næsana varo afæthna. **O**k øghonen wtbruten
hengiande nidh*i*r a kinnena. m*ædh* þwæim sinu*m*.
Anlitit sẏntis. jnsænkt. **O**k i anlithsins stadh. storth
diwp *ok* mørkt. **H**iærnskalen var borto i hofdena
Ok hiernen val sæm blyẏ. **O**k wtfløt sæm tiæra
Ok henna hals vmuændis swaso*m* þ*æt* trææ sæm
swarfwas i swaruastole. huilko hwassasto iærn
ær a mote sat vtan hughnadh. **B**rẏstidh sẏntis
oppith fult m*ædh* langu*m* mathkum. ok smaam. huil-
-ke hwaruændis. hiit ok tiit vm andra. **A**rmane
varo like slipostens kæppom. **H**endirna varo swa-
som lange spica. **O**k alla henna riggiotaflor
varo løsa. huilka aldre lata af at røras. vta*n*
en foor vp *ok* a*n*nur nidh*i*r. **O**k en langer ok stoor
ormber drogh sik nidhan til vp gino*m* maghan
ok føgde somom stiærten. ok hufuudit swaso*m*

4–5 *ok* dottordoteren] this is an erroneous expansion. The finite verb is in the third person sg. (“syntis”, l. 5) and the poss. adj. (“henna”, l. 6) is sg.
5 gripa] read “kripa” or “krẏpa”.
15 swar[s]uastole] crossed out with three diagonal lines.
18 hwaruændis] read “hwar uændis”.
18 Armane] the capital letter comprises a bicameral “a” written in bold ink with a flourish running back through the shaft.
23 ormber] the “r” is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
24 somom] read “somon”; cf. OSw. and ON *saman*.

4–5 **T**he dødha foresagda modheren. *ok* dottordoteren] B (178^{vb}) **D**ødha fore*s*agdha modhorin; C (180^{rb}) **D**ødha foresagdha modh*i*rin; Lat. Mater autem predicta
5–6 gripa af eino*m* swartom pwz j mẏklo mørkre] B (178^{vb}) krypa aff enom suartom pudz j myklo myrke; C (180^{rb}) krypa af eno*m* swartum pwtz j mẏklo myrke; Lat. serpere de tenebroso lacu et luto
6 henna hierta] B (178^{vb}) **H**ænna hiærta; C (180^{rb}) **H***e*nna hiærta; Lat. cuius cor
18 hwaruændis] B (179ra) hwar vændos ok slyongdis; C (180^{rb}) hwar wændos oc sliongdis; Lat. voluebatur
20 lange spica] B (179ra), C (180^{rb}) nydhio; Lat. claue nodose et prolixe

7

bughi gik jdhkelika kring vm i*n*ælfuena swa
som hiwl. **L**aren ok skinobeinen syntos swa som
twe thornkæppa fulle m*ædh* hwassastom þorngad-
-dom. **H**enna føtir varo swa som breedhføta
Ta taladhe þe dødha modheren til dotterenna
sighiande. **H**øør tu etirýdhla miin dotter.
Ve mik at ek var nokon tima þiin modher. **E**k
lagde þik i høgfærdinna badhel. i huilkom tu
værmdis. ok vexte til þæs tu kom til allir. **O**k swa
mýkit þæktis ha*n* þik at þu vpnøthe þin all*i*r i
hono*m*. **T**hý sægh*i*r ek þik at huru opta. þu vmuen-
-de þiin øghon m*ædh* høghfærde*n*na sin **S**wa opta
kasta tu vællande eitir i miin øghun m*ædh* oþul
-likom hita. **H**uru ofta tu tala høghfærdinna ord
huilken tu nampt af mik. **S**wa opta swælghir
ek beetzskastan drik. **O**k huru opta þiin øron
vpfýllas m*ædh* høgfærdinna vædhir. huilkit
høghfærdinna býlghio vpuækkia. sæm ær at
høra eighens likama lof. **O**k astwnda værl-
-dhinna heidh*i*r. hwilken tu namt af mik **S**wa
opta komb*i*r rædhelikit liudh i miin øron
m*ædh* blæsande vædhre. ok brænnande. **V**e ær
mik fatoghe ok vsle **T**hý fatoghe at ek haf-
-uir altiidh kænna ænkte got. **T**hý vsle at ek
hafu*i*r alt ilt. **E**n tu dottir æst liik koru*m*po

1 bughi gik] read “bughi ok gik”.
2 skinobeine[m>n]] the final minim of the “m” has been erased to transform the letter.
9 allir] read “aldir”; cf. OSw. *alder*.
15 swælghir] the “r” is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
18 There is an illegible half-formed letter in the right-hand margin. It has been crossed out with a single diagonal line.
21 komb*i*r [l]] expunction and crossed out with two diagonal lines.
24 altiidh] read “ælla” or “eddir”.
25 dottir [-]] erasure.
25 koru*m*po] possibly “ko ru*m*po”. There is a 1-mm gap between the “o” and “r”.

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1 bughi gik] B (179ra) bughi ok gik; C (180^{rb}) bughi oc gik; Lat. arcus circuibat
4 breedhføta] B (179ra) bredh føta ælla paddo skipadha; C (180^{rb}) breedhføta ælla paddo skypadha; Lat. buffonum
5 til dotterenna] B (179ra) til sina lifwande dott*i*r; C (180^{rb}) til sinna liuande dott*i*r; Lat. filiam viuam
6 tu etirýdhla miin dotter] B (179ra) thw etir ødhla min dott*i*r; C (180^{rb}) tw et*i*r ødhla min dott*i*r; Lat. lacer[a]ta et venenosa filia mea
7 ek var] B (179ra) iak vardh; C (180^{rb}) iak wardh; Lat. fui
8–9 i huilkom tu værmdis. ok vaxte] B (179ra) oc opfødho th*e*r thw inna*n* vændis ok vaxte; C (180^{rb}) oc vpfødho/ th*e*r tw jnna*n*uændis/ oc vaxste; Lat. in quo tu calefacta crescebas
9–11 **O**k swa mýkit þæktis ha*n* þik at þu vpnøte þin all*i*r i hono*m*; B (179ra) ok swa mykyt thækt*is* høghfærdhi*n*na opfødha thik at thw opnøtte thin aldir ok tima j hænne; C (180^{rb}) oc swa mykit thæktis høghfærdhinna vpfødha thik/ at thw vpnøtte thin ald*i*r oc tima j he*n*ne; Lat. Et tantum tibi placuit, quod in eo etatem tuam consumpsisti
19 eighens likama lof] B (179ra), C (180va) sit eghit loff; Lat. corporis tui laudes
23–24 at ek hafuir altiidh kænna ænkte got] B (179ra) at iak haw*ir* ælla kænne ænkte got; C (180va) at iak hau*i*r ælla k*e*nne ænkte got; Lat. quia nichil boni habeo nec sencio

8

hwilken sæm gangande i dẏianom stænkir
ok sørgha. alla nalkande sik huru ofta hoon
veefta vm kring m*ædh* ru*m*ponne. **S**wa tu dottir æst
sliik ko. þẏ at tu hafu*ir* eig gudhliko snille. ok
gaar æfte þins likama g*er*ningom. ok rørilsom
Thẏ huru ofta tu følghe minna sidhuænio ger-
-ningo*m* sæm æra sẏndena. huilka ek kende þik
Swa opta vpnẏias miin pina. **O**k brinder þæs
heitare. **O** miin dott*ir* hui høghfærdas tu af
þinne slækt. hwad eig ær þik heidhir ok sæmdh
at mi*n*na inælfua trækkir var þik ørnagaat
Ok at min blẏgdelike limbir var þin wtgan-
-ger. **O**k al mins bloodz oreenlikheit var þit
klædhe naar tu fødhis. **Þ**ẏ ær nu min kuidhir
i huilkom tu laakt vpætin af mathkom. **E**n
hui kære ek a þik dott*ir*. mædhan ek skolde
mẏklo meer kæra vm mik. **Þ**ẏ at þrẏ þing æra
huilken nu tuinga mik saarlighast i hiertana
Førsta ær at ek var skapadh af gudhi til
himerikis rike. **O**k iak vannẏtiadhe mit sam-
-wit skipade mik til heluitis pino. **A**nnat ær
at gudh skapadhe mik faghra sæm. ængill
Ok ek vanskapadhe mik siælfua swa at ek
ær likare diæflen*o*m en gudhz engle. **T**ridhia

5 A paraph has been written in ink, now very faded, in the left-hand margin.

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2 sørgha] B (179^{rb}), C (180va) smitta; Lat. aspergit

15 laakt] B (179^{rb}), C (180va) laat; Lat. iacuisti

18 tuinga] B (179^{rb}) thynga; C (180va) thyngia; Lat. affligunt

19–20 til himerikis rike] B (179^{rb}) til himerik*is* rike; C (180va) til himerikis rike; Lat. ad celeste gaudium

21 mik] B (179^{rb}) mik siælfwa; C (180va) mik siælfua; Lat. me

9

ær at ek giorde storlika ont skipte i mi-
-nom tima. **t**hý at ek thogh litidh framfar
-likit þ*æt* ær syndinna luste. f*irir*. huilken. ek
tol nu oændelika pino. **T**her æfte sagde
hoon til gudhz. brwdh. **T**hu sæm mik se **S**e
mik eig vtan vm likamlikt liiknilse. **T**hý
at saghe tu mik sæm ek ær. tu doe af ræd-
-dugha. **T**hý at alle mine limi æra diæfla.
Thý ær sc*ri*pten san. huilken sæm sægh*i*r. **A**t
swaso*m* ræthuise men æra gudhz limi. **S**wa
æra sýndoghe men diæfwlsens. limi **S**wa
røne ek nu. at diæfla æra festæ vidh
mina siæl. **T**hý at mins hiærta vili. skipade
mik til þolka vanskapligheit ¶ æn høør
ýtirmeer. **T**hik sýnis. at mine føt*i*r æra
suaso*m* bredhføta. **Þ***æt* ær f*irir* thý. at ek stood
stadhlika i sýndinne. **T**hy sta nu diæflane
stadhlika. i mik. bitande mik *ok* mættas
aldre. **M**iin skýnubøøn. ok miin laar æ-
-ra swaso*m* þornkæppa. **T**hý at ek hafde
min vilia efth*i*r oll*u*m køttlikom lusta
Ok mino*m* vilia. **a**t hwar rýggetaflan
ær løøs. **O**k hwar røris moot andre

t. lt. The corner of the page (12 mm by 11 mm) has been torn off.
5 A short horizontal line (4.5 mm) has been drawn in the right-hand margin.
7 ær] the "r" is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
8 ær[a>u]] the tops of the two minims in "u" have been connected by a short horizontal stroke to make a unicameral "a".
9 At] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written in bold ink with a flourish running back through the shaft.
14 høør] the "r" is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
15 ẏtirmeer] the second letter "r" is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
19 skẏnubøøn] read "skẏnubeen" or "skẏnubein" (cf. *p.* 7: 2; see also note in the commentary in section 11.1).
19 laar] the "r" is written with an otiose stroke in the form of backward hook.
21 lusta] there is a dot above the "u".
23 hwa[d]\r/] expunction. The "r" has been written above and between the "w" and the "a".

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4 oændelika pino] B (179^{rb}) oændelica hæluit*is* pino; C (180^{vb}) oændelica hæluitis pino; Lat. infinitum malum, scilicet inferni penam
5 gudhz. brwdh] B (179^{rb}), C (180^{vb}) gudz brudh; Lat. sponsam
5–6 **T**hu sæm mik se **S**e mik eig] B (179^{rb}) thw som mik seer thu seer mik ey; C (180^{vb}) thw som mik seer/ thw seer mik ey; Lat. "Tu", inquit, "que vides me, non vides me …"
22 mino*m* vilia] B (179va) mino*m* vilia so*m* mik thæktis; C (180^{vb}) mino*m* wilia som mik thæktis; Lat. voluptatem meam

10

Th*æt* ær thý at mins hoghz glædhi vp
foor stundom mýkit i. værlslighom
hug. ***ok*** nidh*i*rfoor stwndum vm mina
sorgh mýkla. ok wredhe. af værldinna
giinuærdo. **O**k thý swaso*m* baken røris æf-
-th*i*r howdhsins rørilsom. **S**wa skulde ek
hafua varit stadhug *ok* reenlik. epthir gudhz
vilia. hwilken sæm ær alla godhra manna
howdh. **V**tan f*irir*. þý. at ek giorde eý þ*æt*. þý
þol ek ræthuislika. þe þing sæm tu seer
En at en ormber hafu*ir* draghit sik nidhan til
vp ginu*m* maghan. . **O**k standande swa sæm
bughi. løpir vm kring swaso*m* hiwl. **Þ***æt* ær f*irir*
þý. at min luste var vanskipadher / *ok* min
vili vilde al þing ægha. **O**k manghfalle-
-lika ok oskælika wthgifua. **Þ**ý gaar nu
ormen. ohughnelika. kring vm miin i*n*elf-
-ue / *ok* bitir. mik. Omiskundsamlika. **E**n at mit
brýst ær barth. ok gnaghit af mathkom
þ*æt*. þe sanna gudz ræthuiso. **V**isselika ek
ælskadhe. røteling þing mera en gudh
Ok mins hierta ælskoghe var til fram-
-farligh þing **O**k þý swaso*m* lange mathka
varda af andru*m* mathkum **S**wa ær miin

t. rt. The corner of the page has been torn off.
2 værlslighom [ho]] crossed out with two horizontal lines.
3 mina] the "m" has four minims.
8 ær] the "r" has an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
10 seer] the "r" has an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
18 Omiskundsamlika] possibly written as "Omiskund.samlika". There is a 1.2-mm space between the letters "d" and the "s", and a dot just below the baseline.
21 røteling] read "røtelig".
21 m\e/[æ]ra] expunction.
24 andru*m*] bicameral "a".

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3 hug] B (179va) hugnadh; C (180^{vb}) hughnadh; Lat. consolacione
3–4 mina sorgh mẏkla. ok wredhe] B (179va), C (180^{vb}) mykla wredhe; Lat. tristiciam et iram
7 reenlik] B (179va), C (180^{vb}) rørlik; Lat. mobilis
17 ohughnelika] B (179va) ohugnelica ok syrghelica; C (180^{vb}) ohughnelica oc syrghelica; Lat. inconsolabiliter
20 þe] B (179va), C (180^{vb}) tekna; Lat. demonstrat

11

siæl fuld m*ædh* diæflum f*irir* røteligh þing
huilken ek ælskadhe **M**ina arma sỏnas
swaso*m* sliposteina kæppa. **Þ**r ær f*irir* þỏ at
miin astundilse hafdo swaso*m* arma. **Þ**ỏ at
ek girnadhis langar alder. **A**t ek maþe
lenge liifua i sỏndinne **E**k
girnadhis. iæmuææl. **o**k astunda-
-dhe at gudhz domb*ir* var lætare en scripten
sigh*ir* / **Þ**o sagde væl mit samuit mik at
min þime var stunther. **O**k gudhz domber
otolikin **T**wært a moot. sagde mik miin
astundilse til sỏndinna. **M**it liif vara langt
Ok gudz doom þolken. **O**k at þolikom æggil-
-som vmuændis mit samuit. **O**k. vilin ok siæ-
-lin fỏlgdo lustano*m*. **O**k þỏ røris nu diæf-
-uulin i minne siæl. moot mino*m* vilia. **O**k mit
samuit vndirstaar ok kænnir nu gudz doom
vara ræthuisan. **M**ina hend*ir* æra swa so*m*
klynda. ok þ*æt* ær f*irir* þỏ at gudz budhord varo
mik eig lustelig. **Þ**ỏ æra mina hend*ir* nu mik
til tungha. ok eig til nokra nỏt **M**in hals
løpir vmkring swa so*m* þ*æt* trææ sæm swar-
-fuas m*ædh* hwasso iærne. **T**h*æt* ær f*irir* þỏ at
gudz ordh varo mik eig søøt at suæl

gia

1 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the left-hand margin.
3 Þr] read "Þ*æt*"; scribe has possibly misread "þz" in original.
5 langar] read "langan".
5 At] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written in bold ink with a flourish running back through the shaft.
6–7 There is a hole in the manuscript (31 mm by 12 mm) on the right-hand side of the page.
10 domber] the "r" is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
13 þolken] read "þoliken", "þolikin".
16 -uulin] there is a dot above the second minim of the second "u".
19 /k\[b]lynda] expunction.
21 /til\ tungha
23 ær] the "r" is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
25 ˻] written as an elaborate paraph in red ink.

---

3 slipostеina kæppa] B (179va), C (181ra) slipostens kæppa; Lat. manubria
4 swaso*m* arma] B (179va), C (181ra) swa som arma; Lat. quasi duo brachia
11 otolikin] B (179va) hardh*i*r ok othollikin; C (181ra) hardh*i*r oc othollikin; Lat. intollerabile
12 astundilse] B (179va) astu*n*dilse ok luste; C (181ra) astu*n*dilse oc luste; Lat. desiderium
13–14 æggilsom] B (179va) thankom ok æggilsom; C (181ra) thankom oc æggilsom; Lat. suggestionibus
14–15 **O**k. vilin ok siælin fylgdo lustano*m*] B (179va) ok vilin ok skæl⟨o⟩*m* følgdho lustano*m*; C (181ra) oc wilin oc skælom folgdho lostanom; Lat. et sic voluntas et racio sequebantur voluptatem et delectacionem
19 klynda] B (179^{vb}), C (181ra) klynda ælla klubba; Lat. claue prolixe

12

j mins hierta kærleek vtan mỳkit beetsk
þỳ at þe auitadho mins hierta lusta. ok vi-
lia. **O**k þỳ star nu hwast iærn moot minu*m*
strupa Mine læppa. æra afskorne. þỳ at
þe varo raske til høgfærdinna ord. ok skøør
Ord. **o**k lat. Ok seen at tala
gudzordh. **H**akan sỳnis skæl-
uande. Ok tændirna. skælla. **O**k
þ*æt* ær þy at ek hafde fultkomen vilia at
gifua mino*m* likama maat ok drik. at ek
skolde sỳnas fagh*i*r ok astundelik. Ok heil-
-brỳgdo. Ok stark til all likamins lustilsse
Ok þỳ skælfu*ir* nu hakan. vtan hugnadh
ok tændirna skælla. **Þ**y at tannanna vpnø-
-tilse. ok æruodhit var fafænkt. **O**k onỳtto-
-likit til siælinna gangn **N**æsana æra af-
-skorna / **Þ**y at swaso*m*. þæim plæghar gøras
m*ædh* idhr til mere blỳgd sæm brỳta i toliko
falle. **S**wa ær mik blỳgdinna mærke insæt
til mi*n*na æw*ær*delika skam. **E**n at øghonen
hengia nidh*i*r a kinderna m*ædh* twæim sinum
ær ræthuiist. **Þ**y at swaso*m*. øghonen glad-
-dos af kinnanna fægherindh f*irir* høgfer-
dinna teilse. **S**wa æra þe nu. wtbruten

4 [-r>M]ine] overwriting.
6–8 At the beginning of these lines there is a hole in the manuscript.
7 gudzordh] read “gudz ordh”.
8 uande (before)] square-shaped blot of ink.
18 idhr] read “idhir”.

---

2 þe auitadho] B (179^{vb}) the straffadho ok varo amote; C (181ra) the straffadho oc waro amote; Lat. redarguebant
8 skælla] B (179^{vb}), C (181ra) skaldra; Lat. colliduntur
10 maat ok drik] B (179^{vb}) mat ok dryk; C (181ra) mat oc dryk; Lat. cibum
23 kinnanna] B (179^{vb}) limma*n*na; C (181ra) lima*n*na; Lat. genarum

13

Af myklom graat. Ok hengia nidh*i*r a
kinderna m*ædh* blỏgd. **O**k rætuiselika ær
mit anlæte jnsunkit. **O**k i ænlitis stadh
stort mørkir / **Þ**ỏ at høgfærdinna klædhe
vmkring gik mit ænlite. **O**k ek vilde
synas ok æras af vænleek **O**k ær nu
mit ænlite mørkt ok vanskapadh. / æn at
hiernen wtuællir ok wtflỏtir swaso*m* blỏ
Ok tiæra. ær værdugt. **Þ**ỏ at swasom blỏ
ær bløth. Ok bøgheligit epte þæs vilia
sæm þ*æt* nỏtiar. **S**wa mit samuit. huilkit
sæm laa i hiernanom bøghdis eptir mins
hierta vilia. **E**n to at ek vndirstoodh. hwad
ek skolde gøra. **O**k gudz sons pina festis
alldre i mina hierta / **v**tan wtfløøt swa-
som þ*æt* ek væl viste. Ok aktadhe þ*æt* eig.
Ok eig aktadhe ek meer af þỏ blodhena
sæm wtfløøt af gudz sons limum. en af
tiæru. **v**tan ek flỏde gudz kærleeks ord
swasom tiæru. **a**t ek skulde eig venda
mik af likamins lustilsom. ellir drøua
Tho hørde iak stundom gudz ordh firi

1 Af] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.

9 Þẏ] the dot in "ẏ" is written in the body of the letter between its two strokes, rather than above the letter.

12 bøgh\d/is

18 wtfløøt] the first "t" has a hook above it and could, therefore, be read (incorrectly) as "wt*ir*fløøt".

b. rt. The corner of the page (50 mm by 24 mm) has been torn off.

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4 stort mørkir] B (179^{vb}) ær stort diup ok myrk*ir*; C (181^{rb}) ær stort dywp oc myrk*ir*; Lat. immanes tenebre

5 vmkring gik] B (179^{vb}), C (181^{rb}) vmkring gaff; Lat. circumdedit

6 synas ok æras af vænleek] B (179^{vb}) synas ok æras aff vænlek; C (181^{rb}) syn⟨a⟩s oc æras aff wænleek; Lat. gloriari et videri de pulchritudine

8 wtuællir] B (179^{vb}) opuæll⟨ir⟩; C (181^{rb}) vpuæll*ir*; Lat. ebulit

20–21 **a**t ek skulde eig venda mik af likamins lustilsom. ellir drøua] B (180ra) at the skullin ey vænda mik aff lica*m*ma*n*s lustilsom ælla hindra mik ok drøua; C (181^{rb}) at the skullin ey vænda mik aff lica*m*mas lustilsom/ ælla hindra mik oc drøua; Lat. ne me a corporis oblectamentis auerterent et conturbarent

22 gudz ordh] B (180ra) gudz ordh ok p*re*dican; C (181^{rb}) gudz ordh oc prædikan; Lat. verba Dei

14

manna skuld vtan swa raskeliga wtgindo
þe af mina hierta sæm þe jngingo. **O**k þý wt-
flýtir hiernen swa som brinnande tiæra m*œdh*
heitasta vældh. **M**iin ørom æra atirtæpt m*œdh*
hardom steinom. **Þ**ý at høgfærdinna ordh
jngingo gladhlika i þæim. Ok nidh*i*rforo
søtlika i hiertadh. **O**k gudz kærleikir var
vtelýktir af mino hierta. **O**k þý at f*irir* høg-
færd. Ok verldinna skuld giorde ek alt þ*æt*
ek mathe. **T**hý æra min glædhinna ord vte-
-lýkt af mino*m* øro*m* **E**n tu maat spøria en ek
giorde nokra godha gerninga **E**k swara þik.
Ek giorde swa som pæni*n*ga skýptare. **h**uilken
sæm sunderskærande pæningen atir and-
-wardha han h*err*anom. **S**wa giorde ek. **E**k fas-
-tadhe ok ek giorde almoso. *ok* andra gernin-
-ga **V**tan þæim giorde ek f*irir* heluitis ræd-
dogha. Ok at fly værldena giinwerdo.
En f*irir* þý at gudz kærleik*i*r var afskurin
j gerningene. **D**ugdho mik eýg þolik þing
til at fa hýmerike. **T**o varo þe eig vtan
atirløøn **A**nnan tiidh maat tu spøria
ʟ **H**uilken ek e*r* i*n*na*n*

1 manna] the first "a" is bicameral.
1 wtgindo] read "wtgingo".
4 ørom] read "øron".
6 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the left-hand margin.
17 There is a graze on the surface of the page at the beginning of the line, but the text is still clear.
22 Annan] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written in bold ink with a flourish running back through the shaft.
23 ˩ Huilken ek e*r* i*n*na*n*] the catchwords are ruled above and below in ink.
b. lt. The bottom left-hand corner of the page has been torn off.

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10 ek mathe] B (180ra) jak formatte; C (181^{rb}) iak formatte; Lat. potui
10 min] B (180ra) nu; C (181^{rb}) nw; Lat. nunc
15–17 **S**wa giorde ek. **E**k fastadhe ok ek giorde almoso. *ok* andra gerninga] B (180ra) Sua giordhe jak/ **J**ak fastadhe ok giordhe almoso ok andra godh g*er*ni*n*ga; C (181^{rb}) **S**wa giordhe iak **J**ak fastadhe oc giordhe almoso oc andra godha g*er*ninga; Lat. Sic ego ieiunabam et feci elemosinas aliaque opera
17–18 heluitis ræddogha] B (180ra), C (181^{rb}) hæluitis pino ræddogha; Lat. timorem inferni
18 værldena giinwerdo] B (180ra) værldi*n*na genuærdho; C (181^{rb}) værldinna genuærdho; Lat. aduersitates corporis
20 j gerningene] B (180ra) aff mi*n*e g*er*ning; C (181va) af minne g*er*ning; Lat. in opere meo

15

huilken ek ær i*n*nantil i vilianom. **M**ædhan
ek er swa vanskapadh vtan til. **E**k swara. min
vili ær swasom mandrapara. **O**k modhir drapare
huilken gerna drape sina modh*i*r. **S**wa vil ek
allra værst gudhi mino*m* skapara. **H**uilken mik var
bæzstir ok søtastir. **Þ**ær eptir taladhe. dødha
dotterdotteren firisagdo modhirmodherinne. til
sinna eghna liuande modh*i*r sighiande. **H**øør
tu scorpia min modhir. **V**e mik þý at tu swek
mik illa. tu þede mik bliit ænlite. vtan stak tu
mik hardhelikan i hiertadh. **Þ**u gaft mik þrý
raadh af þinom mun. **O**k þrý nam ek þinom
gerningom. **O**k þre vægha þedhe tu mik i
þinom framgang / **F**ørsta radhit var at els-
-ka køtlika f*i*r*ir* køtlikin vinskap. fa skolande
Annan tiidh at wtgifua rwmlika værdlz
gooz f*i*r*ir* værldhinna heidh*i*r. **Þ**ridhia var
at hafua. huilo f*i*r*ir* kropsins lusta. **Þ**æssin
þrý varo mik mýkit skadhulik. **Þ**ý at ek fik
blýgdh ok andelika awnd. f*i*r*ir* þen skuld at
ek ælskadhe. køtlika. **O**k af þý at ek wt-
lagde riuelika wærldhz gooz. **Þ**ý var ek
ræænt af gudz nadha gafwm. **O**k fik ek
blyghasta dødhin f*i*r*ir* þý at ek lustadhis

11 ⟨*mi*⟩k] ink blot over "mi".
12–13 Ok þrý nam ek þinom gerningom] read "Ok þrý nam ek af þinom gerningom".
16 værdlz] read "værldz" or "værlz".
b. lt. "p*rimum*" in black ink.

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2 vanskapadh] B (180ra) swanskapadh; C (181va) wanscapadh; Lat. deformitas
7 firisagdo modhirmodherinne] B (180ra) thæsse for sagdho dødha modhir modhirna; C (181va) thæsse forsagdho dødha modh*i*r modh*i*rena; Lat. predicte auie mortue
9 scorpia] B (180ra) skorpio; C (181va), Lat. scorpio
14–15 **F**ørsta radhit var at elska køtlika f*irir* køtlikin vinskap. fa skolande] B (180^{rb}) Første radhit var at ælska thæsse værldi*n*na vinsæmio til at faa hænna køtlikin ok fafængan værlz vinskap; C (181va) Første radhit war at ælska thæssa værldinna vinsæmio til at fa h*e*nna køtlikin oc fafængan værlz vinscap; Lat. Primum consilium fuit diligere carnaliter propter amiciciam carnalem optinendam
18–19 **Þ**æssin þrý] B (180^{rb}), C (181va) **T**hæssin thry; Lat. Ista
21 køtlika] B (180^{rb}) fafængan værldina ok køtzsins vinskap ok værlzlica ma*n*na; C (181va) fafængan værldinna oc køtzsins vinscap. oc værlzlica ma*n*na; Lat. carnaliter
22 wærldhz gooz] B (180^{rb}) værlz godz ok fortæradhe ohægdho*m*; C (181va) værlz gooz oc fortæradhe ohægdhom; Lat. temporalia
22–24 **Þ**ý var ek ræænt af gudz nadha gafwm. **O**k fik ek blyghasta dødhin] B (180^{rb}) thy var jak rænt aff gudz nadha gafwom **O**k fik iak blygdh æptir dødhin; C (181va) thy war iak rænt af gudz nadha gawom. **O**c fik iak blygdh æpt*i*r dødhin; Lat. ideo priuata sum gracie donis Dei in vita et post mortem censecuta sum pudorem

16

lifuandis i kropsins huilo. bŷriadhis mik
siælinna wroo i dødhsins stundh vtan hugnad
Trŷ þing nam ek af þinom gerningom
sæm var at gøra nokra godha ger-
-ninga. **O**k eig lata nokra. þe sŷndh som mik
lŷstadhe. **S**wa so*m* þæn gør sæm blanda eitir
m*ædh* hunag. **O**k ofrar domarenom. **O**k domaren
vardhir vreedhir **O**k wtgiutir eitridh ifuir
þæn sæm þ*æt* frambær **S**wa røne ek nu j
mŷklom ænghsla ok drøuilsom. **A**nnan tiid
nam ek vndirliko matho. at klædha mik sæm
var at hølia øghonen m*ædh* linno klædhe. **H**af-
-ua naatsko a fotomin. **H**andska a handome*n*.
Ok allir halsen var vtantil bar. **Þ**ætta linna
klædhe skiulande øghonen. teekna mins
krops vænleek. **H**uilken swa mørkte miin
øghon. at ek aktadhe eig minna siæl fæg-
-rind **N**aat skone sæm værma føtirna vnde-
-at ok eig ouan. teekna kirkionna helgha
tro. huilka ek hiolt æi trolika. Æn henne fŷlg
-do ængha fruktsama gerninga. vtan swa
sæm naat skone fræmia føtirna. swa stoodh
mit samuit i trone. **O**k framførde siælinna
Æn for þ*æt* at eig fŷlgdo godha gerninga

3 Trý [þ-]] crossed out with two horizontal lines.
4 gøra [at gøra]] crossed out with two horizontal lines in red ink.
18 værma] should possibly read “værna”. See comp. app.
18–19 vnde-|-at] read “vnder | at”.
20 \æi/] pale ink.

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1 lifuandis] B (180^{rb}) mykyt liuandis; C (181va) mykit liuandis; Lat. in vita
1 huilo] B (180^{rb}) maki oc hwilo; C (181va) maki ok hwilo; Lat. quiete
5 **O**k eig lata] B (180^{rb}) ok tho ey forlata; C (181va) oc tho ey forlata; Lat. nec tamen dimittere
7–9 **O**k domaren vardhir vreedhir **O**k wtgiutir eitridh ifuir þæn sæm þ*æt* frambær] B (180^{rb}) ok domarin vardh*i*r wredh*i*r ok vtgiut*i*r etir owir th*e*n som th*et* frambær; C (181va) ok domarin wardh*i*r wredh*i*r oc wtgywt*i*r etrit ow*i*r th*e*n som th*et* frambær; Lat. qui iratus effudit super offerentem
13 naatsko] B (180^{rb}) natsko; C (181^{vb}) naat sko; Lat. sandalia
16–17 miin øghon] B (180^{rb}), C (181^{vb}) min øghon; Lat. spirituales oculos meos
18 værma] B (180^{rb}), C (181^{vb}) væria; Lat. muniunt
20 huilka ek hiolt æi trolika] B (180^{rb}), C (181^{vb}) som iak hiolt trolica; Lat. quam fideliter tenui

17

Þý var siælin swa sæm bar. **H**andskane a han-
domen. teekna fafængt lof. huilkit ek haf-
de. **Þ**ý at ek wtrækte mina g*er*ninga. huilka
sæm teeknas i handskomin. i swa tiokka ok
ruma gudhz miskundh. **A**t nær ek hannadhe
gudz rætuiso kende iak eig / ok eig aktadhe ek
hona. **Þ**ý var ek mykit diærf at sýnda. **E**n
naar dødhin nalkadhis mik. **F**iol klædhit af
minom øghom iuir iordena. **Þ***æt* ær ofuir min
likama. **O**k þa sa siælin sik. ok vidhrkændis
at hon var nakin. **Þ**ý at mina godhgerninga
varo fa. **O**k sýndena manga. **O**k f*irir* blýgdh
skuld mathe ek eig staa. i æuærdelikx konu-
-ngs palacio. **Þ**ý at ek var blýgdelika glædh
Ok ta drogho diæflane mik i harda pino
hwar ek gabbadhis m*ædh* blýgd. **T**ridhia. huilkit
ek nam af þik modhir vaar. at klædha træl-
-lin m*ædh* h*er*rans klædhom. Ok sætia han i her-
-rans sæte. Ok heedhra swasom h*er*ran **O**k gif
-ua herranom trællsins atirlønø. **O**k all
smælik tingh. **Þ**enne herran er gudz kærle-
-kir. **O**k trællin ær vilin at sýnda. **S**wa sæt-
tis trællin sæm ær syndinna luste i mit

4 ok] there is a dot above the "o".
5 At] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
10 vidhrkændis] read "vidh*i*rkændis".
14 glædh] read "klædh". See the note in the commentary in section 11.1.
18 han[s]] expunction.

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2 fafængt lof] B (180va) fafæghnt hop; C (181^{vb}) fafænght hop; Lat. spem vanam
4 i handskomin] B (180va) j handome*n*; C (181^{vb}) i handomen; Lat. in manibus
4 i swa tiokka] B (180va) j sua mykla; C (181^{vb}) i swa mykla; Lat. in tam condensam
5 gudhz miskundh] B (180va) gudz misku*n*d; C (181^{vb}) gudz miskund; Lat. misericordiam Dei, que notatur in cyrothecis
8 nalkadhis mik] B (180va), C (181^{vb}) nalkadhis; Lat. appropinquaret
14 glædh] B (180va), C (181^{vb}) klæd; Lat. vestita
20 atirlønø] B (180va) atirleuo; C (181^{vb}) at*i*rlewo; Lat. reliquiasque
23 sæm ær syndinna luste] B (180va) som ær syndi*n*na luste; C (181^{vb}) som ær syndinna luste; Lat. idest delectacio et voluntas peccati

18

hierta. **H**war gudhelikin kærleikir skolde styra
Ok klæde ek trællin nar ek vende alt þ*æt*
skapadh var. ok værdlikit til min lusta. **O**k
atirleuona ok afskrædona. **O**k þ*æt* smælikast
war. gaf. æk gudi ok. þo æi af. kærlæik
vtta*n*. af. ræddughæ. **O**k swa. glæddistz mit
hiarta af mi*n*s lusta. framgangh. **Þ**wi at
guds. kærlæikar ok. godh*i*r. he*r*ræ. war.
wthælukt*i*r. fra. mik. **O**k wondh*i*r. þræll.
Jnnelyktæ. **W**æy. modh*i*r. þæssa. þry. na*m*.
æk. af. þinom g*er*ningom. **J**amwell. thædæ. þw mik þræ. wægha. j þino*m* framgangh. **F**yrstæ. war lius. naar æk jngek. j han. ward. æk. blindh af. hans.
skini **A**nnær war stutth*i*r. ok haall so*m*.
js ok. naar æk. hafdæ framgangith
j hono*m*. æit fæt. atterskræidh. æk. æit
trin. **Þ**ridhi war. mykit langh*i*r. ok.
naar. æk. framgik j honom. kom.
æptær mik. braadh*i*r. strøm*i*r. ok førde.
mik. nidh*i*r. wndæ. bærgh. j. diuppa.

5 Hand 2 starts at the beginning of this line.
5 ok] there is a dot in the centre of the "o".
6 af] bicameral "a".
7 hiarta] the first "a" is shaped like an "o" with a very short final downstroke.
7 at] bicameral "a".
9 fra] bicameral "a".
9 Ok] there is a dot in the centre of the "O".
12 wægha] bicameral "a".
18 ok] there is a dot in the centre of the "o".
21 diuppa] bicameral "a".

---

2 **O**k klæde] B (180va) ok tha klædde; C (181^{vb}) oc tha klædde; Lat. Que⟨m⟩ tunc vestiui
7 af mi*n*s lusta. framgangh] B (180va) aff mins lusta framgang; C (181^{vb}) af mins lusta framgang; Lat. de successu et delectacione voluntatis mee
10 **W**æy] B (180va), C (181^{vb}) **S**ee; Lat. Ecce
21 bærgh. j. diuppa] B (180va) biærgh ok diupa; C (182ra) biærgh oc dywpa; Lat. montem in profundam

19

graf. **J** fyrsta. wægenom. mærkistz mi*n*na.
høgfærd. framgang*i*r. **H**wilkin som war my-
kit lius þwi at þæ bældhin. som. fram.
gaar. af høgfærdennæ. syntistz. swa. mykit
j minom øghom. at æk. þæingthæ. æy. hæ*n*næ
ændhæ. ok. þwi war æk blindh. **J**. adrom.
wægænom. mærkistz olydnan. **W**issalighæ.
odlydnonnæ timæ ær. æy. langh*i*r. j þæsso
lifwæ. þwi at eptær dødræn. nødgastz ma*n*.
nin at lydhæ. þwi war. han mik langh*i*r.
at naar æk framgæk. æit fæt. j.
skryptamalænnæ audmiukt apt*ir* skræidh
æk. æit trin þwi. at æk wildæ. at widh*i*r.
gafnna. syndhæn. skullæ. forlatastz En.
æy. wildæ. æk ffly. syndæna. ept*ir*. skrypta-
malæn. O þwi stood. æk. æy. stadugh. j.
lydnænnæ. fætæ. **V**tta*n*. æk. attær skræid j.
syndæna. swa som þæn. so*m*. skrid*i*r. a jis.
Þwi at min wili war kaldh*i*r. æy wiliandæ.
laatæ af. þæim. þingom som mik lustadistz

1 g\r/af
1 mi*n*na] bicameral “a”.
8 odlydnonnæ] read “olydnonnæ”.
11 naar] both occurrences of “a” are bicameral.
11 There is a hole (15 mm by 4.5 mm) in the manuscript between “æk” and “framgæk”.
13 æk. æit] there is a dot in the centre of the “æ” in “æk”.
14 gafnna] second “a” is bicameral.
16 O] read “Ok”.

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4 syntistz] B (180^{vb}) sken; C (182ra) skeen; Lat. resplenduit
19 min wili] B (180^{vb}) min vili; C (182ra) min wili; Lat. voluntas
20 lustadistz] B (180^{vb}), C (182ra) lustadho; Lat. delectabant

20

Ok swa. naar. æk. fram gæk. æit tiin þwi.
at æk wildæ annan tidh. æft*ir*. skriftamalom.
giora. syndænæ. hwilka mik lystæ. **Þ**ridi
wægæn. war. at æk. hopastz. wmygæligit
Som war. **a**t mugha. giora syndæna. **O**k
æy. fa langhæ pino. **O**k mugha. jamwæll.
læingæ. lifwa at døzæns. stund. skuldæ
æy nalkastz. **O**k naar æk hafdæ. fra*m*gæn.
git. wm þænnæ. wæghæn. **K**om æpt*ir*. mik.
brad*ir*. storm*ir*. som war dødæn. **H**wilkin.
som. græip mik af. æino ar*e*. ok.
till annat. ok wm kolkastadæ mina
føtar. m*ædh* siukdomsens pino **E**n hwat.
waro. føtærnæ wttan naar siukdomæ*n*.
nalkadistz. formattæ æk. litit agthæ.
kropsens. nytlik hæid *ok* mi*n*na sialænna.
hæilso **Þ**wi fæll æk j diupa graf. naar.
hiartat sprak. som høgxst war j høg-
færdennæ *ok* hart j syndæ*n*næ **O**k sialen.
fæll diupliga j pino*n*næ graf. **F**or. sy-
nddæna. þwi war þæ*n*næ wægæn

1 tiin] read “triin”.
3 Þridi] there is a dot in the centre of the capital letter “Þ”.
5 Ok] there is a dot in the centre of the capital letter “O”.
6 fa] there is a dot in the centre of the “a”.
6 pino] there is a dot in the centre of the “p”.
11 There is a hole in the manuscript between “af.” and “æino”.
12 mina] bicameral “a”.
16 nytlik hæid] read “nytlikhæid”. There is a 2.5-mm gap between the “k” and the “h”. Cf. *p*. 3: 11 “nẏtteligh heit”.
16 sialænna] there is an otiose nasal stroke over “æn” (“sialæ*n*nna.”).

1–3 **O**k swa. naar. æk. fram gæk. æit tiin þwi. at æk wildæ annan tidh. æft*i*r. skriftamalom. giora. syndænæ. hwilka mik lystæ] B (180^{vb}) **O**k swa nar jak framgik eet fiæt atirskredh iak eet trin thy at iak ville anna*n*tidh æpt*ir* sc*ri*ptamalin gøra syndena som mik lyste; C (182ra) **O**c swa nar iak framgik eet fiæt at*i*r skreedh iak eet thrin thy at iak ville anna*n*-tidh æpt*i*r sc*ri*ptamalin gøra syndena som mik lyste; Lat. Sic ergo, quando processi ad vnum vestigium confitendo peccata, relabebar ad passum, quia volui peccata et delectancia me confessa iterare
7 døzæns. stund] B (180^{vb}) døzsins stu*n*d ælla time; C (182ra) dødzsins stund; Lat. horam mortis
11 som. græip mik] B (180^{vb}) som gripa*n*de mik ok ledhande; C (182ra) som grypande mik. ok leedhande; Lat. apprehendens me
16–17 kropsens. nytlik hæid *ok* mi*n*na sialænna. hæilso] B (180^{vb}) kropsins nytto ælla min lusta ok ey mi*n*a siæl helso; C (182ra) kropsins nytto ælla min lusta oc ey mina siæl helso; Lat. corporis vtilitatem et minus anime salutem
18 høgxst] B (180^{vb}), C (182ra) høght; Lat. altum
21–24: 1 þæ*n*næ wægæn mykit langh*i*r] B (180^{vb}) th*e*nne væghin mik mykyt lang*ir*; C (182$^{ra–b}$) th*e*nne væghin mik my|kit lang*i*r; Lat. hec via nimis longa

21

mykit langh*i*r. þwi at langa. pinan byria-
dez. naar kiotzæns ændhadez. **O** min mod*i*r.
Wæ. ær mik þy. at alt þ*æt*ta som ek nam af.
þik m*ædh* glædi. **Þ***æ*tt gæld*i*r. æk nw m*ædh* graat. **Þ**ær.
æft*i*r. taladæ. sama døda. dottærræ*n*. till gudz
brwd. swa sægiandæ. **H**øyr. þw. som.
mik sææ. þik synistz. at mit hofwt. ok
anliti ær swa som. thordæn. m*ædh*. liughn.
ældh. **J**nnan till ok wtta*n*. halsæn. *ok* briu-
stæt. swa som sat j præs. m*ædh*. langom.
spikom **a**rmanæ ok. føta*n*næ æra. swaso*m*.
langæ orma. **O**k kwidræn. slaz. m*ædh* har-
dom. hambrom. **L**aaræn. *ok* skinubæin æro.
swasom fliutandæ watn. **A**f hwstagx.
jakklom. **O**k æn ær æin pina jnnan.
till mik bæiskar*e*. æn alla þæssæ swasom.
wm. æn nokor mænniskia waræ. j.
hwilkæ all. lifwandiz andharwm waro.
afta. teft ok alla. aadronæ. fulla m*ædh*.
wæd*i*r. ***ok*** þrængdo sik till hiartath.

2 kiotzæns ændhadez] read “kiotzæns lif ændhadez”.
4 \\þik// \m*ædh*/
12 [a>o]rma] the bottom tail of the “a” has been erased. See the note in the commentary in section 11.1.
14 Af] the capital letter comprises a large bicameral “a”.
16 alla þæssæ] the two words are joined by a stroke from the second “a” to the “þ”.
b. rt. There is a hole (5.5 mm by 3 mm) in the manuscript on the right-hand side of the page.

1–2 langa. pinan. byriadez. naar kiotzæns ændhadez] B (180^{vb}) langa pinona byriadhos bradhelica nar køtzsins liff ændadhis; C (182^{rb}) longa pinona buriadhos bradhelica nar køtzsins liiff ændadhis; Lat. vita carnis finita pena longa cito inchoabatur
5–6 gudz brwd. swa sægiandæ] B (180^{vb}) gudz brudh som th*ett*a saa sighia*n*de; C (182^{rb}) gudz brudh som th*ett*a saa sighiande; Lat. sponsam, que hec videbat, dicens
12 arma] B (181ra), C (182^{rb}) orma; Lat. serpentes
12–13 m*ædh* hardom. hambrom] B (181ra), C (182^{rb}) m*edh* storom hambro*m*; Lat. cum duris malleis
14–15 Af hwstagx. jakklom] B (181ra) aff hws thakx yklom; C (182^{rb}) aff hws takx yklom; Lat. de canalibus tecti pendes congelata

22

hwilkit som till byriadhæ at bristæ. foræ
vædærsæns. makt. ok. ofw*ir*uældi. swa.
ær æk. arm. jnnan till skipat f*irir*. høgfær.
donnæ. wædh*ir*. hwilkin mik war alrækæ-
ræstæ. / . þoo. ær æk. j misku*n*nænæ. wægh.
þy. at j mino*m*. hardastæ. siukdoom skrif-
tadhæ. æk mik som. æk. bæzt. ku*n*næ. ok.
þoo af ræddugha. En. nær. dødræn nalk.-
kadistz kom mik mi*n*s gudz pino skod.
ælsæ j hwgh. at hon war mykklo bæ-
iskar*e* ok hardar*e*. en min pinæ. hwilka.
æk war wærd at þola. f*irir* mina wo*n*da
forskullæn. Ok af þylikom þanka. fæk.
æk gratandæ. taara. at gudz. kærlæik*ir*.
war swa. stoor. till mik. *ok* min swa.
litin till hans. Ok. þa æk saa till
hans. m*ædh*. mi*n*s samuitz øghom. Ok.
æk sagdæ. O. h*err*æ. æk trwr þik
wara min gud *ok* jomfrunnæ soon.

6 sk\r/if-

10 hwgh.] the *punctus* is misshapen and comprises a 2-mm top-left to bottom-right diagonal stroke, that may have been intended as the beginning of a letter, which the scribe abandoned.

13 Ok] there is a dot in the centre of the capital letter "O".

16 Ok] there is a dot in the centre of the capital letter "O".

16 Ok. þa æk saa] read "Ok. þa saa æk".

17 O] there is a dot in the centre of the capital letter "O".

b. lt. There is a hole (5.5 mm by 3 mm) in the manuscript on the left-hand side of the page.

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3 arm] B (181ra) vsulik; C (182^{rb}) wsulik; Lat. miserabiliter

10–11 bæiskar*e* ok hardar*e*] B (181ra) hardhar*e* ok beskar*e*; C (182^{rb}) hardhar*e* oc beskar*e*; Lat. grauior et amarior

11 en min pinæ] B (181ra) Æn min pina; C (182^{rb}) æn min pina; Lat. quam mea (*passio understood*)

14 gratandæ. taara] B (181ra), C (182^{rb}) taara gratande; Lat. lacrimas ingemiscens

15 till mik] B (181ra), C (182^{rb}) til min; Lat. ad me

18–19 O. h*err*æ. æk trwr þik wara min gud *ok* jomfrunnæ soon] B (181ra) O h*er*ra gudh iak tro thik vara min gudh ok jomf*ru*na son; C (182^{rb}) **O** h*er*ra gudh iak tro thik wara min gudh oc iomfrwnna son; Lat. O Domine, ego credo te Deum meum

23

miskun*n*a mik. for þina bæiska pino þý.
at hær æptæ. skullæ æk g*er*na bættra. m*i*t.
lifærnæ. wm æk hafdæ timæ. Ok j þ*æ*im.
pungteno*m*. war æin kærlæikx gnista.
wptænd. j mino hiarta. m*ædh* hwilkæ *Christ*i.
pina syntistz mik bæiskar*e* æn min.
dødh*i*r. ok þa sprak. hiartat *ok* min
saal. kom. gænstæ. j diofla. hændh*i*r.
þwi at æý war wardugt. at fægh.-
rindænnæ. ængla. skullæ nalkastz. sua.
wanskapadæ saall. æn naar diofla*n*ne.
ropadæ. j gudz doom. ok. baado mina
sall dømastz. till hæluit*is*. Swaradæ
domaræn. Ek saa æina kærlæ ks
gnisto. j hænna. hiartæ. hwilkin. æy.
skall wt. sløkkiastz. wtta*n* wara. j
mi*n*ne aasyn. Ok. þwi døm*i*r. æk saa-
læna. till ræinsilsæ till þæs. hon.
wardh*i*r. wærdælighæ. ræinsat ok.

2 m*i*\t/
3 Ok] there is a dot in the centre of the capital letter "O".
5 wptænd] the "w" has a dot underneath it.
5 *Christ*\i/
13 [u>S]waradæ
14 kærlæ[s][l>k]s] the "s" has been deleted through erasure leaving a space in the middle of the word. Read "kærlæks" or "kærlæiks".
17 Ok] there is a dot in the centre of the capital letter "O".
18 ræinsi[s>l]sæ] the "s" has been transformed with the help of erasure.
19–24: 1 ok. ok] dittography.

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1 misku*n*na mik] B (181ra), C (182^{rb}) misku*n*na mik; Lat. Miserere mei, fili virginis
7–9 *ok* min saal. kom. gænstæ. j diofla. hændh*ir*. þwi at æy war wardugt] B (181ra) ok min siæl kom tha ginstan j diæfla*n*na hæ*ndir* thy at ey var værdhokt; C (182va) oc min siæl kom tha gi*n*stan j dyæflanna hænd*ir* thy at ey war værdhogt; Lat. et anima mea venit in manus demonum presentanda iudicio Dei. Ideo autem venit in manus demonum, quia indignum fuit
11–13 æn naar diofla*n*ne. ropadæ. j gudz doom. ok. baado mina sall dømastz. till hæluit*is*] B (181ra) Æn nar diæflane ropadho j gudz dom mi*n*a siæl dømas til hæluit*is*; C (182va) Æn nar dyæfflane ropadho i gudz dom mina siæl dømas til hæluitis; Lat. In iudicio autem Dei cum demones clamarent animam meam iudicari ad infernum
14 Ek saa] B (181ra) Jak see; C (182va) Jak see; Lat. Video ego

24

ok verdogh at fa nad / En mat þu spiriaa vm
ek w*erdi*r luttakandæ allra godha þinga s*o*m
gioras f*irir* mik Ek swarar þik vm lik
nilsæ. Swa sæm. vm þu / saghe twa vaghe
hengia f*irir*. þik. Ok i andro varo blý naturlika
nidh*i*rdræghande Ok i andre nokot læth høgxt
vpforande / huru myklo flere þingh. ok stør-
-re lagdhos i þoma vagheno. swa mýklo ras-
-kare vplýptis þe þoma væghskalen. Swa ær
ok m*ædh* mik. þwý. at huaru høghre ek var j
sýndinne. swa mýklo diupare nidh*i*r sank ek
i pinona. Ok þuý hwadh sæm helstz sæm
gørs f*irir* mik til gudh heidh*i*r. Ok særdelis ræt-
uisa manna. Ok gudhz vina bøne. Ok þe godh-
g*er*ninga sæm gøras af væl afladho goodze
Ok kærleiks g*er*ni*n*ga. Ok þolik þingh. lata mik
daghlika nalkas gudhi. Þær æft*i*r taladhe ma-
-ria gudz modh*i*r til brudhinna. Tu vndrar
huru ek sæm ær himmerikis drøtningh. Ok þu sæm
lifu*ir* i værldhinne / ok þe salen sæm ær j skæær-
-sloo ælde. Ok a*n*nur ær j heluite talum saman
Ek skal væl sæghia þik þ*æt*. Visselika aldre

1–3 These lines written by Hand 3.
1 spiriaa] possibly “spiri[a]a” through expunction. There is a dot under the first “a”.
3 lik[nesæ]] crossed out with one thick horizontal line.
4 Hand 1 begins.
4 þu / saghe] the *diastole* has been used by the scribe to separate the words “þu” and “saghe”, which are written together as one word in the manuscript.
7 vpforande] possibly “vpfarande”.
9 -kare] the “a” is similar in shape to an “o”.
13 gudh] read “gudhz”.
15 g*er*ninga [af]] crossed out with a single line.
19 ek \sæm/
22 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the left-hand margin.

4–5 twa vaghe hengia f*i*r*i*r. þik] B (181^{rb}), C (182va) twa vaagha hængia for*e* thik; Lat. duas stateras pendere
6–7 læth høgxt vpforande] B (181^{rb}) læt høght opfarande; C (182va) læt høght vpfarande; Lat. leue tendens sursum
9 þe þoma væghskalen] B (181^{rb}) the thu*n*go væghskalina; C (182va) the thungo væghskalina; Lat. stateram aliam, que ponderosa et grauis est
10 huaru høghre] B (181^{rb}), C (182va) huru myklo høghr*e*; Lat. quanto alcius
13 f*i*r*i*r mik til gudh heidhir. Ok særdelis] B (181^{rb}) for mik til gudz hedh*i*r ok særlica; C (182va) for mik til gudz hedh*i*r/ oc særlica; Lat. ad honorem Dei pro me, eleuat me de pena, et specialiter
14 bøne] B (181^{rb}), C (182va) bøne; Lat. oracio et bonum
15 væl] B (181^{rb}), C (182va) rættelica; Lat. bene
17–18 maria gudz modh*i*r] B (181^{rb}), C (182va) gudz modh*i*r; Lat. mater Dei

25

gaar ek af hýmerike þý at ek skal aldre skø-
-liatz af gudz sýyn. Ok eig skal siælin sæm ær
i heluiti skyliatz af pinomin. Ok eig þe salin
af skærsslo ælde. før en hoon ær rinsat. Ok
eig skal tu komo till os før en þu æst skýld
vidh*i*r kroppen. vtan þiin saal m*ædh* þinom vn-
-dirstandilsæm vplýptis m*ædh* gudz anda dýgdh
at høra gudhz ord j himerike. Ok þik lofuodz
at vita nokra pino i heluiti / Ok skærssloo
ælde. Oondom til varilse. ok godhom til hug-
-nadh ok þrifnadh. þo skalt tu vita at þin
likame. Ok þin saal. æra soman føgdh i iord-
-rike vtan þæn helge ande giifuir þik vn-
-dirstandilsse at vndirstanda hans vilia
Gudhz son taladhe til sinna brudh. s*anc*ta [Section 2]
birgitto. sighiande. Ek er skapare
himmels. ok iordh. ok min sand*i*r likame
ær þ*æt* sæm vighis a altareno. ælska mik
af alla hiærta firi þý at ek elskadhe þik
Ok anduardhade mik siælfuiliandis mino*m*
ouino*m*. Ok mine vini. ok min modh*i*r aft*i*r
blifuu i beezskasto sorgh *ok* graat. Naar
ek saa spiutith. spikana. giisslana. Ok

15 There is an erasure in the left-hand margin, that probably deletes a guide letter.
15 s*anc*ta] the "s" is rubricated in green ink.
15 The reference "I 11" is written in black ink in the right-hand margin by a later hand and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.
15–16 The "G" is plain and rubricated in green ink.
20 anduardhade] the third "a" is misshapen and may be a substitution: "anduardh[e>a]de".

1–2 skøliatz] B (181^{rb}) skilias; C (182va) skylias; Lat. separabor
13–14 þæn helge ande giifuir þik vndirstandilsse] B (181^{rb}) th*e*n hæghe ande hulkin som ær j himerike giu*i*r thik vnd*i*rstandilse; C (182va) th*e*n hælghe ande hwilkin so*m* ær j himerike gifu*i*r thik vnd*i*rstandilse; Lat. Spiritus Sanctus dat intelligenciam tibi, qui est in celis
14 No *declaratio* at the end of the revelation] B, C No *declaratio*; Lat. Declaratio. Hic loquitur de tribus mulieribus, quarum tercia intrauit monasterium, agens residuum vite sue in magna perfeccione
15 No introductory heading to the revelation] B (11va) **vars h*e*rra ih*e*su *christ*i ordh til sina brudh hulkaledhis ha*n* anduardadhe sik siælf viliandis sino*m* ouino*m* som h*an*om korsfæsto ok sigh*i*r hænne huru ho*n* skal atirhallelica liua j allom limom aff allom oloflico*m* thingom m*edh* ha*n*s pino æptedøme Ca*pitulu*m xi**; C (10va) **Uars h*e*rra jh*e*su *christ*i ordh til sinna brudh hwilkaledhis han antwardhadhe sik siælfwiliandis sinom owinom som honom korsfæsto oc sigh*i*r hænne hwru hon scal at*i*r hallelica liwa j allom limom aff allom olofflicom thingom m*edh* hans pino æptedøme Ca*pitulu*m xj**; Lat. Verba Christi ad sponsam, qualiter se tradidit spontanee suis inimicis crucifixoribus, et de modo viuendi in continencia omnium membrorum ab illicitis motibus exemplo sue dulcissime passionis. Capitulum XI.
15–16 sinna brudh. s*anc*ta birgitto] B (11va) si*n*na brudh; C (10va) sinna brudh; Lat. sponsam
16–17 Ek er skapare himmels. ok iordh] B (11va) iak ær skap*ar*e himels oc jordz; C (10va) scapar*e* himildz oc iordz; Lat. Ego sum creator celi et terre
23 giisslana] B (11^{vb}), C (10va) flængionar; Lat. flagella

26

annar þingh til reidh til minna pino / eig þý
siidhir gik ek gladhlika fram til pino*n*na. Naar
Naar mit hofwd var hwarwægh blodhokt
giort af þoorna krono*n*ne. Ok blodhit fløth
alla væghna. En ouinine hafde æn formaghit
hanna mit hierta. hællir hafde ek viliad lata
hiertadh sarghas. ok syndirskæras. en ek hafde
vilit mista þik. Þý æst tu mýkit oþæk at mino*m*
nadhom en tu ælskar eig mik f*irir* swa storan
kærleek. Thý mædhan mit hofwd var pinat
ok nidh*i*rbøkt a korseno firir þik Skal þit
hofwd nidhrbøghias til ødhmiwkt. þý at miin
øghon varo bloodhfuldh. ok full m*ædh* tarom
þý skulu þiin øghon afhaldas af lostelike
syyn. þý at miin øron vpfýltis m*ædh* bloodh. Ok
hørdo vbrýgdilsa ord. þý skulu þiin øron
borth vændas af skøre ok okwæmlike talan
þý at min mun drak beezskan drik Ok var
for budhin af godhom drik. þý skal þin
mun atirlýkkias af illum þinghom Ok
vplatas til godh þing / Ok f*irir* þæn skuld
at mina hendir varo wtþændar m*ædh*

2–3 Naar Naar] dittography.
12 nidhrbøghias] read “nidhirbøghias”.
13 full] there is a 1-mm long tittle above the “u”.

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5 En] B (11^{vb}), C (10va) **V**m; Lat. si
5–6 hafde æn formaghit hanna] B (11^{vb}) hafdhin æmuæl ha*n*nat; C (10va) hafdhin æmwæl hannat; Lat. adhuc (inimici) tetigissent
6–7 hællir hafde ek viliad lata hiertadh sarghas. ok syndirskæras] B (11^{vb}) hællir hafdhe jak latit th*et* sargha oc sund*ir* skæra; C (10va) hæll*ir* hafdhe iak latit th*et* sargha oc sund*ir* skæra; Lat. magis hoc paterer diuidi et vulnerari
7–8 hafde vilit] B (11^{vb}) vilde; C (10va) wilde; Lat. vellem
8–9 Þý æst tu mýkit oþæk at mino*m* nadhom] B (11^{vb}) thy æst thu mykyt othæk; C (10va) thy æst tw mykit othæk; Lat. Propterea nimis ingrata es
9 en] B (11^{vb}), C (10va), vm; Lat. si
10 pinat] B (11^{vb}), C (10va) stu*n*git; Lat. punctum
13 bloodhfuldh] B (11^{vb}), C (10^{vb}) blodhogh; Lat. sanguinolenti
16 vbrýgdilsa ord] B (11^{vb}) hadhelik ok smælik thing ok ordh; C (10^{vb}) hadhelik oc smælik thing oc ordh; Lat. verba detraccionis mee
18–19 þý at min mun drak beezskan drik Ok var for budhin af godhom drik] B (11^{vb}) **O**k for thy at mino*m* mu*n*ne var drikka gifwit m*edh* beskasta dryk oc nokat oc forbudhit at smaka godha*n* dryk; C (10^{vb}) **O**c for thy at mino*m* mu*n*ne war drikka giwit m*edh* beskasta dryk/ oc forbudhit ad drikka godhan dryk; Lat. Quia eciam os meum potatum est amarissima potacione et prohibitum a bona
20 illum] B (11^{vb}) ondo*m*; C (10^{vb}) ondom; Lat. malis
22 wtþændar] B (11^{vb}) vt draghna og ginomslaghna; C (10^{vb}) wt draghna oc gøno*m* slaghna; Lat. extense

27

iærnspikom. þý skulu þina hend*ir*. huilka sæm
teeknas i handomen. wthrækkias til fatogha
men. Ok til miin budhordh þine føtir sæm æra
þiin astundilsse. m*ædh* huilkom tu skalt ga til mik
skulu korfæstas ok atirhaldas af wrangom
lustom. At swa sæm ek pintis i allo*m* mino*m* limo*m*
Swa skulu alle þine limi vara redhobone til
minna tiænisto. før þæn skuldh. jak wtkræfu*ir*
mera tiænist af þik en af androm þý at ek
giordhe þik mera naadh

Ek kærer at ek gudh. Ok allra þinga [Section 3]
skapare. ær sýndogho*m* m*ann*om tunger swa-
-sæm stæin. Ek smakar þæim swaso*m* eitir. Ek ær
i þeira swalghe swaso*m* smolo. Se huru ek ær bort-
rækin af allum. Se hwad mik atirgælds firir
min kærleek. Ek skapadhe þæim. Ek atirløsthe
þæim / m*ædh* swa storom iæmnadh. Ok rætuiso swa-
-sæm vm liiknilse sæghiande. At vm vaagh
ælla mætskaal vare fore sat. j huilka ræth-
-lika skulde væghas / satte ek eig annat en
mit eghit hierta. Ek var fød*ir*. / ok vmkring
skoren. Ek hafde mangfall drøuillse. ok
arbeidhe. Ek hørdhe værsta ordh. ok vbrýg
-dilse. Ek var fangen. ok m*ædh* repom bundhen

1 iær\n/spikom
1 hend*ir*] does not make sense in this context. It should probably read “gerninga”. See comp. app.
5 korfæstas] read “korsfæstas”.
6 At] the capital letter comprises a bicameral “a” with a flourish running back through the shaft.

7 alle] bicameral “a” with a flourish running back through the shaft.
10–11 There is a pale capital letter “E” in the right-hand margin.
11–12 The “E” is plain and rubricated in green ink.
11 The reference “IV 130” is written in black ink by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Old Swedish version.
15 atirgæl\d/s] the “d” is written above and between the “æ” and the “l”.
18 At] the capital letter comprises a bicameral “a” with a flourish running back through the shaft.
20–21 An elongated paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the right-hand margin.
b. rt. “jfr I 10 en bit” is written in pencil by a later hand and refers to Liber I 10.

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1 þina hend*i*r] B (11^{vb}) thina g*er*ni*n*ga; C (10^{vb}) thina g*er*ninga; Lat. opera tua
2–3 til fatogha men. Ok til miin budhordh] B (11^{vb}) til [mik] min budhordh ok til fatika mæn; C (10^{vb}) til min budhordh oc til fatika mæn; Lat. ad pauperes et ad precepta mea
5–6 skulu korfæstas ok atirhaldas af wrangom lustom] B (11^{vb}) skulu korsfestas ok atir hallas af wrangom lustom; C (10^{vb}) sculu korsfæstas oc atirhallas aff wrangom lustom; Lat. crucifigantur a voluptatibus
6 ek pintis i allo*m* mino*m* limo*m*] B (11^{vb}) jak var pinadh*i*r i allo*m* limom; C (10^{vb}) iak war pinadh*i*r j allom limo*m*; Lat. in omnibus membris passus sum
7 Swa skulu alle þine limi vara; B (11^{vb}) Sua vari alla thine limi; C (10^{vb}) Swa wari alla thine limi; Lat. sic omnia membra tua … sint
8–10 før þæn skuldh. jak wtkræfu*i*r mera tiænist af þik en af androm þý at ek giordhe þik mera naadh] B (11^{vb}) thy at jak meera vtkræwir af thik æn af androm thy at jak giordhe mer*e* nadh m*edh* thik; C (10^{vb}) thy at iak mera wtkræfu*i*r aff thik æn aff androm thy at iak giordhe mer*e* nadh m*edh* thik; Lat. quia maiorem graciam fecit tibi
11 **E**k kærer] B (129^{rb}: 36–129va: 41) **G**wz son taladhe … oc thw skalt finna; C (134ra: 28–134^{rb}: 42) **G**udz son taladhe … oc thw scalt finna; Frag. 3c (1ra) ⟨Gud⟩dz søn taladhe … thu scalt finna; Lat. **Christus ostendes hic cuidam archiepiscopo**, … et clerum totum, et inuenies; see the note in the commentary in section 11.1.
12 sỳndogho*m* m*ann*om] B (129^{vb}) thom; C (134^{rb}), Frag. 3c (1ra) thøm; Lat. eis
14–15 bortrækin af allum] B (129^{vb}) bortkørdh*i*r; C (134va) bort kørdh*i*r; Frag. 3c (1ra) borth-wrakin; Lat. abiectus
15 Se hwad] B (129^{vb}) oc huat; C (134va), Frag. 3c (1ra) oc hwat; Lat. Ecce, quid
16 min kærleek] B (129^{vb}) kærlek; C (134va) k*æ*rleek; Frag. 3c (1ra) kærleek; Lat. caritate
16 Ek atirløsthe] B (129^{vb}) oc atirløste; C (134va) oc at*i*rløste; Lat. et redemi
17–19 swasæm vm liiknilse sæghiande. At vm vaagh ælla mætskaal vare fore sat] B (129^{vb}) **S**wasom mætskal var*e* framsat; C (134va) **S**wa som mætskaal war*e* framsat; Frag. 3c (1ra) ⟨… so⟩m mætskaal ware framsat; Lat. ac si per similitudinem loquendo statera esset coram me posita
23 arbeidhe] B (129^{vb}) æruodhe; C (134va) ærwodhe; Frag. 3c (1ra) ⟨ær⟩wodhe; Lat. labores
24–28: 1 Ek var fangen. ok m*ædh* repom bundhen Ek var flængdir] B (129^{vb}) Jak var fangin oc flængdir oc bu*n*din m*edh* r*e*pom; C (134va) Jak war fangin oc flængdh*i*r oc bundin m*edh* repom; Frag. 3c (1ra) Jak | ⟨…⟩ oc flæn⟨g⟩dir oc bu*n*din m*edh* repom; Lat. Captiuatus sum et flagellatus, funibus ligatus sum

28

Ek var flængdir. Ok swa sæm i præs pinadh*i*r
mina sinw wtþandis / Adhrona brustho. Ok all
lidhamoten sundh*i*r løsthos / Min hiæsse. ok
alt howdhit sarghadhis af þorna krono*n*na
stiongum / blodhit nidhir flitande. lifrad-
-dhis i enneno ok skæggeno. ok mu*n*nin ok
tunghan blødghadhis af blotzins nidhir
-flẏtilsæm. Tannaholdit trutmadhe af pws-
-tom. en ek var wtþand*i*r a korsena / Min hals
hafde æinkte at bøia sik til vtan mina axlla
Mine arma droghos m*ædh* repom til krossens
buru. føtirne nidhir draghne / Ok m*ædh* þuæim
iærnspikom ginom boradhe hafdo eig adhro
studh en spikana. Alla mina i*n*elfue varo þorra
Ok kroppin. Mit hiærta var fult m*ædh* sorgh ok
værk. Ok firir þen skuld at þ*æt* var af bezsto
natura gik værken stundom af sarghadom sino-
-men ok til hiertadh. Ok annan tiidh af hiærta-
-no. ok til sino*n*na. Ok swa øktis værkin. ok dødh-
-in længdis Naar ek stoodh swa værkxfullir vp-
-lææt ek miin øghon. ok sagh ek mina modhir
næærstandande gratande. huilka hierta fult
var m*ædh* beezslikheit / huilko alla-limi storkna-
-dho. Ok bleeknadho / huilka ve mik pinadhe

2 Adhrona] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.

7 blotzins] the final minim of the "n" is dotted, but the preceding "i" has a disambiguating, elongated acute accent above it.

14 Alla] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" with a flourish running back through the shaft.

20 læ\n/gdis

4–5 þorna krono*n*na stiongum] B (129^{vb}) thorna*n*na stiu*n*gom; C (134va) thorna*n*na stu*n*giom; Lat. puncturis spinarum

5–8 blodhit nidhir flitande. lifraddhis i enneno ok skæggeno. ok mu*n*nin ok tunghan blødghadhis af blotzins nidhirflẏtilsæm] B (129^{vb}) **A**lt ænlitit oc skæggit oc mu*n*nen oc tu*n*gan fyltos ok hyldis m*edh* lifradho blodhe; C (134va) **A**lt ænlitit oc skæggit oc munnin oc thu*n*gan fyltos oc huldis m*edh* lifradho blodhe; Lat. Sanguis defluens coagulatus deturpabat faciem totam et barbam. Os et lingua similiter inficiebantur sanguine

8 Tannaholdit] B (129^{vb}), C (134va) **T**anna køtit oc kinder*n*a; Lat. Gingiue

9 Min hals] B (129^{vb}) **M**it hofwodh; C (134va) **M**ith houodh; Lat. Collum meum

15–16 m*ædh* sorgh ok værk] B (129^{vb}), C (134va) m*edh* sorgh oc værk; Lat. dolore

16–17 af bezsto natura] B (129^{vb}) aldra starkast oc aff bæzsta natur; C (134va) aldra starkast oc aff bæzsta natwr; Lat. nature et optime

17–18 af sarghadom sinomen] B (129^{vb}), C (134va) aff sinomen; Lat. ad neruos

20–22 vplææt ek miin øghon. ok sagh ek mina modhir næærstandande gratande] B (129^{vb}) saa jak mina modh*i*r grata*n*de nær staa; C (134va) saa iak mina modh*i*r gratande nær staa; Lat. aperui oculos meos et vidi matrem meam flentem astare

23 m*ædh* beezslikheit] B (129^{vb}) m*edh* sorgh ok besklikhet; C (134va) m*edh* sorgh oc besklikhet; Lat. amaritudine

23–24 storknadho] B (129^{vb}), C (134va) kolnadho; Lat. diriguerunt

24 ve] B (129^{vb}), C (134va) sorgh oc drøuilse; Lat. ve et amaritudo

29

meir en min eghin værk*i*r Ek sa æmuæll
mina vini vara i mesthom ængxla / af
huilkom somlikæ iæfhadho. ok somlike gøm-
-do trona. æn þo at þe mẏkit drøfdis. Ok naar
ek stoodh i þoliko ve ok værk / sprak hiertadh
vm sidhe f*i*r*i*r pino*n*na ængxliko mẏklikheit. / ok
siælin gik wt. þ*æ*r eptir vplypte howdhit sik li-
-tidh. Alle limine skuluo / øghonin vplyptis swa-
-sæm til halfs / føtirne vppehioldo allan krop-
-sins tunga / . Ok ek hengde swa sæm sundh*i*r sli-
-tit klædhe Se ek þin skapare. þolde þolika
þuingh. Ok þolik þuing aktar ænghin. þ*æ*tta
kærer ek f*i*r*i*r. þik at tu skuli skodho. hwad ek
giordhe ok hwadh mik atirgiælds
Gwdhz modh*i*r taladhe til brudhrinna [Section 4]
sighiande. firir þre syndir kom
plaghan iuir rikith. swa sæm f*i*r*i*r høgfærdh
ok oatirhaldh. ok giri. Ok þy ma gudh bli-
-dhkas. vm þrẏ þing / at plaghonna time
skuli stẏntas. fẏrsta ær. at alle skulu taka
sanna ødhmiwkt i klædhom / hafuande
matelik klædhe eig mẏkit lang ok siidh
m*ædh* quinno sidhi. Ok eig mẏkit stunt

8 Alle] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" with a flourish running back through the shaft.

14 A very pale ink mark in the right-hand margin. It could possibly be the remains of a paraph, but more closely resembles a capital "A".

15–16 The "G" is plain and rubricated in green ink.

15 The guide letter "g" can be seen in the left-hand margin.

15 The reference "VIII 57" is written in black ink by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.

b. rt. The corner of the page (72 mm by 15 mm) has been cut off.

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1 en min eghin værk*i*r] B (129^{vb}), C (134va) æn min eghin værk*ir*; Lat. quam proprium

1 æmuæll] B (129^{vb}) ok; C (134va) oc; Lat. eciam

3–4 somlikæ iæfhadho. ok somlike gømdo trona] B (129^{vb}) somlike aff tho*m* iafwadho at iak var*e* gudh oc somlike trodho; C (134va) somlike aff thøm iawadho at iak war*e* gudh oc somlike trodho; Lat. quidam quasi dubitabant, alii seruabant fidem

5–7 ek stoodh i þoliko ve ok værk / sprak hiertadh vm sidhe f*irir* pino*n*na ængxliko mẏklikheit. / ok siælin gik wt] B (130ra) iak bleff standande j tholkom værk oc vee/ brast hiærtat vm sidhe for pinona storlikhet oc værk ok siælin gik vt; C (134va) iak bleff standande j tholikom værk/ oc siælin gik wt; Lat. in tali dolore stante et in tanto ve perseuerante, tandem cor crepuit pre violencia passionis et anima egrediebatur

8–9 vplyptis swasæm til halfs] B (130ra), C (134va) lætos op til halffs; Lat. ad medium aperiebantur

10–11 slitit klædhe] B (130ra) rifwit klædhe oc vanskapat; C (134va) rywit klædhe oc wanscapat; Lat. pannus deformis

11–14 Se ek þin skapare. þolde þolika þuingh. Ok þolik þuing aktar ænghin. þ*æ*tta kærer ek f*irir*. þik at tu skuli skodho. hwad ek giordhe ok hwadh mik atirgiælds] B (130ra) Tholkit tholde iak thin skapa*re* oc ængin aktar th*et*; C (134va) tholkit tholde iak thin scapar*e* oc ængin akt*ir* th*et*; Lat. Ecce talia ego, creator tuus, passus sum, et talia nullus curat. Hec ego conqueror coram te, vt consideres, quid ego feci et quid michi rependitur

15 No introductory heading to the revelation] B (249^{rb}) **gudz modh*ir* sigh*ir* at for thry thing kom plagh*an* ow*ir* riket oc thy ma gudh blidhcas for annor thry godh thing lvij**; Lat. Mater dei dicit sponse, quod propter tria peccata plaga dei venit super regnum, et ideo deus propter alia tria bona placari potest. Primo quod gentes assumant humilitatem veram et honestatem in habitu; secundo per certas elemosinas, tercio processiones et missas hic contentas

16 sighiande] B (249^{rb}) oc sagdhe; Lat. dicens

30

m*ædh* skæmdagæsta sidhi. / Ok eig læppadh. eddir
onẏtlika. ok fafænghlika sundh*i*r skurin þẏ
at þolik þing mistækkias gudhi. Ok skulu
þeir bæra sina likama. høfuislika. at þe. eig sẏ-
-nas større edd*i*r høghre f*irir*. høghfærdh skuldh
æn gudh skapadhe þæim. Ok eig miøre edd*i*r
kleinare f*irir* nokor bandh edd*i*r knøpa. edd*i*r
nokra sløgd*i*r / vtan all þing varin til nytte
-likheit ok gudhz heidh*i*r. Ok kuinnona af-
-læggin æmuæl roosninna klædhe. huilken
þe þoko f*irir* høgfærdh ok fafængo æro. þy at
diæfwlen diktadhe quinnomen firsmandom
sins fædhirnis landz gambla sidhi. Ok oloflika
margha handha osidhi. ok ohøuelik prẏdilsse
j howdhu*m ok* fotom ok andrum limum til vp-
-uækkia scolande skørlimnadh. Ok retaskolonde
gudh til wredhe / Annat ær at almosa skal
gifuas m*ædh* hughsins gladhlikheit. Tridhia ær
at hwar sookna p*re*stir en tima i manadhano*m*
et heelt aar skuli siwnga messo af þe helgo
þrefallikheit. til huilka alt hans sookna-
-folk skuli somo*n* komo m*ædh* idhrugha. ok
giordho*m* skriptomalom fasthande j þæim

7 kleinare] possibly "kleinore".
17 Annat] the capital letter comprises a large bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
b. lt. The corner of the page has been cut off.

1–2 Ok eig læppadh. eddir onýtlika. ok fafænghlika sundh*i*r skurin] B (249^{rb}) ok ey læppadh ælla onyttelica syndirskorin; Lat. nec scissuras vel fissuras vestium dispendiosas et vanas et inutiles
3–4 Ok skulu þeir bæra sina likama. høfuislika] B (249^{rb}) Ok hafwin sina licamma høuisklica; Lat. Corpora eciam sua sic honeste gerant
5 høghfærdh skuldh] B (249^{rb}) høgh færdh ok rosn; Lat. ostentacionem
8 nokra sløgd*i*r] B (249^{rb}) tholka fløghe; Lat. similia artificia
11 f*i*r*ir* høgfærdh] B (249^{rb}) for høghfærdh skuld; Lat. propter superbiam
12 quinnomen firsmandom] B (249^{rb}) tho*m* q*u*innom som forsmadho; Lat. mulieribus contemnentibus
13–14 sins fædhirnis landz gambla sidhi. Ok oloflika margha handha osidhi] B (249^{rb}) sins fædh*i*rnis landz gambla loflica sidhi margha handa osidhi; Lat. mores patrie sue antiquos quandam nouam abusionem
18 m*ædh* hughsins gladhlikheit] B (249^{rb}) m*edh* huxsins glædhelikhet ok godhuilia; Lat. cum hilaritate mentis
22–23 m*ædh* idhrugha. ok giordho*m* skriptomalom] B (249va) m*edh* jdhrugha ok giordho*m* sc*ri*ptamalom; Lat. confessus et contritus

31

daghenom. ok bidhiande aatuakteligha at
sỳndhinnæ skulin forlatæs. Ok gudhz vredhe
blithkæs. biscopane gørin samulæidh i hwariom
manadh vm sik siælfua. ælla sina ænbitzmen
i sinom doomkirkiom hafuande høgtiidhlika pro-
-cessiones. Ok siungande messo. af þe helgo
þrefallikheit / jntakande fatigha men. ok twa-
-nde ødhmiukligha. þeira føtir
*Christ*i brwdh sagde mik sỳntis swa sæm [Section 5A]
konunghen sathe a doomstool. Ok hwar
lifuandhe menniskia. hafde twa staandande nær
sik firir honom. Ok en þeira var at se vppa swa
sæm vænktir riddare. Ok annar swa sæm swar-
ter blaman. firir doomstolenom stodho bokastool
j huilkom book laa. mædh þe mato skipadh sæm
ek fỳrra saa. Naar ek saa. þre konunga firir
domen. Ek saa æmuæll swa sæm all værldhin
stodhe firir bokastolenom. Ok ek hørde domaren
sighia til. þen vænkta riddaren. kalla þæim til
doom. huilkom tu tiænte mædh kærleek. Ok iæmbrat
nidhir follo þe sæm næmdos. Ok somlike lagho
langan tima. Ok somlike stỳntre fỳr æn siælin
skỳldis vidhir kroppen En eig formate ek gripa
al þe þing sæm ek sa ok hørdhe. þỳ at ek
hørdhe margha mænniskio doom. Ok somlighe

9 The reference "IV 50" is written by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.
9–10 The "χ" of the abbreviation for "*Christ*i" is plain and rubricated in green ink.
14 stodho] read "stodh" (the subject "bokastool" is sg.).

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1 bidhiande] B (249va) bidhiande; Lat. orando et obsecrando
3–4 biscopane gørin samulæidh i hwario*m* manadh] B (249va) **B**iscopane samuledh j hwariom manadh; Lat. Episcopi quoque similiter in quolibet mense
6 siungande] B (249va) siongan*d*e; Lat. celebrando
9 No introductory heading to the revelation] B (99^{vb}) **Aff mangra siæla dom l**; C (101^{rb}) **Aff mangra siæla doom C*apitulum***; Lat. Visio incomprehensibilis sponse de iudicio multarum personarum adhuc viuencium, in qua audiuit: "Si homines emendauerint peccata, et ego iudicium mitigabo." Capitulum L.
9 ***Christ***i brwdh sagde mik sẏntis] B (99^{vb}) ***C****Hrist*i brudh sagdhe **M**ik synt*is*; C (101^{rb}) ***C****hrist*i brudh sagdhe **M**ik syntis; Lat. Michi videbatur
10 konu*n*ghen] B (99^{vb}) een konu*ngir*; C (101^{rb}) een konu*ngi*r; Lat. unus rex
10–12 Ok hwar lifuandhe menniskia. hafde twa staandande nær sik firir hono*m*] B (99^{vb}) **O**k huar lifwandis mæ*n*niskia j værldi*n*ne stodhe for ho*nu*m oc huar mæ*n*niskian hafdhe twa standande nær sik; C (101^{rb}) oc hwar liwandis mæ*n*niskia j wærldine stodhe for honom oc hwar mæ*n*niskian hafdhe twa sta*n*dande nær sik; Lat. et quelibet persona viuens staret ante illum; quelibetque persona habebat duos stantes iuxta se
13–14 swarter blaman] B (99^{vb}) suart*ir* blaman; C (101^{rb}) swartir blaman; Lat. Ethyops niger
16–17 firir domen] B (99^{vb}) for ho*nu*m; C (101^{rb}) for hono*m*; Lat. ante eum
17 Ek saa] B (99^{vb}) mik synt*is*; C (101^{rb}) **M**ik syntis; Lat. Vidi
19–20 kalla þæim til doom] B (99^{vb}) **K**alla tho*m* til domin; C (101^{rb}) **K**alla thøm til domin; Lat. "Voca", inquit, "ante iudicium illos …"
20 iæmbrat] B (99^{vb}), C (101^{rb}) ginstan; Lat. mox

32

æra en lifuande. huilke en skulu skýt kallas.
þo var mik swa sakt / en mennene bætra syndena
skal ek milda domen / Ek sa margha dømas som-
-lika til skærllzslo eld. Ok somlika til æw*ær*delikit
ve Mik sýntis. sæm ein siæl p*re*senteradhis firir [Section 5B]
domaren vm riddaren. ok blamannen. ok mik
sagdis / þ*æt* þik nu synis var alt giort ifuir siæ-
-lena i þeim þima hoon skýldis vidh likamen
Naar siælin var p*re*senterad. domareno*m*. stood hon
æinsamin. þý at hoon var i hwarghins þeira
handom sæm hona p*re*senteradho. Hon stoot næ-
-kin ok sorghfull eig vitande. hwart hoon skul-
-de koma. þ*ær* æft*ir* syntis mik at hwart ordh
i bokenne. swaradhe vm sik siælft til all þing
huilken sæm salin taladhe. þa taladhe først
þæn vænkte riddaren. domareno*m* ahørando*m*
ok allo hý*m*merikis herskapi. sighiande. Eig
ær ræthuisa at þe sýndær. huilka bætradha æra
m*ædh* scriptomalom skulu annantiidh vptælias
til siælinna obrýgdilse. þo ek sæm þ*æt* swa
viste vææl. ok fultkomligha. at þæn riddare*n*
sæm tala viste all þing. i gudhi. vtan ha*n*
taladhe at ek skuldhe vndirstandha. þa swa-
-radhis af rætuisonna book. Naar scripto-

4 skærllz[o>s]lo] read “skærzslo”.
5 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the left-hand margin.
5 The reference “IV C 51” is written in black ink by a later hand in the left-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.
19 scriptomalom] there is a dot above the shaft of the “r”.
20 swa] read “saa”.

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2 þo var mik swa sakt] B (99^{vb}), C (101^{rb}) Tho sagdhe domarin mik swa; Lat. Attamen sic dictum est michi a iudice
2 en] B (99^{vb}), C (101^{rb}) vm; Lat. Si
5 No introductory heading to the revelation] B (99^{vb}) **Aff ryghelicom dom ow*ir* ena siæl lj**; C (101^{rb}) **Aff ryghelicom doom ow*i*r ena siæl C*apitulum***; Lat. Visio ammirabilis et terribilis sponse de quadam anima ante iudicem presentata et de opposicionibus Dei et libri iudicii contra animam et de responsionibus anime contra se ipsam et de diuersis penis stupendis sibi ad purgacionem latis. Capitulum LI.
5–6 Mik sỳntis. sæm ein siæl p*re*senteradhis firir domaren vm riddaren. ok blamannen] B (99^{vb}) ***C**Hrist*i brudh sigh*ir* **M**ik synt*is* suasom riddarin oc blama*nn*nin hulka jak saa før p*re*senteradho oc førdho ena siæl for domarin; C (101^{rb}) **M**ik syntis swa som | (101va) riddarin oc blamanin hwilka iak saa før presenteradho/ oc førdho ena siæl for domarin; Lat. Michi videbatur quasi quod una anima per militem et Ethyopem, quos videram prius, ante iudicem presenteratur
7 þ*æt* þik nu synis] B (99^{vb}) th*et* som thik nu synis; C (101va) th*et* som thik nw synis; Lat. “Hoc”, inquit, “quod tibi nunc videtur …”
8 likamen] B (99^{vb}) kroppeno*m*; C (101va) kroppenom; Lat. corpore
9 p*re*senterad. domarenom] B (99^{vb}) p*re*senteradh oc førdh for | (100ra) domarin; C (101va) presenteradh oc førdh for domarin; Lat. ante iudicem presentaretur
17 allo hỳ*m*merikis herskapi] B (100ra) allo himerik*is* hærskapi; C (101va) allo hime*r*ikis he*r*scapi; Lat. omni exercitu eius
17–18 Eig ær ræthuisa] B (100ra) **E**y ær rætuisa; C (101va) **E**y ær rætwisa; Lat. “Non est”, inquit, “iusticia …”
19–20 vptælias til siælinna obrỳgdilse] B (100ra) optælias siælinne til skam ok blygdh; C (101va) optælias siælinne til scam oc blygdh; Lat. replicentur anime ad obprobrium
24–33: 1 Naar scriptomalin giordhos] B (100ra) **N**ar thæsse siælin j lica*m*meno*m* giordhe sin sc*ri*ptamal; C (101va) **N**ar thæsse siælin j likameno*m* giordhe sin sc*ri*ptamaal; Lat. Quando penitencia facta fuit ab ista anima

33

-malin giordhos. fỳlgde eigh værdugh*i*r yd-
-rughe ok san bætringh firir þolika synd*i*r
. þỳ skal hon sørghia f*i*r*i*r þe þing huilkin
hoon eig bætrædhe mædhan hon formaþe
þa bỳriadhe salin til at grata swa ængx-
-lika at hon maþe all brỳsta sundir. Tara-
-ne sỳntis. ok þo hørdis eig røsthin þ*æ*r æft*i*r
taladhe konu*n*ghe*n* til salinna. sighiande / þit
samuit skal sæghia þina synd*i*r / huilko*m* eig
fỳlgde værdhelig bætring. þa vphøgde sa-
-lin sina røøsth swa høght at hoon mate hø-
-ras vm alla værldhinna. sæghiande Ve mik
þỳ at ek giordhe eig æpt*i*r gudhz budhordum
huilken ek hørde ok vndirstood. ok røỳiande
sik siælfua. þa sagde hoon. ek rædhiz eig guz
doom / Henne swaradhis af bokinne. þỳ skalt
tu nu rædhas diæfuulin Ok þa bỳriadhe
salin rædhas ok skælfua. swa at hoon ma-
-þe all. synd*i*r løsas. Ok sagde. Ek hafde swa-
-sæm ænghin kærleek til gudz. Ok þỳ giorde
ek litit got rætuisan swaradhe a bokinne
þỳ ær rætuisa. at þu skal næmare nalkas
diæfleno*m* en gudhi. Þỳ at han lukkadhe þik

4 hon] there is a dark dot under the "h", and the "o" is misshapen and resembles an "a".
5 [til]bẏriadhe] erasure.
11 mate hø-] the two words are joined by a stroke from the "e" to the "h".
11 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the right-hand margin.
23 \han/

1–2 eigh værdugh*i*r ydrughe ok san bætringh] B (100ra) ey fullir jdrughe oc ey ful bætring; C (101va) ey full*i*r idhrughe oc ey ful bæthring; Lat. non […] contricio digna […] nec vera satisfaccio
3 skal hon] B (100ra) skal hon nw; C (101va) scal hon nw; Lat. debet nunc
5 þa] B (100ra) Ginstan th*et* var sakt; C (101va) ginst*an* th*et* war sakt; Lat. Quibus dictis
5–6 swa ængxlika] B (100ra) sua sarlica oc barmelica; C (101va) swa sarlica oc barmelica; Lat. ita vehementer
8–9 þit samuit] B (100ra) thit samuit; C (101va) thit samwit; Lat. "Consciencia", inquit, "tua …"
9 sæghia] B (100ra) opinb*ara*; C (101va) oppinb*ara*; Lat. declaret
12 Ve mik] B (100ra), C (101va) Vee mik; Lat. "Ve", inquit, "quia …"
14 vndirstood] B (100ra), C (101va) viste; Lat. cognoui
15 sagde] B (100ra), C (101va) sagdhe; Lat. addidit
17 þa bẏriadhe salin rædhas ok skælfua] B (100ra) ginstan ræddis siælin oc skalff; C (101va) ginstan ræddis siælin oc scalff; Lat. statim anima timens et contremiscens
21 rætuisan swaradhe a bokinne] B (100ra) tha suaradhis hænne a bokinne; C (101va) tha swaradhis h*e*nne a bokinne; Lat. Responsum est statim ei de libro
23 lukkadhe] B (100ra), C (101va) lokkadhe; Lat. allexit et illexit

34

m*ædh* sino*m* fræstilsom Salin swaradhe Ek vndir-
-staar nu. at all þe ondh þing ek giordhe
varo æft*i*r diæwlslikom inskiutilsæm. þa var
swaradh a bokinne. þ*æt* ær diæfuulsins rætui-
-sa. at atirgælda þik m*ædh* pino*m* ok drøuilsæm
Salin sagdhe. æinkte var a mino*m* hiæssa ok
til minna ilia. huilket ek klædhe eig m*ædh* høg-
-færdh. somlik þingh fan ek siælf. ok somlik
fylgde ek landsins sidhuænio. Ek þwadhe
mina hend*i*r ok mit anlitte. eig at einasto at
þe skuldin reensas vtan at þe skuldin af
mannon lofuos. ok vara faghir. þa swaradhe
a bokinne. þ*ý* ær diæfuulsins rætuisa at atir-
-gælda þik aft*i*r þinne forskyllan. þ*ý* at þu
prýdhe þik swa sæm han dictadhe þik ok in-
-blæsthe. En sagde salin. min mu*n*ndir vplætz
opta til skøør þingh. þ*ý* at ek vilde þækkias
androm. Ok min hugh*i*r astundadhe blýgdh-
ok obrýgdilse. Rætuisan swaradhe a bokinne
þ*ý* skal þin þungha wthdræghas ok wtþæ-
-niatz. Ok þina þænd*i*r inkrøkias. Ok al þe þing
þik tilsætias. huilkin þik mistækkias. Ok all
þe þing fortakatz. huilken þik þækkiatz.
siælin sag⟨dæ⟩

12 mannon] read “mannom”.
18 blẏgdh-] read “blẏgdh”.
24 siælin sag⟨dæ⟩] the catchwords at the bottom of the page have not been ruled off or encapsulated.

1–2 Ek vndirstaar nu] B (100ra) Jak vnd*i*rstar nw; C (101vb) iak vnd*i*rstaar nw; Lat. “Iam”, inquit, “intelligo”
2 all þe ondh þing] B (100ra), C (101vb) alt th*et* ilt; Lat. omnia
4–5 þ*æt* ær diæfuulsins rætuisa. at atirgælda þik] B (100ra) **R**ætuisan sigh*i*r at dyæfwlsi*n*s rætt*i*r ær at atirløna thik; C (101vb) **R**etuisan sigh*i*r at dyæwlsins rætt*i*r ær at at*i*r løna thik; Lat. “Iusticia dictat, quod iuris Dyaboli est retribuere tibi …”
5 m*ædh* pino*m* ok drøuilsæm] B (100ra) m*edh* pinom oc drøuilsom æpt*i*r thy som thw giordhe; C (101vb) m*edh* pino*m* oc drøuilsom æpt*i*r thy som tw giordhe; Lat. cum pena et tribulacione
6 a mino*m* hiæssa] B (100ra) aff minz hofwodz iæssa; C (101vb) aff mins howodz iæssa; Lat. a vertice capitis
7 ilia] B (100ra), C (101vb) ylia; Lat. calcaneum
8–9 somlik þingh fan ek siælf. ok somlik fylgde ek landsins sidhuænio] B (100ra–b) **S**omlik fafæng oc høghfær|dhogh prygdhilse fan jak op siælu*i*r oc j somlicom følgdhe jak landzsins sidhuædhnio; C (101vb) Somlik fafæng oc høghfærdhogh prydhilse fan iak op siælfu*i*r oc j somlicom følgdhe iak landzi*n*s sidhuænio; Lat. Quedam enim vana et superba portamenta ego de nouo adinueni personaliter, quedam vero sequebar secundum patrie consuetudinem
11–12 at þe skuldin af mannon lofuos. ok vara faghir] B (100rb) at jak skulle louas aff ma*n*nom oc sighias v*ara* fagh*i*r; C (101vb) at iak skulle lowas aff manno*m* oc sighias wara fagh*i*r; Lat. ut ab homine pulchra laudarentur
13 þẏ ær diæfuulsins rætuisa at] B (100rb) Rætuisan sigh*i*r at dyæfwlsins rætt*i*r ær at; C (101vb) **R**ætwisan sigh*i*r at dyæwlsins rætt*i*r ær at; Lat. “Iusticia dicit, quod iuris Dyaboli est …”
14–16 þu prẏdhe þik swa sæm han dictadhe þik ok inblæsthe] B (100rb) thu prydde thik suasom han thik th*et* inskøt oc th*er* til æggiadhe; C (101vb) thw prydde thik swa so*m* han thik th*et* inskøt oc th*er* til æggiadhe; Lat. te ornasti et composuisti sicut ipse tibi inspirabat et dictabat
16 En] B (100rb) Anna*n*tidh; C (101vb) Anna*n* tidh; Lat. Iterum
17 til skøør þingh] B (100rb), C (101vb) til skør ordh; Lat. ad scurrilia
18–19 Ok min hugh*i*r astundadhe blẏgdh- ok obrẏgdilse] B (100rb) oc min hugh*i*r astu*n*dadhe al the thing som ey fulgdho værldi*n*na blygdh oc obrygdhilse; C (101vb) oc min hugh*i*r astundadhe all the thing som ey fulgdho værldinna blygdh oc obrygdhilse; Lat. et animus meus omnia illa desiderabat, que pudor et obprobrium mundi non sequebatur
19 Rætuisan swaradhe a bokinne] B (100rb) **R**ætuisan suaradhe a boki*n*ne; C (101vb) **R**ætwisan swaradhe a bokinne; Lat. Responsum est de libro
22–23 Ok all þe þing fortakatz] B (100rb), C (101vb) oc al the aff thik takas; Lat. omniaque illa tolli debent a te

35

salæn sagdæ. æk gladdis høghælighæ. þy. at ma*n*-
ghæ. toko. æptædøme. ok. tilfallæ. af þæim þin-
ghu*m*. som æk giordæ. *ok* manghæ fylgdo minu*m*.
sidhu*m*. Þa. swaradis a bokænnæ. hwar þæ*n*.
sæm wærdh*i*r. gripin j þylika syndh. firir
hwilka þw pinaz. þæir skulu þola þæ.
samu pino ok skulu læidaz till þik ok tiin
pina skall aukaz f*i*r*i*r hwars þæs tilkwe*m*d
som fylgia þinna wsidhi. *ok* synde þ*æ*r.
æpt*i*r. syntiz mik swa som. æit baand wa-
ræ bundit ifwir saalenna hofwt. *ok* nakk
æn. ok anlitit samanføgdoz. badæ augo*na*.
nidh*i*r fællo af sinom stadh*u*m. nidh*i*r hæi*n*-
gændhæ. a kimoma. haræt syntiz swidit
swa som brænt. af ældæ. hiærnæn rifna-
dhæ. wtfliutandæ wm nasanna. ok øyro*na*.
tunghan wtræktiz *ok* tænnannæ samantry-
ktoz *ok* jnkrøktoz Bæinæ*n* j armonu*m* brusto.
ok saman wndos som ræip hændanna. syn-
tos slag*na*. ok aft*i*r. bundos wm baakæ*n*. briu-
stæt *ok* kwidæn *ok* baakæ*n* saman*n*tryktoz swa.
starklighæ a rifwæ*n* brusto *ok* hiartath.

1 Hand 2 begins.
3 manghæ] there is a dot above the "g".
4 Þa] there is a dot in the centre of the "Þ".
8–9 An elongated paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the right-hand margin.
9 [ti-] som] crossed out with one line, and the "i" is also expuncted.
14 kimoma] read "kinnonna".
18 bru\s/[z]to] expunction.
20 slag*na*] read "flag*n*a".
22 a] read "at".
22 h\i/artath

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1 høghælighæ] B (100^{rb}), C (101^{vb}) storlica; Lat. vehementer
4–5 hwar þæ*n*. sæm wærdh*ir*. gripin] B (100^{rb}) thy ær rætuisa at huar thæn som vardh*ir* fu*n*nin; C (101^{vb}) thy ær rætwisa at hwar th*e*n som vardh*ir* funnin; Lat. "Ideo est iusticia, quod omnes, qui deprehensus fuerit …"
6–7 þæir skulu þola þæ. samu pino ok skulu læidaz till þik] B (100^{rb}) skal koma til thik oc thola the sa*m*mo pinona; C (101^{vb}) scal koma til thik oc thola the samo pinona; Lat. eandem penam ipse pacietur et ipse ad te adducetur
9 som fylgia þinna wsidhi. *ok* synde] B (100^{rb}) som thino*m* ondo*m* sidhom fulgdho; C (101^{vb}) som [f>t]inom ondom sidhom folgdho; Lat. qui imitabatur adinuenciones tuas
9–12 þæ*r*. æpt*ir*. syntiz mik swa som. æit baand waræ bundit ifwir saalenna hofwt. *ok* nakkæn. ok anlitit samanføgdoz] B (100^{rb}) Sidha*n* th*et* var sakt Synt*is* mik suasom eet band var*e* bundit ow*ir* siælina hofwodh suasom en krona oc thrængdis saman sua starklica at nakkin oc ænlitit samanføgdhos; C (101^{vb}–102ra) Sidha*n* th*et* war sakt Syntis mik swas om eet | band war*e* bundit ow*ir* siælinno howodh swa som een krona/ oc thrængdhis saman swa starklica at nakkin oc ænlitit saman føgdhos; Lat. Quibus dictis videbatur michi, quasi quod vinculum quoddam esset alligatum in capite anime ad modum corone et stringebatur ita fortiter, quod occiput et frons coniugebantur simul
12 badæ augo*na*] B (100^{rb}), C (101^{vb}) øghonin; Lat. oculi
13–14 hæi*n*gændhæ. a kimoma] B (100^{rb}) oc hængdo nidhir a kind*i*rna m*edh* sino*m* rotom; C (101^{vb}) oc hængdho nidh*i*r a kind*i*rna m*edh* sinom rotom; Lat. dependentes per radices suas ad genas
15–16 rifnadhæ] B (100^{rb}), C (101^{vb}) sprak; Lat. rumpebatur
17–18 samantryktoz *ok* jnkrøktoz] B (100^{rb}), C (101^{vb}) inkrøktos; Lat. comprimebantur
19–20 hændanna. syntos slag*na*. ok aft*ir*. bundos wm baakæ*n*] B (100^{rb}) Hænd*ir*na synt*is* flaghna atirbu*n*dna a bakin; C (101^{vb}) **H**ænd*i*rna syntos flaghna/ at*i*r bundhna a bakin; Lat. manus eciam decoriate ad collum alligabantur
22–36: 1 a rifwæ*n* brusto *ok* hiartath. rifnadhæ ok oll jniflæn. wt wæltoz] B (100^{rb}) at rifwin brusto oc hiærtat oc fiøl vt m*edh* allom inæluome*n*; C (101^{vb}) at rywin brusto oc hiærtat fiol wt m*edh* allom jnælwomen; Lat. quod costis confractis cor cum omnibus interioribus euersum crepuit

36

rifnadhæ ok oll jniflæn. wt wæltoz laræn.
hæingdo till. sidhonnæ *ok* bæinen sundærbru-
thin wtdroghos. *ok* saman wndos m*ædh* thuem
matto*m*. swa som. mior þradh*ir*. plagar nyst-
as j nystan. þa ropadæ blamannæ*n*. O dom-
aræ. nu æro salenna. syndeplagadæ. aptæ
rætwisonnæ sama*n* føgh oos badæ*n*. siæli*n*na
ok mik swa. at wi skulu*m*. aldræ. skiliaz at.
tha swaradæ thæn wænktæ riddaræn O do-
mar*e* þw som all þingh wæit høyr mik / nu
nu tilbær mik at sægia yttarstæ þanka.
ok wilia huilkan siælæn hafdæ j lifsæns.
ændæ. wissalighæ ho*n*. sagdæ. swa j yttar-
stæ. pu*n*ctenom. O æm gudh. gafua mik lifs
fræst iak wildæ ændalighæ g*er*na bættra.
mina syndæ. ok þæna hono*m* j ollo*m*. minu*m*
lifs tima ok aldræ han ruæida*n* giora O
domar*e*. þolik thingh huxadhæ sialæ*n* ok.
wildæ oc mi*n*naz æmuæll. vppa at the mæ*n*-
niskian. lifdæ æy swa langan. tima at ho*n*.
fæk. fullalikit vndirstandælikit samuit
þy mildha h*er*ræ. huxa hæ*n*næ. ungdoom.

1 jniflæn] read “jnilfæn”.
5 blamannæ*n*] the “m” has four minims, the last of which has been turned into part of the second “a”.
5 O] there is a dot in the centre of the “O”.
7 sama*n* føgh] read “sama*n*føgh”.
9 O] there is a dot in the centre of the “O”.
10 mik / nu] the *diastole* has been used by the scribe to separate the words “mik” and “nu”, which are written together as one word in the manuscript.
10–11 nu nu] dittography (but see the note to l. 10).
11 þan[a>k]a
13 ho*n*. [h]] crossed out with one line.
14 O] there is a dot in the centre of the “O”.
14 æm] read “wm”.
16 mina] the first minim of the “n” is dotted, so a corrective tittle has been written over the “i”.
17 O] there is a dot in the centre of the “O”.
19 A pale paraph can be seen in the left-hand margin.
19–20 mæ*n*nisk\i/an.
20 at] part of the “a” is too pale to be legible.
22 [h]ungdoom] erasure.

2–5 bæinen sundærbruthin wtdroghos. *ok* saman wndos m*ædh* thuem matto*m*. swa som. mior þradhir. plagar nystas j nystan] B (100^{rb}) benin brusto oc vtdroghos suasom smaa thradh*i*r væffdhis j nysta; C (102ra) benin brusto oc wt droghos swa som sma tradh*i*r vafdhis j nysta; Lat. femora vero pendebant ad latera ossaque confacta extrahebantur eo modo, quo filum tenue solet in globum glomerari
5 þa ropadæ blamannæ*n*] B (100^{rb}) **T**ha suaradhe blama*n*nin; C (102ra) **T**ha swaradhe blama*n*nin; Lat. Hiis visis Ethyops respondit
7 sama*n* føgh oos badæ*n*] B (100^{rb}) føgh os thy oc døm os badhi*n* saman; C (102ra) føgh os thy oc døm os badhin saman; Lat. Coniunge ergo iam nos ambos
9–12 O domar*e* þw som all þingh wæit høyr mik / nu nu tilbær mik at sægia yttarstæ þanka. *ok* wilia] B (100va) **H**ør thw domar*e* som al thi*n*g vest thik tilbør nu at høra siælinna ytarsta thanka oc vilia; C (102ra) **H**ør thw domar*e* som althing weezst til tilbør nw at høra siælinna yt*i*rsta thanka oc wilia; Lat. “Audi, iudex, tu qui scis omnia! Ad te iam pertinet audire ultimam cogitacionem et affectionem …”
14 pu*n*ctenom] B (100va), C (102ra) timano*m*; Lat. puncto
15 ændalighæ g*er*na] B (100va), C (102ra) g*er*na; Lat. utique libenter
17 ok aldræ han ruæidan giora] B (100va) oc aldre optarmeer synda mot ho*nu*m; C (102ra) oc aldre optarmeer synda mot hono*m*; Lat. ei nec unquam amplius ipsum offendere
18–19 huxadhæ sialæ*n* ok. wildæ] B (100va), C (102ra) hon hogxadhe oc vilde; Lat. cogitabat et volebat
19 oc mi*n*naz æmuæll. vppa at] B (100va), C (102ra) **M**inz oc æmuæl oppa at; Lat. Memento eciam, Domine, quod
22 mildha h*err*æ] B (100va) **O** h*err*a; C (102ra) o herra; Lat. Domine
22 huxa] B (100va), C (102ra) skudha; Lat. cogita

37

ok gør miskund. þa swaradhis af rætuis*on*na
book. þolkom þankom bør eig heluiti vtan
ændha. þa sagde domaren. firir mina pino
skal salinne vplatas himerike. naar hoon haf
uir tagith plagho. ok reensilse f*irir* sina sỳnde
swa langan tima sæm þ*æ*r tilbør. Ok þæn þime
han maa stỳntas vm salin faar hielp af a*n*nars
godhom gerningom.

Ek ih*esus* ær liker eino*m* hofdinga huilken sæm [Section 6A]
sik bỳgde en stadh. ok gaf hono*m* nampn / æf-
tir sik siælfwm. Han bỳgde ok i þæim stadheno*m*
et palaciu*m* / ok þær i margh þorftelikin hws. Si-
-dhan palaciu*m* var vpbygt. Ok hans þing æfte ha*n*s
vilia all skipadh. þa skipadhe han sit folk i þre
lỳti Somlike varo domara. Somlike væriara. Som-
-like arbeidhes men. Æftir þ*æt* sagde han til sit folk
Mine vægha. ok ærinde liggia i annor land Stan-
-dhen. stadhlika firir mino*m* heidh*i*r ok gagn. Ek haf-
-uir skipadh idh*i*r domara sæm idh*i*r skulu døma
Ek hafu*i*r skipadh idh*i*r væriara sæm idh*i*r skal væ-
-ria firir ouinu*m* idhrum. Ek hafu*i*r ok þæim skipad
sæm arbeida skulu. Ok skipat idhir all idhar þorfte-
-lik þingh Sidhan h*err*an var bortfaren Ok en liten
þime vmganghen. þa gløm̄dis statzens nampn
þa varo eig domarene stadhughe ok sagdho

1 Hand 1 begins.
1 a\f/
4 himerike] there is a diagonal tittle above the final "e" similar to an acute accent.
9–10 The "E" is plain and rubricated in green ink.
9 sæm] there is a smudge over the "s" and the "æ".
9 The reference "I 55" is written in black ink by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.
16 Æftir] the capital letter "Æ" is bicameral with a flourish running back through the shaft.
16 þ*æt*] the abbreviation "*æt*" is misshapen.
17 lig⟨g⟩ia] ink blot over the second "g".
24 glømdis] read "gømdis"? See comp. app. and note in the commentary in section 11.1.
25 varo eig domarene] read "varo domarene".
25 stadhughe [ok.]] expunction.

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1 ok gør miskund] B (100va) oc gør misku*n*d m*edh* hænne; C (102ra) oc gør miskund m*edh* h*e*nne; Lat. et facito misericordiam
1–2 af rætuiso*n*na book] B (100va), C (102ra) aff bokinne; Lat. de libro iusticie
2–3 þolkom þankom bør eig heluiti vtan ændha] B (100va) tholkom thanka oc vilia bør ey hæluite j ændalyktinne; C (102ra) tholkom thanka oc wilia bør ey hæluite j ændalyktinne; Lat. Talibus cogitacionibus in fine non debetur infernus
3 firir mina pino] B (100va) for mina pino; C (102ra) for mina pina; Lat. "Propter passionem", inquit, "meam …"
4 salinne] B (100va) hænne; C (102ra) h*e*nne; Lat. anime
5 tagith plagho. ok reensilse] B (100va) varit rensadh j skærslo elde; C (102ra) warit rensat j skærslo elde; Lat. purgacione prius [pro preccatis] recepta
6–8 Ok þæn þime han maa stỏntas vm salin faar hielp af a*n*nars godhom gerningom] B (100va) th*e*r pino thola vtan hon fa hiælp aff th*e*ra godhg*er*ningom som liua j værldinne; C (102ra) th*e*r pino thola wtan ho*n* faa hiælp aff th*e*ra godhg*er*ningo*m*; Lat. "… nisi obtinuerit auxilium ex bonis operibus aliorum viuencium."
9–25 Manuscripts: B 41$^{rb–va}$; C 40ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 191
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 420

38

vaar høfdinge ær farin i annor landh. standom
stadhlika. ok ræthuislika i varom domom. gørom
rætha doma. ok ælskom sa*n*nindh. at vi faam eig
skuld af varom høfdingia. Ok misthom varon
løøn ok heidh*i*r. Væriarene sagdho swa. vaar
høfdhinge trøsth*i*r vppa os. ok hafu*i*r sat sina aliit
til vaar. ok troor os væl. Rønoms hono*m* væll
Ok haldo*m* os af omẏklom mat. ok drik. þ*æt* vi
wardhom eig lati at striidha. Haldo*m* os af omẏk-
-lom sømpn. þ*æt* vars h*e*rra ouini. komin eig oua-
-randis vppa os. Ok taka os. Varom ok idhelika
væmte at vi varo*m* idhelika reedho naar os komb*i*r
nokot till. Vars h*e*rra heidh*i*r. ok folksins helsa ligg*i*r
mæst til vaar Arbeidhis folkit sagde swa. vars.
h*e*rra heidhir ær mẏkin. Ok hans atirløøn æra stoor
m*ædh* þẏ gifuu*m* vi varo*m* høfdhingha eig at einast
tiundha pæningh af varo arbeidhe sæm ha*n* os
bødh. vtan æn alt þ*æt* ifu*i*r vara fødho løpir. firir
þẏ atirlønin æra stoor. Sidhan en liten þime var
framgangen. glømdis eig at einast stadzins
nampn vtan æn h*e*rrans siælfs. þa sagdho doma
-rene hwar til annars. Vars h*e*rra dwala ær lang
Ok vitum eig hwad ha*n* komb*i*r aftir edd*i*r eig
m*ædh* þẏ viliu*m* vi døma æft*i*r var*u*m viliu*m*. Ok þ*æt*
os lẏsth*i*r. þ*æt* viliu*m*. vi gøra. Værnarane

1 vaar] there is a dot high above the "r".
10 -⟨lo⟩m] dark patch over "lo".
25 Værnara[dhe]ne] expunction and crossed out with one line.

1–25 Manuscripts: B 41va; C 40$^{ra–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 191–192
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 420–421

39

sagdo swa wi ærom flati wi arbæidom ok witom ækki
for hwi oos jattaz þæt wi witom ænga wisso aa.
giorom sææt. mædh wars herræ owinom ætom ok drikkom
ok safom mædh þæim æro þæir waræ wini hwat
þurfwom. wi wyrdha. hwars owini þæi æra Ar
bæidiz folkit sagdæ swa. hwi gømom wi wart.
gooz. androm. wi witum æy hwar. þæt. vp takir.
æptir oos Mæd þwi niotom hældhir þætt sialfue
æptir. warom. wilia ok lusta. / ok gefwm. domarom-
æn. waan tiundha peningh. þa þæir æro oos
blidhir hwat þurfwm. wi wyrdæ. hwar som
rwæidhir ær. þa mughum. wi ok. giora þæt
oos lystæ. Ek ihesus christus ær þæim hofdingenom.
likir. æk bygdæ. mik æin stad. þætt. war wæ
roldhæn. / j hænnæ skipadæ æk æit palacium
þætt. war þæ hælgha kirkia / wæroldænnæ nafn
þætt war gudlikin snillæ firir þy hon hafdæ
þætt. nafn. af anwardo þætt hon war af mik
ok j minnæ snillæ skapat. ok þy lifdæ fol
kit æptir. gudlighæ snillæ / ok hæidrade mik /
ok lofwadæ mik j minnæ snillæ / ok af minom
wndælighum. þingom ok makt / Nu ær fyr-
sta wæroldænnæ nafn gløмt. ok nyt vp-
takit þætt ær manlighæn snillæ þætt hæi-

1 Hand 2 begins.
1–24 The script is difficult to read on this page as the scribe is using a poor, scratchy pen-nib. The writing deteriorates down the page.
9–12 An elongated paraph has been written in ink in the right-hand margin.
13 Ek] the "E" has been written over an "e".
14 ⟨byg⟩dæ] smudge over "byg".
22 makt] bicameral "a".

1–24 Manuscripts: B 41$^{va–b}$; C 40^{rb}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 192–193
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 42

40

ras nu ok lofuos m*ædh* þý domarene sæm fýr døm
do ræthuiso. þe ælska nu orætuiso. þe suika ein-
-fallugha. ok ødhmiuka. þe vændha sik til høg-
færdinne. ok fraan ødhmiukþænne. þe girnas
5 væl ku*n*na tala f*irir* ma*n*na lofuan. þe þolo g*er*na sýn-
-dhena. at mæn sæghi þæim væra milda ok godha
þe taka gladhlika gafuo. ok vændha diærflika
rætuisona i orætuisona. þe æra raske til sinna eig-
-na nýt ok vilia. Til min heidh*ir*. ok vilia lati ok
10 flati. þe æra raske at døma. ok seine at spýria
ok leita huru. ell*ir* hwi malit ær giort. þeira gi-
-ri ær ofýlleliken. þý ællska þe wærldhinna snil-
-le / ok min glømis. Mædh værnarome*n* sæ*m* stadhin
skuldho halda ok folkit gøma menar ek hofm-
15 -en ok riddara. firir þý. þeira æmbiti skule va-
-ra til kýrkio*n*na værnilse. þy se kyrkiunno ouini
ok výrdhe þ*æt* eig. þe høra þe helga tro læst / ok
glædhias þ*æ*r af. þe se minna budhordha forsmæ-
-illse. ok tolo þ*æt* g*er*na f*irir* þý / þe hafua bundet sik
20 i þeira komponskap sæm sýndena hafua kæra
þe souo ok æta m*ædh* þæim sæm min vanheidhir
ælska. þe hafua siælfue sina tro brutit vidh
mik Ok firir þy þykker þæim ænkte vara vm
min heidh*ir*. Arbeidis folkit þ*æt* ær almoghin. þe
25 forhafua min budhord. þe halda aftir mina

1 Hand 1 begins.
4 f\r/aan
8 rætuisona] the “a” is slightly misshapen at the top.
14 menar] the “r” is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
16 þ[e]\y/] expunction; however, read “þe”.
18 glædhias þ*æ*r af] read “glædhias eig þ*æ*r af”.
21 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the leftt-hand margin.
21 vanheidhir] the “r” is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
24 Arbeidis] the capital letter comprises a bicameral “a” written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
25 forhafua] there is a 1-mm gap between the “f” and the following “o”.

1–25 Manuscripts: B 41^{vb}–42ra; C 40$^{rb–va}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 193–194
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 422–423

41

tiundha. þe gifua domaromen sina gafuor at þe
skulu þæim vara blidhe. ok godhe. þe gøra þæim
hørsæmio. ok heidhir ok ræddugha. Mik sæm þeira
gudh ok atirløysare ær hafua þe gørla gløмt. Mædh
þý ma ek nu wæl sæghia. at gudhlikin ræddoghe ok
kærleikir ær nidhir lagdir. Ok pæninga sækkir ær vpta-
-kin. hwad væntir þw at ek meinar mædh þæssom pæninga [Section 6B]
sække. vtan formýkkla giri sæm nu ær komen j
værldhinna. swasom þæn sækkir som bæggia væghna
ær ippin. vardhir aldrigh fullir Swa ok mannanna
giri fýllis aldrigh. firir þý at mannin girnas ænkte
vtan sina giri ok sin lusta. Nu ær ek mædh liiknilsom
sighiande Swa sæm þæn herra sæm badhe ær doma-
-re ok fadhir. kombir folkit ok kærir. vppa hans eighin
son. Ta swara han swa folkeno. bidhin til morghons
ellir annars dags. Min son kan æn bætra sik / Mædh-
-an kombir folkit aftir annan dagh. Ob bedhis ræth
Ta sighir han. bidhin æn til morghons. vil min son
eig ta sik bætra. þa vil ek gøra þæt sæm rætuisan
sighir obbiudhir Swa gør ok ek / firir þý / ek ær badhe
domare ok skapare. Ek vmbær mædh mannenom mædh
minne mýklo miskund j þæn ýtirsta punctin. Vil
han ekke bætra sik / þa kømbir miin rætuisa swa
mýkit hardhare ifuir han. sæm miskunden ok tulu-
modhin var meirae / Ek sagdhe þik før at ek
hafde skipt mit folk j þre lýti swasæm i domara

1 sina] bicameral “a”.
3 hørsæmio. [oh]] crossed out with one horizontal line.
4 M*ædh*] the capital letter “M” is misshapen.
6 sæk\kir/
7 The reference “I 56” is written in black ink by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.
10 fullir] the “r” is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
13 þ*æ*n [domare]] expunction and crossed out with one line.
13 \herra/
17 Ob] read “ok”.
20 obbiudh*i*r] read “ok biudhir”.
25 meira\e/] the “a” has not been deleted; read “meire”.
25 Ek] the capital letter “E” is large and written in green ink.
25 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the right-hand margin.

1–26 Manuscripts: B 42ra; C 40$^{va–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 194–195
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 423–424

42

Ok værnara. ok arbeidhis folk. Hwad ventir tu
hwad ek menar m*ædh* þæssom domaromin. vtan klær-
ka. þ*æ*r gudhlika snille hafua. vænt i manslika snille
Swa som þe klærka sæm sighia marg ordh i faa
ordh. þe taka miin budhord ok lagh. ok sætia þæim
all i et ordh. Hwad ær þ*æt*ta ordit. Hwad ær þ*æt*ta oor-
dit vtan ræk handhena. Ok tak pæni*n*gin. þ*æt* oordhit
ælskas f*irir* mit budhordh. huilkin man sæm gør man-
-draap. hoordoom ell*ir* adra ogudhlika sỳnd*ir* þ*æt*
bætras alt m*ædh* þæsso ena ordheno. Ræk handhena
ok tak þæni*n*g*in*. þ*æt* ær nu klærkænna snille tala fa-
-girt ok gøra illa. lata sik mina vini vara. ok ska-
-mmas eig gøra twært a moot m*ædh* g*er*ni*n*go*m*min. þe
vỳrdha eig rætuisona. ok eig vm salena vm þe
fa pæni*n*gin. þe þola g*er*na andra i sỳndinne m*ædh*
þỳ þe æra fule siælfue. þe forsma þæim min
vægh vilia ganga. Ok dragha þæim wt af m*ædh*
sinom eptedømilsem. Þ*æt*ta æra þe domara sæm
min doom skuldho hafua ok ælska. Ok nu ær glø-
-mdir Mædh værnaromen vndirstaar ek alla
værldhinna h*er*ra. Ok høfdhingia. ok þeira fol-
ghara þe hafua sit anlite vænt amoot mik
þe hafua brutit sin eidh ok lofuon m*ædh* mik / þ*æt*
ær at þe skuldo værna mino kirkio. þe akta
eig miin løøn. þe vỳrdha eig mina vreidhe

6–7 Hwad ær þ*æt*ta ordit. Hwad ær þ*æt*ta oordit] dittography.

1–25 Manuscripts: B 42$^{ra–b}$; C 40^{vb}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 195
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 424–425

43

Almoghin ær sæm andre tiora oþami / þe hafua
þrÿ þing / fÿrst grafua þe vp iordhinna m*ædh* fo-
-tomin / Annat þ*æt* þe fÿlla sik ææ mæd-
-han þæim lÿst*ir*. þridhia at þe fultkomna
sin lusta vtan altz atirhaldh Swa ær almoghin /
han hafu*ir* allan hughin til værldhinna Swalghit
ær vtan mato swa sæm kær / sæm aldrik fÿllis /
lustin vtan alt atirhaldh swa sæm annor diwr Nu
þo at hwarist marghe æra mine ouini Ok flæste
þe sæm afganga. þo at huarist æra somlike bland-
alla þæssa sæm mine vini særdhelis æra. Swa ek
sagde til heliam p*r*o*p*h*et*am foordom i laghumin. Ek
hafu*ir* en siw tusandh men sæm eig bøgdho siin
knæ til firir baal afgudh Swa sigh*ir* ok ek nu
Ek hafu*ir* margha vini bland ouinom. þ*æ*r tu veest
eÿ af. huilkom som þykke min vanheidh*ir* vara
storan Ok grata þ*æt* at mit nampn fÿrsmaas. ok
forhafs. M*ædh* þÿ vil ek gøra nu swa sæm konu*n*ge*n*
þæn gør. sæm seer sina stadz men afganga. ok
hono*m* vara moot i allo. han sænde budh ok br*e*f til
sina vini i stadheno*m* æra. Ok ko*n*nugha þæim stad-
-zins vadha. Ok sina wreidhe. at þe skulin sik vak-
-ta. Ok androm ko*n*nugha. huilkin h*e*rrans wreidhe
ær. Ok huru þollika han vmbær m*ædh* miskund sit
folk Swa gør ek nu. Ek sændir m*ædh* mino*m* vinom
miin ordh. þ*æ*r af mino*m* mu*n*ne wtganga til minna
ouinj. at þe vilin sik bætra. þæssin ordh æra eig

1 Almoghin] the capital letter comprises a large bicameral "a" written with a flourish.
1 tiora] bicameral "a".
3 Annat] the capital letter comprises a large bicameral "a".
3–4 There is a hole (16 mm by 6 mm) in the manuscript between "/" and "Annat" (l. 3), and "þæim" and "lýstir" (l. 4).
5 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the right-hand margin.
8 lustin] there is a dot above the "u".
12 laghumin] the final minim in the "m" is dotted, but the following "i" carries a disambiguating acute accent.

1–27 Manuscripts: B 42$^{rb–va}$; C 40^{vb}–41ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 195–196
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 425–426

44

swa lønlikin at me*n* þæim eig tala ma. þe æru ok
eig swa vand. at me*n* kan þæim eig begripa. vta*n*
hwa sæm samuit hafu*ir* ma þæim badhe for-
-standa ok halda. M*ædh* þ̇y hwa sæ*m* þæim tak*i*r
ok hald*i*r / han faar miskund / Hwar sæm þæim tak*i*r
ok wtsputtar ifu*ir* han gæng*i*r miin rætuisa See þ*ær*
næst vardh*i*r stadzins doomb*i*r sæm þæn mur sæm
nidh*i*r slaas. ok blifu*ir* eig stæin ifu*ir* stein / Domara-
ne skulu brænnas af heitasta elde / hwad elde ær
heitare æn þæn sæm fitme komb*i*r vidh*i*r Swa ok
domarane fa heitasta pino. f*irir*. þ̇y þe varo fetaste
i lustano*m*. Ok f*irir*. þ̇y þe hafdo mæst heidh*i*r. þ̇y satto
þe sik mæst moot mik / M*ædh* þ̇y vard*i*r þeira pina j
þe pa*n*nonne sæm aldrik wtslækkis. ok aldre æn-
-das i heluiti /. þe skulu brænnas sæm þ*æt* køt sæm
brænnis ok aldre vard*i*r fult brænt / Værnara*n*na
pina vard*i*r þæssin / at þe skulu hengia i þæim høx-
-sta galgha i heluiti / þænne galghin stand*i*r af
þwæim træ æm ræt vp. Ok þridhia sæm ligg*i*r iuir
badhin þe fẏrsta trææn sæm ræt vpstanda. þ*æt*
ær þeira ẏsæld / at þe girnadhis ænkte æwinne-
-likin løøn ok rike / Annat trææ ær at þe hopodis
ænkte til gudz. þ*æt* han f*or*matte af sinne mẏklo
makt ok godhleek gifua þæim ẏfirt / þridhia þræt
ær þ*æt* at þeira sa*m*uit sagde þæim. hwad bæt*i*r var
giort / ok þe giordo twært a moot sino sa*m*uiti. ok
vnd*i*rstandilse / j þæsso*m* galgano*m* skulu þe hengia

1 swa] bicameral "a".

3–4 There is a hole in the manuscript between "þæim" and "badhe" (l. 3), and between "sæ*m*" and "þæim" (l. 4).

10 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the left-hand margin.

22 Annat] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" with a flourish running back through the shaft.

1–27 Manuscripts: B 42va; C 41$^{ra–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 196–197
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 426–427

45

þ*æt* ær j þe ẏseldinne ok ska*m*minne at þe geer-
-nadhis þ*æt* sæm ær ok var firganglikit þ*æt* þe
vẏrdho eig vm þ*æt* sæm ær æuinnelikit / Ok þe
forstodho væl. ok hørdho. Ok giordho þ*æ*r a moot
repit j þæsso*m* galghano*m*. Ok i þæsse ska*m*minne ær
ævinnelikin eld*i*r þ*æ*r aldre slækkis. aldre minkas
Ok aldrik rutnar / i þesse ska*m*minne. Ok j þæssom
eldeno*m* skulu þe hengia til alla skam / . þe skulu ok
høẏra obrẏgdilse. f*i*r*i*r. þẏ þe vildo eig høra miin
ordh. / þe skulu lokta // allan ondan døøn. ok þino / f*i*r*i*r.
þẏ. þæim luktadis ænkte min søthme. þe skulu pi-
-nas sæm otroone men / hofwdit nidh*i*r ok føtirne
vp / f*i*r*i*r þẏ. þe forsmadho. ok brutu sins h*e*r*r*a troo / lif-
-uandis korpa sæm æra diæflane skulu þæim slita
ok aldrig af þæim fẏllas. Af þeira mu*n*ne skal
aldre komo. we. f*i*r*i*r þy þæim var søt. þeira lof. ok
mit bæktz Ve ær þæim at þe nokon tima varo
fødhe. We þæim / at þeira liif var swa lankt j
iordhrike / Arbeidhis ma*n*na*n*na doomb*i*r ær swaso*m*
þiora domb*i*r. þiorin ha*n* hafu*i*r tiokkan hals m*ædh*
þẏ þorf han hwast swærdh. þ*æ*tta swærd teeknar
æwærdelika pino. ok eld. huilkin þæim standir til
sæm diwr / ok fẏlto sin lustha / Jdhkadho vtan af-
-hald oskipadhom þima. ok sin vilia giordho f*i*r*i*r min
budhordh. Hwilkin þæssin ordh høre. Ok afgang*i*r
rætlika m*ædh* gudhliko*m* kærleek. ek vil komo til
hans ok gifua hono*m*. mina miskund / Hwilkin

10 A *paragraphus* has been written in ink in the right-hand margin.

15 Af] the capital letter comprises a large bicameral "a" with a flourish running back through the shaft.

23 jdhkadho] the "k" is misshapen and similar in form to a "b".

1–27 Manuscripts: B 42$^{va–b}$; C 41$^{rb–va}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 197–198
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 427–428

46

sæm sighir bidha vm eina stund þæt ær ække æn time gudz miskund ær mẏkin. Ok hans wreide kom-
-bir ekke æn / Ek swær þæt a min gudhom. af huilkom adam kørdis wt af paradiis. ok i noe floodh
gik ifuir wærllinna. at ek kombir skiutare æn þe
troo. Ek swær þæt a min mandoom. þær ær i minom
guddhom. huilkin ek þok i marie liif vtan sẏndh
ok smitto. j huilkom ek þoldhe þe hardha pino
ok dødh. Ok vpstod lifuandis. Ok foor til hime-
-rikis sandir gudh *ok* sandir man. þæt ek skal gøra
mina ræthuiso ifuir þæim. Ek swær ok þæt a þen
helgha andha. sæm ær ein gudh. mædh fadhirrenom
ok sonnenom. eig þrẏ gudha. Vtan ein j þrem per
-sonis. huilkin sæm sændis minom apostolis vm
hwita sunnodagh. Ok gaf þæim konst alla þungor tala. Ok brændhe þæim mædh sinom kærleek þæt
ek vil komo minom ouinom mædh minne wreidhe
vtan þæt þæir bætra sik. Ek skal koma þæim
til liikams drøuilse hær i wærldhinne. Ok si-
-dhan til æwærdhelikit heluiti. þæt þæim vardir
we. badhe til salinnæ Ok swa likamans. þa skulu þe þro gerningommin men þe vilia eig nu troo

Swa gøra nu mik cristne mæn ˛oordomin: [Section 7A]
sæm foordhom giordho iudhane. þe kastadho mik wt af mẏnstreno. Ok hafde fultkomin

5 wærllinna] read “wærldinna”.
8 pino] followed by an ink blot.
11 mina] read “mino”.
22–23 men þe vilia eig nu troo Swa gøra nu mik c*ris*tne mæn ˛oordomi*n*] read as “men þe vilia eig nu troo oordomi*n*] Swa gøra nu mik c*ris*tne mæn”.
23 The reference “I 57” is written in black ink by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.
23 There is an erasure in the left-hand margin, where the remains of what might possibly be a guide letter can be seen.
23 oordomi*n*] the word and its following *punctus elevatus* are underlined by two horizontal lines and preceded by two vertical lines.

1–25 Manuscripts: B 42^{vb}–43ra; C 41$^{va–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 198–199
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 428–429

47

vilia at dræpa mik. þo at hwarist gik ek wt
af þeira handhum f*i*r*ir* þý min time var ek-
-ke æn þa komin. Swa gøra nu mik cristne
mæn. þe kasta mik wt af sino mønstre þ*æt*
ær af þeira hugh. ok siæl i huilko mik burd-
-he vara. ok býggia. Ek dønir j þeira mu*n*ne
sæm rutit køt. ok výrdis ek af þæim sæm þæn
man so*m* hafu*ir* lugith / þe vændha til mik sin
bak. Ok ek vændhæ til þeira min nakka. firir
þý enkte høris. j þeira mu*n*ne vtan giri / j þei-
ra kýti brindh*i*r oloflikin. ok omattelikin
luste þeira hørsl ær til ænghsins vta*n* til sin
heidh*i*r. ok høghfærdhe. þeira sýýn ær til
enkxins vta*n* til þeira lustelikin þing / Mina
pino hafua. þeir f*i*r*ir* latir / Min kærleek firir
enkte Mit lifuærne ær þæim hart / Miin ord
hafua þe f*i*r*ir* lýgn. M*ædh* þy vil ek gøra nu swa-
sæm þ*æt* diwr gør sæm hafu*ir* margha hulur.
første þ*æt* vardhir kørt vp af enne. þa løpir
þ*æt* ok skiole sik j andro Swa vil ek gøra. mæ-
dhan cristhne mæn hata ok forsma mik. fir*ir*
þý vil ek ga til heidhni*n*ga. Ok vardha søtir
i þeira mu*n*ne. ok hierta. mædhan ek hafu*ir*

1– The ink on *pp*. 47–49: 8 is a rather dirty greenish black colour.
13 høghf[ø]\æ/rdhe] expunction.
b. rt. The corner of the page (13 mm by 11 mm) has been cut off.

1–23 Manuscripts: B 43ra; C 41^{vb}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 199–200
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 429–430

48

varit swr ok illa luktande i þeira mu*n*ne her til
Cristnom ma*n*no*m* vil ek vara rædhelikin sæm en
fors. at swa sæm omøghlikit ær standa moþe
forssenom Swa vardh*i*r þæim omøghlikit sit
minsta fing*i*r røra moot mik. þoathuaristh.
ær ek en swa miskunsamb*i*r. at hwilkin sæm
beidhis nadhir. ok sighir swa. Gudh min h*er*ra
ok skapare / ek kennis mik vara brutlikin. mis
-ku*n*na mik ok gif mik þina nadhe. at ek matte
gøra þin vilia. Ek vil gøra miskund m*ædh* honu*m*
ok taka han til mi*n* kærleek. vm han bedhis m*ædh*
þæim hugh. at han vil sik bætra. Ok ekke ofta-
-re til sẏndha*n*na siælfuiliandis ga*n*ga. Hwilkin
ok miin oordh eig vyrdh*i*r Ok trøsth*i*r swa a mina
miskund. at ha*n* gløm*i*r mina rætuiso. A mina
sa*n*nind sæm san sa*n*nind ær. Ok aldre gik af
mino*m* mu*n*ne vtan sa*n*nind. Ek komb*i*r þæim þa
þe huxa minzt / / **E**k kærir þ*æt* nu. at ma*n*nin [Section 7B]
hald*i*r mik swa sæm þæn matk ællæs orm sæm
vm vintren liggir i duala. Alle þe sæm
han see. þe sputta han ok gabba. þe þrodho
a hans bak. ok stigha ifu*i*r han. Ok sla ha*n* m*ædh*
sino handhu*m*. Ok spiærna ha*n* m*ædh* sinom fotom
Sa*n*nelika swa giordho iudha mik. Ek var fir*ir*
þæim swa sæm en matker. Ta iudas kom
til mik. Ok vildhe kẏssa mik. Ek bøgdhe

15 A] written as a bicameral “a” with a flourish running back through the shaft.
16 Ok [-]] the half-written letter appears to be the top loop of an “h”, “k” or “l”.
18 The reference “IV 99” is written in black ink by a later hand in the left-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.
18 Ek] the capital letter “E” is in green ink.
18 k[-]\æ/rir] blotted out.
20 vm [vins]] crossed out with one line.
20 Alle] the capital letter comprises a bicameral “a” written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
23 sino] read “sinom”.
23 sp\i/ærna
b. lt. The corner of the page has been cut off.

1–18 Manuscripts: B 43$^{ra–b}$; C 41^{vb}–42ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 200
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 430
18–26 Manuscripts: B 118ra; C 122$^{ra–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* II, 186
Latin: Aili 1992, 287

49

mik nidh*i*r til hans / f*irir* þý iudas var stunter
man. Ok ek var lang*i*r. þa þe þoko mik. ek
flýdhe eý bort fra þæim. vtan ek gik siælfuili-
-andhe i þeira hend*i*r. firir þý þæim hafdhe
varit omøghelikit at se til miin vtan þ*æt* haf-
-de varit min vili. Ok æn omøghlighar*e* at gøra
m*ædh* g*er*ni*n*gu*m*min. þa þe badho framrækkia hend*ir*
-na til korsit. Ta række ek fram. Ta þe vildho
mik krona. ta stoodh ek gladhlika qwar. Ok swa
so*m*. þe hafdo fullelikan vilia at dræpa mik Swa
hafde ok ek æmuæl fullelika*n* vilia at þolo dødh
Ok mædhan var ek swa so*m* ein mathker sæm liggir
i dwala Sa*n*nelika swa sæm ek var / ta Swa ær ek ok
nu forsmadh*i*r ok forhanadh*i*r af ma*n*no*m* ok af mino
eigno handauærke þa ek hafde þolt þe harda
pino. Ok foor vp til min fadhir Ta anduardadhe
ek þæim min eighin likama i brødz like. at þæim
skulde min kærleikir ok pina komo i hugh. Ok swa
mýklo held*i*r ælska mik. at ek sand*i*r gudh. ok ma*n*
ær þæn sami i p*re*stins handhum. i brødhz liknilsse
sæm þoldhe a korssena. Ok stýre badhe iordhrike
ok hi*m*merike. þænne kærleiken. ok þæssa naadh
výrdh*i*r man eig meira. æn swa sæm var*e*. en død-
-hir matker. þe þrudhu ok a min bak þa þe ræ-
-dhos meira men æn gudh. þa þe standa meir
æfte ma*n*na vinskap. æn æfte gudz vinskap. hux-
-ande swa m*ædh* sik Ek wet væll. at þ*æt* ær gudz

5 m⟨i*i*⟩n] ink blot over the middle part of the word.
8 ff. Ta ræk̄ke] the ink is cleaner and much darker from these words on.
13 var / ta] the *diastole* has been used by the scribe to separate the words "var" and "ta", which are written together as one word in the manuscript.

1–27 Manuscripts: B 118ra; C 122^{rb}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* II, 186–187
Latin: Aili 1992, 287

50

budhord / þoathwarist vil ek eig lata mins wins
vinskap f*i*r*ir* þ*æt*. Ok ekke forlata ha*n* firir hans bud-
-ordh firir þ*ý* ek ma væll dagþingha m*ædh* gudhi
Ok blidhka han. þ*æt*ta ær en bansat huxilsse. vitta
væll ok gøra illa. þ*ý* lættare s*ý*ndin vare. þæs hel-
-lir skuldhe mæn sik halda af h*en*ne. ok gøma sik.
þe sla mik ok i þændrena. þa þe høra min ordh
Ok min budhord. þa þe høra mina sorg. ok pino
ek hafdhe i mandomeno*m* ok sighia swa. S*ý*ndhin
ær ekke swa leidh gudhi sæm mæn sigh*i*r Pinan
ær ekke swa hard sæm scriifuas. gudz miskund
ær m*ý*kin. Han hafdhe ekke skapadh ma*n*nin vm
ha*n* vildhe ofu*i*r þolika fordøma. Vi maghu*m* væl
hafua allan vaan vilia. Ok en fa hi*m*merike f*i*r*ir* þ*ý*
gudh hafde ekke værldhinna skapadh. vtan mæn
skulde hona n*ý*tia. M*ædh* þ*ý* swær ek þ*æt* a min gudho*m*
ok mando*m* þ*æt* ek latir eig þe minsta s*ý*nd odømda
Swa sæm ek latir eig þ*æt* mi*n*sta got mæn gør j
min heidh*i*r olønt / firir þy ek skapadhe ma*n*nin
til hy*m*merikis. ok satte ek ha*n* i wærldhinna. at ha*n*
skulde hona n*ý*tia til min heidh*i*r. ok sit gagn
Ok gaf ek hono*m* siælfswald. ok vndirstandilsse
ifu*i*r al diwr at firistanda. hwi ha*n* var skaptir ok
hwad ek hafu*i*r honu*m* budit / ma*n*nin stighir ok ifu*i*r
mik. Ta þe w*ý*rdha eig k*ý*rkionna doom. ok eig
ban. Ek satte min ræddogha. ok doom j þe hel-
-ghre k*i*rkiu. þ*æt* ær ban. þ*æ*r til at ma*n*nin skulde
swa m*ý*klo held*i*r halda sik af s*ý*ndh. ok rædhas

1–2 An elongated paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the left-hand margin.
17 sẏnd] there is a dot underneath and to the left of the "ẏ".
21 ok [sit]] expunction and crossed out with one line.
25–26 An elongated paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the left-hand margin.

1–28 Manuscripts: B 118$^{ra–b}$; C 122^{rb}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* II, 187
Latin: Aili 1992, 287–288

51

þ*æt* halda þe firir ænkte. Ok vẏrdat eig meer en
stigha ifu*ir* en dødhan matk M*ædh* þẏ sæghir ek þ*æt*
a mina sa*n*nindh. at swa sæm þe sæm bansættias af
ma*n*nu*m* / magha eig vmganga m*ædh* adhru*m* / swa æra ok
þe bansatte firir mik ok allo mino herskapi wtskyl-
-de. Ok æn þoathwarist. at þe sæm gøra lønlika
bandzg*er*ni*n*ga. æra i banne firir mik / þoathuarist
æra hine mẏklo værre sæm oppinbarlika æra bansat-
-te Ok vyrdha þ*æt* ekke / Ok eig at einisto þe / vtan
æn alle þe sæm vita þ*æt* m*ædh* þæim. Ok vmganga m*ædh*
þæim / þe sputta ok a mik þa þe halda kirkiu*n*na. sa-
-cr*a*menta firir latir. ok skælkt. Ok alt þ*æt* gudhi høre
til f*irir* flætio M*ædh* þẏ f*irir*. mina mẏkla miskund vil ek
nu quikna sinam ok sinam sæm en matker m*ædh* mins
andha ordhum Ok m*ædh* minom kærleik / huilkin þæ-
-im forsmaar Ek skal quikna þæim swa sæm orme*n*
vm varena. Ta han quikna. ok takir sina makt
Ta þe sæm firra spottadho ok þrodho þe þoro
eig nalkas honu*m* / þe sæm han slogho ok skælkto
þe dana af hans sẏẏn / þe sæm iuir han stigho
þe rædhas swa sæm þe þ*ær* æra slagne Swa vil
ek gøra þæim mik forsma. Ek vil komo þæm
swa rædhelikin. at þe þolo eig standa moot. Ek
vil komo þæim swa starkir ok bradhir. at þe sko-
lo daana af mi*n*ne rædduga sẏn. Ek vil ok ko-
-mo þæim swa hwas swa sæm þæn sæm slaar ok
sting*i*r ginu*m* m*ædh* swærdh M*ædh* þẏ þæssom [Section 7C]

2 ma\t/k
2 M*ædh* [jy]] crossed out with three lines.
6 þoathwarist] there is a 1-mm gap between the "o" and the "a".
14 quikna] bicameral "a".
25 s[ii>ẏ]n

1–27 Manuscripts: B 118^{rb}; C 122^{rb}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* II, 187
Latin: Aili 1992, 288
27– Section 7C has no equivalent Swedish or Latin versions.

52

hofdhingia skulu sæghias þæssin ord Ek
gudh aldra skapare ok atirløsare Ek hafu*ir*
þrÿ þing m*ædh* þik giort / Først hafu*ir* ek giort
þik ræddan m*ædh* mino*m* wand / Annat þ*æt* ek haf-
-uir føt þik. þridhia. at ek hafu*ir* værnat
þik. ok gømt þik af ollum vadha. ok misfal-
-dum. først hafu*ir* ek rædh þik swa sæm fadir
gør syni. han slaar han. at ha*n* skal ekke stiæla
ællas nokra andra ondha g*er*ning gøra
Swa hafu*ir* ek ok slaghit. þik m*ædh* mino*m* ræddo-
-gha. þ*ær* til at þu skulde eig omÿkit komo j
diæfwlsins hend*ir*. Ek hafu*ir* ok þik føt / giuan-
-dhis þik þina likamlika þorft. Ok komit þik
i heidh*ir* / Ok giort þik stoort nampn. Ek hafu*ir*
ok þik værnadh af misfallo*m*. af þinom owinum
þÿ firir þæssin þrÿ. kræfuir ek þrÿ þing af
þik først þ*æt*. Swa sæm ek hafu*ir* rædh þik. swa
skal þu rædha andra m*ædh* gudhlikom ordhom ok
godhom g*er*ni*n*go*m*. ok swærdhe. þæim sæm gøra mot
rætuiso*n*ne. Annat at þu skalt þæim fødha sæm
min ord føra. Ok þæm sæm gudhi tiæna. þridhia
at þu skalt værna almoghan swa sæm ek haf-
-uir værnat þik Ok hielpa ok skodho þæim sæm
æra i nødh / þrÿ skipilse æra i þe helghe kirkiu
Eth æra klærka. Annat ær ridderskap / þridhia

4 Annat] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.

9 ællas [nog]] expunction and crossed out with a single line.

20 Annat] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.

20–21 An elongated paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the left-hand margin.

25 Annat] the capital letter comprises a large bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.

1–25 Section 7C has no equivalent Swedish or Latin versions.

53

ær almoghin / Þæssin þrÿ vænda sik a mot mik
Ok hafua gløмt mino*m* kærlek M*ædh* þÿ vil ek nu yp-
-na en port / þ*ær* ek vil i ganga. þ*æt* ær karela ok heed-
-ninga hugh. þæim vil ek min kærleek ok naad giif
-ua. Ok vardha j þeira mu*n*ne søtir / sæm ek længe
hafu*ir* varit swr. Ok illa dønande M*ædh* þÿ sæm birgit-
-ta miin vmskref þik sanka sama*n*. andhelika sniæl-
-la mæn. Ok þe gudz ælska haf / raad m*ædh* þæim. hwad
þu maghe i þæsso male gøra / f*irir* þÿ En þo at ek
veet alt þo skal ma*n*nin mødha swa fast samuitit til
min heidhir sæm likama*n*. þ*ær* til at diæfuule*n* hafui
eig þ*æt* sighia. at ek visar alt Ok ma*n*nin gør enkte
æftir sino sa*m*uiti Sannelika kærir ek f*irir* þik. Ok
allu*m* minu*m* vino*m*. at c*ri*stne mæn hafua mik i sino*m*
mu*n*ne swa sæm rutit køt. þe sputta mik wt. Ok hal-
dha mit budhord f*irir*. flætio sæm þæim atirløste. m*ædh*
þÿ vil ek heidhni*n*gu*m* þæfuias. ok søtir vardha §
Cristno*m* ma*n*no*m* sæm mik ænkte vyrdha / vil ek ko-
mo sæm æinkæmpe sæm hafu*ir* stark ok hwasleik
Ok rædhelikheit. Swa vil ek komo þæim rædheli-
ker at þe þoro eig en finger røra moot mik Swa
stark*i*r at þe wardha wanmaktoghar*e* æn æit mÿg
Swa hwas at þe skulu kænna ve j wærldhinne
Ok ve æw*ær*delikit i heluiti / J mi*n*ne helghe læst
stand*i*r scrifuat / At þa ek sa ih*er*usal*e*m. þa græt ek
Ok sagdhe. Visthe þu hwad þik ifu*ir* komb*i*r / þa

1 Þæssin] possibly “þæssin”.
8 gudz] read “gudh”.
13 Sannelika] the “S” has been written with a flourish, and the first “a” is bicameral.
14 hafua [s]] crossed out with three lines.
16 There is a small hole (1 mm by 3 mm) in the centre of the page above the “f” in “flætio”.
19 æinkæmpe] read “æin kæmpe”.
25 At] the capital letter comprises a bicameral “a” written with a flourish running back through the shaft.

1–26 Section 7C has no equivalent Swedish or Latin versions.

54

mate þu ok wæl grata. Ek vilde opta taka þik vn-
-dir mina værn. Ok i min kærleik sæm høna*n* gør
køklinghu*m*. ok þu vilde ekke. Swa ma ek nu wæl
sighia. jh*er*usal*e*m. þ*æt* æra alle c*ri*stne men. j huxen ekke
hwad ek hafu*ir* f*i*r*ir*. idhra skuldh giort Ok hwad kær-
-leek ek til jdhar hafu*ir*. Ok huru illa i mik þ*æt* atir-
-giældhin. Vildhen i þ*æt*ta huxa. þa mattin i wæl grata
Ek gik f*i*r*ir*. idhra skuldh m*ædh* blodhoghu*m* fotu*m* til kor-
-sins. Ek bar idh*i*r a mino*m* armo*m* þa þe droghos wt m*ædh*
kadhlum af þeira lidhamotu*m*. Ek bar idh*i*r i mino*m*
handho*m*. þa þe sloghos gino*m* m*ædh* hwasso*m* naghlu*m*. Ok ha*m*-
-bra*n*na liwdh hørdhis badhe i hẏmerike ok i iordhrike
f*i*r*ir*. þẏ / æn þoathwarist / Ek þolde m*ædh* ma*n*domeno*m* a kor-
-sseno. þoathuarist var ek m*ædh* guddomeno*m* badhe stẏ-
-rande i hẏmerike ok i ioordrike. Ek skẏẏlte idh*i*r m*ædh*
mino hofde. þa þæn hwasse þorn stak þ*æ*r gino*m*. Ek
hulde idh*i*r m*ædh* mi*n*ne egne sidho. þa ek var lagd*i*r m*ædh*
þe hwassa spiute. Hwi væntin i at ek vildhe þ*æt*ta þo-
-lo. vtan þẏ at i skuldhen mik swa mẏklo meir
ælska. Ek gik m*ædh* blodhoghu*m* fotu*m* til korsit f*i*r*ir*. þẏ at
diæfuulin skulde ekke til idhra siæl optirmeer faa
tilga*n*g. Ek bar idh*i*r sæm modh*i*r a mino*m* armom þ*æ*r
til at min gudhlike kærleikær skulde aldrik fraa.
idh*i*r skẏlias. Ek værnadhe idh*i*r m*ædh* mino*m* handhom
þ*æ*r til at diæfulsins g*er*ni*n*ga skuldo ekke ydh*i*r skada
þy at j sk*u*ld

3 There is a blob of red ink in the left-hand margin.
4–6 An elongated paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the left-hand margin.
16 A faded and unidentifiable symbol in red ink in the left-hand margin—possibly the remains of a paraph.
16 There is a hole in the centre of the page above the "n" in "þorn".
19 at [ek]] crossed out with two lines.
26 þy at j sk*u*ld] the catchwords are not ruled off or encapsulated.

1–26 Section 7C has no equivalent Swedish or Latin versions.

55

þý at j skulden gøra godha g*er*ni*n*ga. Ok gudh-
lika lifua. Ek skýldhe idh*i*r m*ædh* mino hofde
þ*æ*r til at idhur værldzlikin astunda*n* / ok sýnde-
lik giri skulde idh*i*r eig ræknas til synd. þ*æ*r
til at diæfuulen skulde idh*i*r eig skæmma Ek
skylde idh*i*r m*ædh* mi*n*ne sidho þ*æ*r til at idhur sýnd
skulde eig i mins fadhirs asýyn komo. Ok mi*n*-
-na helgha ma*n*na / þ*æt*ta giorde ek idhar gudh ok
idhar skapar*e* f*i*r*ir* idh*i*r þ*æt*ta giældin i mik illa
atir / J hýlin idh*i*r m*ædh* idhre høghfærdh moot þý
at ek stoot badhe bla. ok blodogh*i*r / Ok nakin f*i*r*ir*
idhra skuldh / Ek hafde alla mina limi til þe har-
-dasta pino / J vilin f*i*r*ir* mik eig þolo æit ordh / Ok
hafuin alla idhra limi ospara til sýndinna / Ek
geernadhis ænkte vta*n* idh*i*r / swa / þ*æt* ek vildhe
heldh*i*r mit hiærta lata sund*i*r stinga. æn idh*i*r
mista. en i geernins þ*æt* minsta þing sæm skapat
ær m*ædh* meira brændagha æn mik skapar*e*n / Alt ær
idh*i*r søt vta*n* ek / Alt lustelikt at huxa vta*n* miin
budhordh. Ok kærleik*i*r sæm idh*i*r skapadhe. Ok
alt got giifu*i*r. Ek gifu*i*r idh*i*r helso ok liif. Ek gif-
-u*i*r idh*i*r andhelikin hugnad Ok lika*m*likin. Ek gifu*i*r
idh*i*r hýmillen til liws. jordhena til nýt ok glædhi.
Ok alt þ*æt* a henne ær / þ*æt*ta þýkke idh*i*r vara enk
-te M*ædh* þý skulu þe dagha komo. þ*æt* idh*i*r angra

6 mi*n*ne] the first minim of the "n" carries the dot.
14 limi] the "l" is very blotchy.
16 sund*i*r] the "r" is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook. The abbreviation for "*i*" is a horizontal line through the shaft of the "d".
18 Alt] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
19 Alt] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.

1–25 Section 7C has no equivalent Swedish or Latin versions.

56

þ*æt* i hafuin giort f*irir*. nadhinna stoorleek ek nu hafu*ir*
m*ædh* idh*ir* giort / vardh*ir* idhart ve swa mẏkklo harda-
SAncta maria sẏntis tala til sin son ih*esu*m *christu*m ˛ re [Section 8]
Signadh*ir* var þu i þino*m* guddome. þ*æt* var vta*n*
vpbẏrilse / Ok ær f*irir* vta*n* ænda J þino*m* guddome æra
þry þing. wældhe. snille. ok dẏgh. huilkin sæm eig
minskas ok eig oẏkis. Ok eig oskiptelikin æra vta*n*
ææ þolkin sama. þin makt ok wælde ær swasæm en
heitast*ir* eldh*ir* / firir þẏ all makt ok wælde ær firir
þinne makt sæm þørth stra f*irir* heitasta elde / f*irir*. þy æn-
-ghin ær ella vardh*ir*. wældugh*ir* vta*n* af þik / Ok af þi-
-no þolomodh / þiin snille ær swa sæm et haf huilkit
ænghin gitir løst / Ok ta þ*æt* vpflødh*ir* þa fẏlle þ*æt* dala ok
bierg Swa gitir ok ængin f*or*standit þina snille. huru
sniællelika tu hafu*ir* skapat ma*n*nin / Ok giordhe han
h*er*ra iuir all c*re*atwr / huru viislika tu skapadhe foghlin
i wædhreno. fiskin i hafuino. diwren a iordhenne ok
hwario þẏ gaf ha*n* skipadhan tima. Ængin gitir ok
forstandit huru þu gifu*ir* liif. ok takir atir bort / huru
þu gør af fako*n*noghom snilla. af snillom ofta flata
m*ædh* þẏ ær þin snille sæm et haf. þin diggd ær sæm
solinna liws. huilkit sæm skiin badhe a himblom ok
a iordhinne / Swa ok þiin fẏllir alt ok liusir / þ*æt* a
iordhinne ær / Ok i hẏmerike / Af þinne dẏgd ær alt
got / vtan hona ær enkte / m*ædh* þy var þu wæl signad*ir*
min kær*e* son. Ok min gudh ok h*er*ra. þa swaradhe
Signadh var þu miin kæra modh*ir* / / ˛ sonin

2–3 m*ædh* idh*i*r giort / vardh*i*r idhart ve swa mẏkklo harda- SAncta maria sẏntis tala til sin son ih*esu*m *christu*m ˛ re] read as "m*ædh* idh*i*r giort / vardh*i*r idhart ve swa mẏkklo hardare SAncta maria sẏntis tala til sin son ih*esu*m *christu*m".

3 The reference "I 50" is written in black ink by a later hand in the left-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.

3 There is an erasure in the left-hand margin, where the possible remains of a guide letter can be seen.

3 SAncta] the capital "a" comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.

7 oskiptelikin] read "omskiptelikin".

13 løst] read "øst".

13 Ok \ta/ þ*æt*

18 Ængin] bicameral "Æ".

23 Swa] the "S" has been written with a flourish.

23 þiin fẏllir] read "þiin dẏgd fẏllir".

24 Af] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.

24 alt] part of the "a" is illegible.

26–*p*. 57: 1 þa swaradhe Signadh var þu miin kæra modh*i*r / / ˛ sonin þin ordh ganga af þinne siæl] read as "þa swaradhe sonin Signadh var þu miin kæra modh*i*r / / þin ordh ganga af þinne siæl".

27 The reference "I 50" is written in black ink by a later hand in the left-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.

27 There is a pale symbol in the left-hand margin. It is difficult to identify but may be the remains of a guide letter.

27 Signadh] the capital letter "S" is large and written in green ink.

1–2 Section 7C has no equivalent Swedish or Latin versions.

3–27 Manuscripts: B 37$^{va–b}$; C 36$^{ra–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 171–172
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 398–399

57

þin ordh ganga af þinne siæl Ok þe æra lustelikin
sæm søtasta viin. þu æst sæm en dagrand / þ*æ*r gang*i*r
fram m*ædh* mẏkle skæro. Swa ok þin skærleik*i*r ok reen-
-leker skeen iuir alla himbla. Ok alla ængla. þu dro-
-gt m*ædh* þino*m* reenleek þe signadha solinna til þiin
þ*æt* ær min guddomb*i*r. swa at guddamssis sool fæste
sik i þik. af þæs hita fik tu hita til miin iuir alla
Af þæs skin fik tu snille iuir alla Af þæs liws gik
værldhinna mørkir bort / Ok badhe hẏmerike ok iord-
-rike lẏstis A mina sa*n*nind sigh*i*r ek. at þin reenlei-
-kir tækkis mik iuir alla ængla / Ok af þik fik ma*n*-
-nen nadhe / Ok ænglane meira glædhi. M*ædh*
þẏ var tu signad af þino*m* signadha sẏni / æ hwad
tu bedhis ok tu vilt þ*æt* skal þik weitas / Ok al þin
bøøn skal høras f*i*r*i*r. þẏ tu nekadhe ænkte mino*m* vilia
i iordhrike / enkte skal ek ok neka þino*m* vilia i hẏ
-merike / f*i*r*i*r. þẏ tu vilt ænkte vtan þ*æt* ek vil. Ok alle
þe sæm miscundh bedhas i þit nampn m*ædh* þæm vilia
at þe vilia af sæghias sẏndhinna. ok hafua hona
leidha. þe skulu f*i*r*i*r þin kærleek høras firir þẏ at
swa sæm f*i*r*i*r. solinne gangir hitin. ok skiinit Swa
gang*i*r ok tu fra*m* m*ædh* alle miskund / Ok all miskund
skal gifuas f*i*r*i*r. þina skuldh firir þy tu heit*i*r misku*n*-
de*n*na modh*i*r Ok ær sa*n*nelika swa sæm þe kældha sæ*m*
alt got af rinder ok ær ekke þẏ minne i sinne digd
§ þa swaradhe atir maria / All dẏgd. ok æra. ok
lof vari þik min kære son. ok he*r*ra. Af þik ær alt

1 þinne] the first minim of the second "n" carries the dot.
4 skeen] the first "e" has a dot over it.
5 There is a small hole (2 mm by 3 mm) between "signadha" and "solinna".
6 ær [þin]] crossed out with two lines.
6 \min/
6 guddamssis] read "guddomssi*n*s".
8 Af (both occurrences)] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
12 -nen [ændhe]] crossed out with one line. The final "e" is incomplete.
18 miscundh] there is a dot under the first minim of the "n".
21 skiinit] the section "iini" has been written with six minims. The first two each carry a dot above; the third and fourth each carry a dot below (expunction); the fifth carries no markings; the sixth minim carries a dot above.
23 \þy/
23 þy [hon]] expunction and crossed out with one line.
23 \tu/
27 Af] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
b. rt. A tear (29 mm long) has been repaired by stitching (four holes either side of tear with three stitches and one stitch missing). The corner of the page has been scored in a geometric pattern.
b. There are a number of small holes in the middle of the bottom edge of the page.

1–27 Manuscripts: B 37^{vb}; C 36$^{rb–va}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 172–173
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 399–400

58

giort Ok þ*æt* ek hafu*ir* þ*æt* ær af þik ok f*irir* þina nadhe
þu æst sæm þ*æt* frø sæm vexte. Ok þoathuarist sa-
-dhis tu aldrig / ok gaf af sik hundradha falla
frukt / ok tusanda falla / Af þik ær all miscund ok
dẏgd / swa sæm af eino*m* ogrundoghom bru*n*ne. huilki*n*
dẏgd sæm væl maa liiknas vidh tusandafalda frygd
ok hundradha. f*irir*. þẏ i hundradh ell*i*r i tusanda for-
standaz all fultkomnilsse § þa swaradhe atir ih*esus*
christus Sa*n*nelika mi*n* kæra modh*i*r / þu. liiknadhe mik
væl vidh þ*æt* frø sæm vexte Ok ekke sadhis f*irir*. þy
Ek ko*m* mino*m* guddo*m* i þit iu*m*frulika liif Ok mi*n* mandomb*i*r
þ*æ*r ek þogh af þik sadhis eig m*ædh* ma*n*na frøie ok na-
-turæ / þoathuarist vaxte ha*n* i þik f*irir* huilkin all mis-
-kund ko*m* i værldhinna. Ok m*ædh* þẏ sagde þu væl at ek
ær þ*æt* frøø sæm vaxte ok ekke sadhis. Nu miin kæ-
-ra modh*i*r mæn þu m*ædh* þino*m* søta oordhum draghir
mina miskund fra*m* til ma*n*zsins. Bedz hwad tu vilt
Ok ek vil g*er*na veta þik bøøn. Ta swaradhe modhe-
-rin f*irir*. þẏ ek fik miskund af þik min kær*e*. so*n*. m*ædh* þẏ
bedhes ek miskund § Fẏre stadha æra til / En ær hẏ-
-merike i huilko*m* so*m* æra ængla / Ok helgra ma*n*na siæ-
-la. þe þorua enke vidh*i*r vta*n* þik sæm þe hafua f*irir*
þẏ / j þik hafua þe alt got / ok æra fulle af allo
godho / f*irir* þẏ / þe æra i þik *ok* tu æst i þæim § Annar
stadhin þ*æt* ær heluite / þe sæm þ*æ*r i æra þe æra ful-
-le m*ædh* allo illo / Ok wtlẏkte af alle miskund. Ok

4 Af] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
5 There is a small hole between "sæm" and "af".
10 sadhis] there is a dot underneath the "d".
16 mæn] there is a dot under the first minim of the "m".
22 enke] read "enkte".
23 allo] read "allo*m*".
b. There are a repaired tear, stitches, and a number of small holes at the bottom of the page.

1–26 Manuscripts: B 37^{vb}–38ra; C 36va
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 173–174
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 400–401

59

af allo godho m*ædh* þý bidh*i*r ek enkte f*i*r*ir* þæim § þri-
dhi stadhin þ*æt* ær skærzllo eld*i*r. f*i*r*ir* þæim sæm þ*ær* i
æra. bidh*i*r ek min kære son. ok h*e*rra / þe þorfua
þrænne handa miskund vidh*i*r. firir þý þe
hafua þrý ill þing først i þeira hørssl f*i*r*ir* þý þe
høra enkte vtan sorg ok ýsæld / Annat þ*æt* ær i þei-
ra sýýn f*i*r*ir* þý þe se ænkte vtan sina pino ok sina nød
þridhia ær þ*æt*. þe kænna enkte vtan eld / ok drøuilsse
Min kære son firir þe mýkla miskund tu giordhe
m*ædh* mik / Ok f*i*r*ir*. þin mandoom þ*ær* laa i mino liifue
gif miskund þæim § þa swaradhe sonen / min
kæra modh*i*r Ek vil þræfalla miskund þæim gif-
-ua / først skal þeira hørsl minzkas til pino*n*na. ok
økias til min / Annat at þeira sýýn skal linas ok bli-
dhas / þridhia at þeira pina skal lættas ok minzkas
framleidhis gifuir ek þæim. at alle þe sæm nu
af þæssom punct ok stundh æra i þe høxsto ok
mesto pino. þe skolo komo nu i þe midhlasto. þe
sæm æra nu j þe midhlasto. þe skulu komo i þe
minsta. þe sæm nu æra j þe minzsto. þe skulu
ginstan komo til roo f*i*r*ir* þina bøøn.
Ok minna helgha ma*n*na. / þa sagdhe modhore*n*
Signadh*i*r vart þu min søte son ok gudh firir
þina nadhir. Ok lof vardhe þik f*i*r*ir* vtan ændha
§ Fiærdhe stadhin þ*æt* ær wærldhin. ok þe sæm
þ*ær* i boo / þe þorfua þræfalla miskund fýrst

4 firir [þrý]] expunction.
11 gif [mik]] expunction and crossed out with one line.
21–22 bøøn. [Ok þinna hel-|-gha]] crossed out with two lines, and expunction under "-gha".
23 There is a 22-mm tear in the page covering "þu min".
b. lt. The corner of the page (18 mm by 9 mm) has been cut off.

1–26 Manuscripts: B 38$^{ra–b}$; C 36$^{va–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 174
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 401

60

anghir firir sina sýndir Annat þæt ær ræt bætirlsse
Tridhia þær ær størk at gita got giort Min kære
son se mædh þinom miskunda øghum til þeira / þa swara-
-dhe ihesus christus Alle þe þik af allo hiærta ælska. Ok
þit nampn kalla hafuandis fult hop til þin ok
vilia at bætra sik / Ok ekke optare siælfuiliandis
gøra sýndena þessin þrý skulu þæim gifuas. ok
æn himerikis glædhi mædh / firir þý. mik ær swa mýkin
søtme i þinom ordhom / at ænkte þæt tu bedhis kan
ek þik neka. Ok af þinne miskund þe sæm dødhe
æra i sýndinne fa atir af þik liif i dýgdomen. Ok
þe sæm swarte æra sæm kul af syndelikom gerningom
þe varda firir þina bøøn skære sæm ein sool mædh þý var
tu væl signad. Ok sæle æra þe a þik kalla ok þik
MOdhoren maria taladhe til sin son ˛ ælska [Section 9]
ihesum christum ok sagde / lof ok heidhir haf tu alla
þinga skapare ok herra. Tu ælskadhe mik ok heidrade
firir alla þina creatwr / Tu blandadhe þin guddom mædh
þinom mandom i mina liifue. Tu ødmiukte þik til min
Ok tokt køt ok blood vtan sýnd af mik / Af þinne
dýgdh bran all min siæl til þiin Tu æst min kære son
ok min fadhir. Tu æst min gudh / skapare ok herra
Tu vædughadhis gøra mik drøtning i himerike
ok fru iuir alla anda Mædh þý bidhir ek þina miskund
ok alle helghe men mædh mik / æn þo athuarist at vi
seem alt ok vitom alt i þik / þo athuarist firir þen
sæm a hørir. Ok eig gitir andhelik þing takit ok

1 bætirlsse] read “bætrilsse”.
4 Alle] the capital letter comprises a bicameral “a” written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
14–15 Ok sæle æra þe a þik kalla ok þik MOdhoren maria taladhe til sin son ˛ ælska] read as “Ok sæle æra þe a þik kalla ok þik ælska MOdhoren maria taladhe til sin son”.
15 A symbol has been erased in the left-hand margin—possibly a guide letter.
19 mina] read “mino”.
20 Af] the capital letter comprises a bicameral “a” written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
23 vædughadhis] read “værdughadhis”.
24 There is a tear through the words “þý bidh*i*r”.
b. rt. The corner of the page has been cut off.

1–15 Manuscripts: B 38^{rb}; C 36^{vb}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 174–175
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 401–402
15–27 Section 9 has no equivalent Swedish or Latin versions.

61

forstandit vta*n* m*ædh* liknilsæm talu*m* vi til þiin eig
m*ædh* liikkamligho*m* mu*n*ne f*irir*. þý vi æro*m* ekke lika*m*like
vtan var talan til þin ær eig annars æn wars vi-
-lia teelsse i henna siæl. ok samuiti / m*ædh* þý min kær*e*
son ok h*er*ra / bedhoms vi þina miskund f*irir*. þý vij
seem þ*æt* at af þinne rætuiso far hwar ept*i*r andro*m*
til heluitis / vi þorfuu*m* ok þina miskund / Til he*n*na ta-
-lum vi ok bidhiu*m* først f*irir* ænglu*m* at þeira koor ma-
-te vpfýllas f*irir*. þin heidh*i*r ok æro vi bidhiu*m* ok f*irir*
wærldinne. at þiin miskund matte þæim sændas
ok þit lius f*irir*. þý hoon ær blind ok døf til þin hei-
-dhir / Ta swaradhe gudh fadh*i*r Signad vardhe
tu mins sons brwd. ok kæra modhir / Tu tæktis
mino*m* guddome f*irir* allom. Ok af þino*m* søtma droogh
tu til þin min vælsignadha son / Signad var tu
mins sons brudh f*irir* þý at alt þ*æt* sæm skapadh ær
ma þik ekke likas. Sææl æst tu mins sons kæ-
-rista brwdh ok modh*i*r. tu ælskadhe mik mæst iuir
alt m*ædh* þý burdhe þik eig hafua son vtan gudz
son siælfuan Eig bordhe ok hono*m* modh*i*r hafua
vta*n* þe mik ælskadhe mæst / Mædhan tu lýdhe mi-
-no budhi i iordhrike / huilkit ek sendhe þik / m*ædh*
þý vil ek nu lýdha þinne bøøn / f*irir*. þina bøøn vil
ek sendha værldhinne mina naadh / Huilkin ho-
na tak*i*r / ek vil giifua hono*m* til atirløøn mik siæl-
-fuan. / huilkin hona forsmar / þæim vard*i*r vee

MAria taladhe til enna ˛ þ*æt* aldrik ændas [Section 10A]

5 bedhoms] the “e” is misshapen.
9 vpfýllas] there is a dot above the “v”.
17 ekke [h]] crossed out with three lines. The “h” is incomplete.
27 ald\r/ik
27 MAria] the capital “a” comprises a bicameral “a” written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
27 The reference “I 45” is written in black ink by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.
28 The letter “E” is written under the space.

1–27 Section 9 has no equivalent Swedish or Latin versions.
27 Manuscripts: B 31^{rb}; C 30ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 135
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 374

62

me*n*niskio Mins sons likame var p*ræ*ssadh*i*r swa
sæm þ*æt* køt sæm p*ræ*ssas i enne præss. hans
haar var wtdræghit / ha*n*s þy*n*ninga ginu*m* stu*n*g
-na af krono*n*na þorne / hans øghon ful m*ædh*
bloodh / hans øron atirtæpt m*ædh* lifradho blodhe.
hans mu*n*dir fuldher m*ædh* blodhe ok galla / hans
kindher varo jndragna. alla hans sỳnur wtrag-
-na / hans hænd*i*r ok føt*i*r ginu*m* fæsta / all*i*r hans
likame swa slaghin at enkte var a hono*m* helt /
hans sa*m*uit var drøft / hans hierta ginu*m* stu*n*git
ok swa sæm ma*n*ne*n* sỳndadhe i allo*m* sino*m* limo*m* Swa
ok min son þoldhe pino f*irir* manzsins hilso i allo*m*
sino*m* limo*m* § Æfte þæssin ordh sỳntis ih*esus christus*. m*ædh*
storo herskapi ok sagde swa Mine væne ængla
þoat huarist i seen ok vitin alt i mik / þoathua-
rist m*ædh* ek vil oppinbara mina dỳgdh vil ek þee
þæsse me*n*niskio m*ædh* liiknilsso*m* andhelik þing i hænna
siæll. Ek spør af idh*i*r ænglom hwad ær þ*æt* sæm var
vtan vphof. ok ær ææ f*irir*. vtan ændha / Hwa ær þ*æt*
sæm alt skapadhe ok af ængho ær skapadh / Hwa ær
þ*æt* so*m* swa ær sæm swa ær vældugh*i*r. at ænghin
radh*i*r iuir ha*n* ok ænghin h*er*ra. Ta swaradhe ængla-
-ne swa sæm m*ædh* enne røst / Vaar gudh þu æst
þæn sami / Vi gifuu*m* þik vitne af þrem þin-
-gu*m* / Først at tu æst þ*æ*n þ*æ*r aldrig hafde vpbørilsse
Ok aldrig faar ændha Annat at þu skapade

6 g[-]alla] expunction and erasure.
12 man\z/sins
15 alt [m*œdh*]] expunction and crossed out with one line.
15 \i/
21 som swa ær sæm swa ær] dittography.
23 -ne [sa]] crossed out with two lines.
24 [h] þæn] expunction and crossed out with two lines.
25 \at/

1–26 Manuscripts: B 31$^{rb–va}$; C 30$^{ra–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 135–136
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 374–375

63

himerike ok iordhrike ok alt þ*æt* i þæim ær
Ok. vt*a*n þik ær ænkte. Ok vtan þik vardh*i*r ænk-
-te. Þridhia at tu vældugh*i*r iuir alt / Ok i þik ær
all rætuisa. Ok alt þ*æt* sæm var ok vard*i*r ær i þin-
-ne forsẏyn / þ*æ*r næst taladhe gudh til p*r*o*phet*as ok
p*at*riarchas / hwa ær þæn sæm folkit leidhe wt af
egipto lande / Hwa giorde idh*i*r vægh i hafuino.
hwa gaf idh*i*r laghin / hwa gaf idh*i*r p*r*o*phet*o*m* anda
til at tala gudz ordh / hwa gaf af himbleno*m* æn-
-gla brødh / Ok vatn af hællene / Ta swaradhe þe
Tu æst þæn os leidhe af træældomeno*m* Tu gaft
laghin / Tu vækte van andha op at tala þin ordh
Tu gaft drik af hællene Tu matadhe os af þin-
-ne dẏgd // þær næst taladhe gudh til maria*m* Min
modh*i*r ængla drøtning Sigh þ*æt* tu veest af mik
Ta swaradhe hoo*n* / før æn ængelin ko*m* til min m*ædh*
þino ordhe / þa var ek ensamin m*ædh* mino*m* likama ok
siæll / Sidhan ordhit var sakt Ok ek hafde þẏ ia-
-kat / Ta var þin likame i mik m*ædh* guddome ok ma*n*
-dome / Ok kændhe ek þin likama i mino*m* likama
Ek fik þik vtan sorgh Ek afladhe þik vtan synd
Ek fødhe þik m*ædh* altz mins likama glædhi. Ek
swepte þik i fatighom klædho*m* / Ek var m*ædh* þik
af þino*m* fødzlo tima. Ok til þin dødh Sidhan
taladhe han til sinna apostla. Hwa ær þæn i saghi*n*
ok hørdhen. ok kændhin Ta swaradhe þe / vi hørdo*m*

3 Þridhia] possibly "þridhia".
3 tu vældugh*ir*] read "tu æst vældugh*ir*".

1–26 Manuscripts: B 31va; C 30$^{rb–va}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 136–137
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 375

64

þin or ok fæstom þæim / Vi hørdhu*m* þin lagh ok
dỳgdhelingh þing Vi hørdhu*m* at tu m*ædh* eno ordhe
kørdhe bort diæfuulin Vi hørdhu*m* at tu m*ædh* eno
ordhe reesthe vp dødha mæn / Ok giorde siuka me*n*
heila / Vi sagho*m* þina g*er*ni*n*ga gudhlika ok vnd*i*rlika
i þino*m* mandome / Vi saghu*m* þik sa*n*na*n* gudh ok sa*n*-
-na*n* man hængia a korsseno / Vi sagho*m* þik læggias j
grafuena / Vi kændom ok þik þa tu vast vpstande*n*
Vi kændom þina vnd*i*r ok þina limir at þu vast
sand*i*r gudh ok sand*i*r man / Vi atom ok drokkom
m*ædh* þik Vi saghom ok þik ta tu for op til þin fadh*i*r
j þino*m* guddome ok mandome Tu æst sand*i*r gudz
son ok iu*m*fru*n*na son / Tu æst þæn sæm p*r*ophetane af spa-
-dho ok hopodhos / Tu æst værldhinna atirløsar*e* ein
gudh m*ædh* fadhoreno*m* ok þæim helgha anda § þ*æ*r
næst taladhe gudh til diæfla*n*na / Ek veet at j
lønin sa*n*nind i idhro samuiti M*ædh* þỳ biudh*i*r
ek idh*i*r sighin hwa sæm minskadhe idhart valdh
ok makt / þa swaradhe diæflane Swa sæm tiufua
sæghia / eig g*er*na sa*n*nind vtan mæn stokkar þæim
hardhlika. Swa ok vi vtan vi nødhgoms til af þi-
-no gudhliko valdhe. vi sighiom ekke g*er*na sat / Tu æst
var skapar*e* / Tu æst þæn sæm vart valdh minzska-
-dhe / þu þokt þin rææt wt af heluiti m*ædh* þinne ræt
-uiso. Ok þino*m* kærleek þa sagde var h*er*ra til alla
helgha men. see alle þe sæm andha hafua. þe

1 or] read “ordh”.
2 dẏgdhelingh] read “dẏgdheligh”.
8 grafuena] bicameral “a”.
17 idhro [hiærta]] crossed out with two lines.
26 alle] bicameral “a”.

1–26 Manuscripts: B 31$^{va–b}$; C 30va
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 137–138
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 375–377

65

gifua mik san vitne þ*æt* ek ær skapar*e* ok atirlø-
-sare. Ensamin ma*n*nin so*m* badhe hafu*ir* liif ok siæl
ha*n* stand*i*r mik a moot So*m*like vitta væl hwad
ek hafu*ir* vidh þæim giort ok vẏrdha þ*æt* ekke. Ok
so*m*like haldha min ordh all f*i*r*ir* fals ok flætio §
þa sagde atir var h*er*ra til ænglinna / Ma*n*nin sigir
idhur vithne vara fals / han sigh*i*r mik ekke all
þing rætlika ok viislika hafua. Eig ok alt þ*æt* sæ*m*
varit hafu*ir* ok vardh*i*r vita / han hald*i*r mik ok
orætuisan domara. Ok gifu*ir* ekke vm mik M*ædh*
þẏ ælskar han hellir þ*æt* sæm skapat ær / æn ska-
-paren / þ*æ*r næst taladhe gudh til pr*o*phetan*n*a ok pa-
-triarcha / Ma*n*nin sigh*i*r idhur vitne vara hægum-
-ma / han sigh*i*r vara friælst*i*r af egipto lande
m*ædh* idhrom størk / laghin sigh*i*r. ha*n* var lughin
jdhar spaillse epte idhre vildh ok af ondhom
andha Sidhan sagde han til maria*m*. Tu sagde
mik sa*n*nindha vitne. æn ma*n*nin sigh*i*r a moot þik
So*m*lighe sighia þik ekke vara skæra iumfrw
Somlike at ek gik eig wt af þino lukto liifue
So*m*like sighia mik eig vara. sa*n*na*n* gudh edd*i*r sa*n*-
-nan man Somlike forstanda þ*æt* væl ok vẏrdha
þ*æt* ekke Sidhan taladhe gudh til ap*ost*olos. jdha-
-rt vitne vẏrdhis af ma*n*nome*n* enkte. þe sighia
nyio laghin vara vtan skæl. Min ordh lughin
ok flætio Min pina ær glømdh M*ædh* þẏ spyr
ek af idh*i*r ollum helghu*m* ma*n*nu*m*. hwad ær

6 atir] the "r" is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
14 sigh*i*r vara] read "sigh*i*r idhir vara".
b. lt. The corner of the page (27 mm by 9 mm) has been cut off.

1–27 Manuscripts: B 31^{vb}; C 30$^{va–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 138
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 376–377

66

hær rættir dombir vm / æn þo athwarist ek wet alt / ok
seer / þý firir þæsso mennniskio vil ek teea i henna samuiti
min vilia mædh liiknilsom / þa swaradhe alle helghe men
Var gudh ok herra tu æst þæssa domare / þu æst vtan
vphof ok ændha. þu *christe* ihesu gudz son. ok iumfrunna
son þik ær allir dombir gifuin / þu æst þæssa þinga
domare / Ta swaradhe atir gudh / Ek sæm kære / ek ær
ok domare / Nu sighin þa hwad doom værldhin ær nu
værdogh hafua / Ta swaradhe þe / vi seem alt i þik
ok vittum Swasom værldhin først þoldhe noe flood /
swa ær ok værdhog nu fordaruas. af eld / fýrir þý
at lusthin ok girin æra meire ok heitare æn þa
var þa flodhin gik iuir. Ta swaradhe gudh. mæn
ek ær rætuiis ok miskunsambir. Ok ek gør eig ræt-
-uiso vtan miskund / Ok eig miskund vtan mædh rætui-
-so mædh þý vil ek firir minna modhir bøøn skuld ok idhra
æn ein tima sendha mina miskund til værldhinna
mædh minom ordhom þær af minom munne wtgingo / firir þy
Ek skapadhe værldhinna ok alla þe i henne boo / æn þý [Section 10B]
at þe forsma mik / Ek høre hwan dagh eina rama
røst af værldhinne. swa som eina humblo røst / þæt ær
þæt at alle sighia mik swa. Ek výrdhir ekke hwad
hær kombir epte / ja sannelika mannin výrdhir ekke
hwad ek giordhe af minom kærleek j þý at ek
fraiælste han. Ek fødhe han mædh ængla
brødhe. Ek sændhe honom mina prophetas. Ek prædi-
-cadhe mædh mik siælfuum. Ek þoldhe firir honom þe
hardha pino / han výrdhir ok eig hwad ek giorde

8 væ\r/ldhin
11 ær ok] read “ær hon ok”.
11 fordaruas] read “fordæruas”.
13 gik [iu*ir*]] crossed out with three lines.
13 iuir] the “r” is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
19 The reference “I 44” is written in black ink by a later hand in the left-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.
25 Ek [fræ]] expunction and crossed out with one line.

1–18 Manuscripts: B 31^{vb}–32ra; C 30^{vb}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 138–139
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 377–378

19–28 Manuscripts: B 31ra; C 30ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 134
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 372–373

67

i mi*n*ne rætuiso J þy at ek plaghadhe pharaone*m*
ok sodomitas. J þy at ek plaghar þæim hwar dagh
sæm þe see m*œdh* sino*m* øghom / Þætta ær alt blint f*irir*.
þeira oughom. þe se sik dødhlika. Ok sina ẏsild
i androm / ok vẏrdha þ*æt* ænkte. þe fliugha vp
sæm hu*m*blor i sinne høghfærdh. þe fliugha nidh*ir*
rasklika m*œdh* ondho*m* lusta. þe sanka allan søtman
ok honaghin i iordhinne / þ*æt* ær at þe arbeidha alt
f*irir* likamins nẏt. Ok ænkte f*irir* siælinna. Akta ok alla*n*
værldhinna heidh*ir* Ok ænkte gudz heidh*ir* Sørg-
-hia af værldhinna genuærdho / Ok ænkte f*irir* þ*æt* sæ*m*
komo skal / þe vændha sik værldhinna sæm ek
skapte þæim at nẏtia skælikan j æui*n*nelika pino
þẏ f*irir* mina mẏkla miskund. ok minna modhir bøn
vil ek sendha þæssom humblom mino clara røsth þe
hona vilia høra. þe vardha sæle / þæn hona wtkasta
han skal kænna mina rætuiso

MAria taladhe. þ*œ*r sæm ein danz ær. þ*œ*r æra þrẏ [Section 11]
þing / Onẏtlikin glædhi. skør røst. *ok* fanẏt
arbeidhe. huilkin sẏrghiande man sæm kombir til
þænna danzen gangande. æra hans vini j danzeno*m*
þa skyl han sik vidh*ir* danzen. Ok hugswala þæn
sæm syrghiande ær / þænne danzen þ*æt* ær
værldhin / i henne ær þrẏ þing / Omẏkin glædhi
skør ordh. Ok fanẏt arbeidhe fẏr þẏ at alt þ*æt* me*n*
arbeidhar i værldhinne. þ*æt* leuis alt at*ir*. Huilkin
ma*n* j þæssins værld danz. ær huxe a mina sorg
þ*œ*r ek hafde i mins sons dødh. Ek var swasæm
þe qui*n*na sæm hafdhe fæm spiwt i sino hiærta

3 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the right-hand margin.
9 Akta] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
17 A thick line (42 mm long) fills out the line after the text.
17 There is a capital letter "E" in pale red ink in the right-hand margin.
18 MAria] the initial "M" is in green ink, and the capital "a" comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
18 The reference "I 27" is written in black ink by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.
23 þ*æt* ær [danzen]] expunction and crossed out with one line.
b. There are two horizontal rulings at the bottom of the page.

1–17 Manuscripts: B 31$^{ra–b}$; C 30ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 134–135
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 373

18–29 Manuscripts: B 21ra; C 19^{vb}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 83
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 317–318

68

fýrsta spiwtidh þ*æ*r ek hafde þ*æt* war þee sorgin
þ*æ*r ek hafdæ af þui ek saa at min son stod nakin
swa so*m* han war føddi*r* / widær studæna ok flængdi*r*
annor war þ*æt* at ek hørdæ at mi*n* son heth liugar*e*
ok forradaræ þ*æ*r ek wistæ aldræ vilia sægia
vsaat / ok aldræ sindadæ / þridia war þee hua
ssa krona a hans hofde stoodh. huilkin swa har-
dhelika stak hans hiæssa. at blodhin sæm affløt
fýlte. ørun. mun. Ok øghun. Ok alt hans skæg §
fiærde var þe ømklika røst þr han øpte a kros-
sena. til sin fadhir a ma*n*domsins væghna. Ok sag-
dhe Min fadh*i*r hui hafu*ir* tu mik forlatid / swa sæm
han vilde sighia. þæn ær ænghin sik barmar ifu*ir*
mik vtan tu § fæmta var þ*æt*. þæn hardhe dødhin
ek sa a honu*m* Sa*n*nelika swa margha stiu*n*nga han
fik a sin aldra reinasta likama Swa mang spiut
þokte mik sæm stodho i mino hiærta þa ha*n* stodh
a krosseno. Ok alla hans adhror ok sinor a fotom
ok handom varo ýpnadho. Ta gik sorghen ok værken
af vndomen ok vp til hiærtadh. Ok f*i*r*ir*. þý at hiær-
-tat var færst. Ok var af bezsta natura. gik vær-
-kin atir til vnda*n*na. Ok swa f*i*r*ir* hiærtans godhleek
ok starkleek. striidhe lifuit soma*n* ok dødhin. Ok
længdis hans sorg. ok værken. þæn tima dødhin
nalkadhis. ok hiætadh brast. ta gafuos alle ha*n*s
limi vidh*i*r. hofwdhit gaf sik litidh vp / øghonin

1–7 þ*æt* [...] krona] written by Hand 4.
3 flængd*i*r] the "d*i*r" section is misshapen and difficult to read.
4 \\a//nnor] the is a 9-mm gap between the "a" and the rest of the word. There is no apparent reason for this gap.
4 heth] the "e" is misshapen.
10 þr] read "þ*æ*r".
11 varo] there is a dot above and to the left of the "a".
19 sorghen] there is a dark dot above the "o".
19 værken] the "en" is poorly legible because of grazing on the surface of the page.
25 hiætadh] read "hiærtadh".

1–26 Manuscripts: B 21$^{ra–b}$; C 19^{vb}–20ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 83–84
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 318–319

69

lyktos vp til halfs. ok mu*n*dren / Þa sẏntis all
hans tunga blodogh. ok ræte sik litit vp. þa
han gaf vp andhan þa fiol hans vælsignadha
howd a hans brẏst. hændrena gingo litit wt af
naglomen. þa bliknadho mina hend*i*r ok kinder.
øghonin mørktos. ænlitit var swa sæm dødz manz
øronen hørdho enkte mu*n*dren gat af sorg enkte
talad / føtrene dofnadho alle. Ok swa fioll min
likame til iordhinna. af mins kæra sons sorgh.
þa ek atir vpstodh. þa sa ek min son hænghia
sæm ein spitælskan man. þa huxadhe ek m*ædh* mik
þ*æt* han var sand*i*r gudh ok man. Ok hafde ekke
þolika pino þolt / vtan þ*æt* hafde varit hans vili.
Ok þæn mẏkle kærleik*i*r ha*n* hafde til ma*n*nin m*ædh* þẏ
blandadhis ein glædhi i min hugh m*ædh* sorghe*n*ne. þ*æt*
ek sa. at f*irir* gudlikin kærleek min son þoldhe þolkit
Ok ma*n*nin skuldhe atirløsas f*irir* hans kærleek af diæf
-leno*m* Hwilkin sæm ær i wærldinna danze. huxe huil-
-kin ek var j mino*m* dødh. Ok varku*n*sami mik ok fyl-
-ghe mik / Gvdh siælfu*ir* sẏntis vara wreidh*i*r æn [Section 12]
þoathwarist han ær æig vmskiptelikin. ok vardhir al-
-drig wreidh*i*r vtan endheligh þing gita eig gri-
-pitz vta*n* m*ædh* liiknilsæm. Ok gudz wreidhe ær eig
annat vtan hans rætuiso teelse. han sẏntis sæm
ha*n* hafde sitit a eino*m* dome. Ok sagde swa. Ek sat
a mino*m* doom. Ein kom til min doom. til huilkin
min fadhir sagde / Ve þik at tu nokon tima vast

t. lt. A piece of page (31 mm by 20 mm) has been torn off. There is also a 38-mm long tear along the top right-hand side of the page.
17 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the right-hand margin.
19–20 A symbol has been erased in the right-hand margin—possibly a guide letter.
20 The reference "I 28" is written in black ink by a later hand in the left-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.
21 \æig/
22 endheligh] read "andheligh".

1–27 Manuscripts: B 21$^{rb–va}$; C 20$^{ra–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 84–86
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 319–321

70

fødhir. eig þý at gudhi angrar nokon hafua
giort vtan swasæm androm þýkker illa
vara a*n*nars skadha. ok varkunsama honu*m*§
Þærnæst sagdhe mandomen. Ek gøt mit blodh
f*i*r*ir*. þik Ok þoldhe ek f*i*r*ir* þik hardha pino. Ok
m*ædh* henne. hafu*ir* tu ænghin lut / Þæn helghe
andh sagdhe / Ek leitte hwan ein vinkil j
þino hiærta. Ek fan þ*æ*r ængha bløtlikheit
Ok ænghin kærlekx varma. vtan tu vast
frusin sæm ein iis. hardher i ilzsko sæm ein
stein. þý hafu*ir* ek enkte gøra m*ædh* þik. § þæssa
þres røsth*i*r høras ekke m*ædh* þý. at þre gudha æru
vtan f*i*r*ir*. þý at tu gitthr ekke andhelig þing gri-
-pit. vtan m*ædh* liiknilsæm f*i*r*ir*. þý hørdhe þu þæssa
þre røste § þ*æ*r næst hørdhis ein røst af fadhre-
-no*m*. ok sýneno. ok þæim helgha anda sæm alt ær.
en gudh. Ok þre p*er*sone. þik bør ængha lund haua
himerike. Miin modh*i*r maria þýgde fýr þý. ha*n*
var ouærdugh*i*r he*n*na bøøn hafua ¶ Alle hel-
ge me*n* øpte m*ædh* enne røst. þ*æt* ær rætuisa þ*æt* ha*n*
skal æw*ær*delika vara wtlagd*i*r af himerike § þe
sæm i skærzlo elde varo sagdha swa / ænghin
ær swa hard pina m*ædh* os sæm þik bør hafua ¶
þa øpte siælin siælf op m*ædh* þrý we. Ve þe natu-
-re*n*ne þ*æ*r ek kom somo*n* af i mi*n*na modhir
⌞ lifue. ve þe stu*n*⌟

t. Part of the parchment has been torn off and there is another rip in the page.
13 gitthr] read “gitth*i*r”.
16 sæm] there is a dot above and to the right of the “m”.
19 Alle] the capital letter comprises a bicameral “a” written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
22 sagdha] read “sagdho”.
25 modhir] the “r” is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
26 ˹ lifue. ve þe stu*n*˺] the catchwords are encapsulated.

1–26 Manuscripts: B 21$^{va–b}$; C 20$^{rb–va}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 86–87
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 321–322

71

lifue ve þe stu*n*dinne Ok banzat vardhe hoon þ*æ*r min
siæl ok likame komo somo*n* a. Ok banzsatt*i*r varde
þæn mik liif ok siæl gaf ¶ þridhia ropit. banzat
vardhe þe stundhen ek liifuandis ko*m* af mi*n*ne
modh*i*r. lifue. Ok þ*æt* mit liif var swa langt § Þa
komo røsth*i*r þre mote honu*m* af heluiti. ok sag-
-dhe þe første swa ¶ Ko*m* hiit banzat siæl sæm en
malmber þ*æ*r flÿt*i*r til æwærdhelikit liif i dødhe
-no*m* § Anno røsthin kom hiit banzat siæl. ko*m* til va-
-ra ilzsko. ænghin skal þæn vara m*ædh* os at þu
skal eig loftaghin vara af hans pino ¶ Þridhia
røsten sagde kom banzat siæl þung so*m* þæn þu*n*-
-gaste stein sæm æ siwnk*i*r nidh*i*r ok aldrig op. ok
aldrig faar grund Swa gang*i*r ok þu grundug-
-are nidh*i*r til heluitis æ vi. Tu stadhnar ekke fyr
en nidharst i heluitis grundh. § Framleidhis
sagdhe gudh. Se wsle mæn. hwad þe køpa firir
ondhan lusta swa sæm þe men sæm hafua ma*n*ga
hustrw. þa han seer enna þeira faal þa vænd*i*r
han sik bort fra he*n*ne. ok til þeira sæm æra go-
-dha ok glæz m*ædh* þæim Swa ok ek vændh*i*r mit
anlite fra hono*m*. Ok til mi*n*na vina. Ok glæz ek m*ædh*
þæim / m*ædh* þy radh*i*r. ek þik ok bidh*i*r. Tiæna mik
aff allo hiærta. ok swa mÿklo i*n*nirlighare sæm
ek hafu*i*r meira nadh m*ædh* þik giort. flÿ værldena
ok henna giri. Ok stat ekke epte ma*n*na lof. hux
-ar þu at ek þok swa hardha pino f*i*r*i*r. ma*n*na
lof ell*i*r heidhir. ællas ok at ek ekke gat valt
mik lætar*e* døz pino. ok raskar*e* Ja sa*n*nelika vta*n*
þ*æt* var rætuisa. at swa sæm ma*n*nin sÿndadhe

9 Anno] read “Annor”. The capital letter comprises a bicameral “a” written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
10 varo [o]] expunction.
11 loftaghin] read “lottaghin”.
15 æ] read “æn”.
19 hustr\w/

1–30 Manuscripts: B 21^{vb}–22ra; C 20$^{va–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 87–88
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 322–323

72

j oll*u*m sinu*m* limu*m*. swa skolde ma*n*nin ok bætra
i oll*u*m sinu*m* limu*m* M*ædh* þý þok ek a mik ma*n*doom
at swa sæm ma*n*nin sýndadhe i allu*m* sinu*m* limu*m*. Swa
bætradhe ek þ*æt* m*ædh* oll*u*m mino*m* limu*m*. M*ædh* þý stat
i rætte ødhmiwkt. ok gudhliko*m* ræddugha. gøm
þin mu*n* af onýtte. ok omýkle talan. ok alla þina
limi af syndh mit howdh var kronat m*ædh* þorn ok
nidh*i*r lutande a korsseno. þ*ær* til at þu skulde ødh-
-miuka þit howdh / min øgho*n* varo ful m*ædh* blood. ok
taro*m* þ*ær* til at tu skulde halda þik af sýnd Min
øro*n* varo full m*ædh* lifradho blodhe. ok hørdho
obrýgdilsse. þ*ær* til at þu skulde enkte høra laste-
-likin ok skørlikin ordh Min mu*n*dh*i*r var fuller m*ædh*
bloodh. ok galla þ*ær* til at tu skalt hafua væl ta-
lande þungo Mina hend*i*r varo gino*m* boradhe m*ædh*
huassom naghlom þ*ær* til at þina g*er*ni*n*ga skuldo
vara i gudhliko*m* sako*m* ok til gudhz heidh*i*r. Mine fø-
tir varo fæste tilkorsit þ*ær* til. at þu skulde hafua a-
-stundh ok vilia. at skýlia þik vidh værldhinna giri
Ok allan vilia hafua. at vara m*ædh* mik. Ok standa i
mino*m* heidhr. Ok swa sæm ek hafde alla mina limi
ospara f*i*r*ir* þik til pino*n*na. Swa skalt ok þu alla þina
limi afua ospara til godha g*er*ni*n*ga. ok til sýnda*n*na

MAria taladhe til sin son ih*esu*m *christu*m ˛ bætrilsse [Section 13]
Signadh*i*r var tu þ*ær* ær vtan vphof. ok vtan
ændha. þu hafde þ*æ*n høuizskasta likama / þu vast
þæn ma*n*nelikaste man. Tu vast i mino lifue þe
bæzsta c*re*atura. af þins mandoms væghna § þa
swaradhe so*n*nen. þin oord þ*ær* ganga af þino*m*

1 sinu*m* [s]] expunction.
6 alla] first "a" is bicameral.
18 tilkorsit [þ*æt*]] crossed out with two horizontal and two vertical strokes.
18 \þ*æ*r/
21 heidhr] read "heidh*i*r".
23–24 ok til sẏnda*n*na MAria taladhe til sin son ih*es*um *christ*um ˛ bætrilsse] read as "ok til sẏnda*n*na bætrilsse MAria taladhe til sin son ih*es*um *christ*um".
24 The reference "I 46" is written in black ink by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.
24 MAria] the initial letter "M" is written in green ink, and the capital "a" comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
25 \tu/

1–24 Manuscripts: B 22ra; C 20^{vb}–11ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 88
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 323
24–29 Manuscripts: B 32ra; C 30^{vb}–31ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 139
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 378

73

mu*n*ne þe æra mik søt ok lusthelikin sæm þæm sø-
-taste drẏkk*i*r / þu æst mik kærast f*i*r*ir*. all c*re*atwr Sua-
sæm i eino*m* speghle sæm ma*n* seer marg anliti i. ænk-
-te tækkis ma*n*ne bæt*i*r æn sit eighit Swa ok ek
þo at hwarist ek ælskar alla helgha me*n* iæmn
mẏkit. þẏ ær ænghin þolkin kærleek sæm þu f*i*r*ir* þẏ
ek þook sand*i*r gudh min ma*n*do*m*. þu æst swa sæm ein
mirra. þins kærleekx fullir døn gik i*n* til min gud-
-dom. ok drogh ha*n* in til þin likama. Ok þæn sami
dønin. drog þin likama ok þina siæl vp til min gud-
-dom m*ædh* hwilko*m* tu glæz nu. Ok ær badhe. m*ædh* likama
ok m*ædh* siæl Signad var þu f*i*r*ir* þẏ af þino*m* faghir-
-leik glædhias ænglane. Ok alle sæm a þik kalla
fa naad / Af þi*n*ne miskund fa alle sorgfulle hug
-swalan. Af þino*m* skærlek rædhas alle diæflane
¶ Þu gaft mik þrefalt lof. þu sagde mik vara
þæn ma*n*nelikasta man. Ok þ*æt* bezsta c*re*atwr § M*ædh*
þæsso*m* þrem sigh*i*r nu ma*n*nin. ha*n* sigh*i*r mik hafua
þæn ohøuiskasta likama. ok varo oma*n*nelikasta
man. Ok vara fulasta c*re*atur. Hwad ær øhøuizscare
vtan badhe syndhena siælfu*i*r gøra. ok a*n*na*n* m*ædh* sik til
sẏndhinna dragha Swa halda þe nu min likama ¶
MAnnin sigh*i*r nu / sẏndhin ær ænghin swa fwll
swa sæm af sigx. ho*n* ær ekke gudhi swa leidh sæm
af sc*ri*fuas. þ*æt* ær ænkte skapad vtan sæm gudh
vildhe. Ok enkte ær vtan han. hwi skulu*m* vi eig
ta nẏttia værldhinna epte varo*m* vilia. þ*æt* vare
eig ællas skapadh af gudhi. vta*n* ha*n* vilde at vi
skuldo*m* nẏttia þ*æt* sæm skapad ær § Waar nature

2 þu [n]] expunction and crossed out by one line. The letter form may comprise the first two minims in an "m" rather than an "n".
5 [Sw] þo] expunction and crossed out with two lines.
14 Af] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
15 -swalan] there is a dot above the first "a".
15 Af] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
22 There is a pale "a" in the right-hand margin.
23 MAnnin] the capital "a" comprises a large bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
29 Waar] the "W" is written with a flourish.
29 nature] bicameral "a".

1–29 Manuscripts: B 32$^{ra–b}$; C 31ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 139–140
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 378–379

74

ær krank. Ok gitom eig swa lifuat sæm þe sæm f*irir*
os varo. Swa sighia nu alle. Ok hwar gør sin vilia
ok ænghin min. þe haldha mi*n* ma*n*dom j huilku*m* ek
var sand*i*r gudh. ok ma*n* f*irir*. ohøfuizskan / f*irir*. þý ek af-
-radhe syndhena. ok rønte dýgdhena. Ek kændhe ød-
-miwt. ok flýia høgfærdhena. Ek kende kærleek / ok
flýia ondhan lusta. þ*æt*ta sigh*i*r ma*n*nin vara høuizsko
f*irir*. þý þe sighia enkte vara ohøuizsko vtan sin eghi*n*
lusta. ok sin vilia mædh*i*r þý hald*i*r ma*n*nin min man-
-doom f*irir*. ohøuizskan. þý at ek aafrædh ondha*n* lusta
ok kændhe dyghd ¶ Þe sighia mik ok vara þæn
oma*n*nelikasta ma*n*. Hwar ær oma*n*nelikar*e* en slaas
f*irir*. tendirna ta han talar þ*æt* sæm sant ær. Ok en høre
ha*n* vppa sin skadha. Vare ha*n* ma*n*. ha*n* hæmdis sik væl
Swa gørs nu mik. Ek sigh*i*r ma*n*neno*m* min vilia m*ædh*
mi*n*na p*ræ*dikara ordhu*m*. Ok m*ædh* mi*n*ne helgho skript. þ*æt*
halda þe alt f*irir*. lýgn ok skælk. þe sla mik ok i tæn-
-drena. ta þe gøra ma*n*draap. ok andra stora sýnd
Ok æn sighia þe. Vare gudh til. ella þøkte honu*m*
nokot vara aat sýndhinne. han hæmdis væl § Þe
sighia alle pinan ær ekke æwinnelikin. ok ekke
swa hardh sæm sigx. Ok mædhir þý haldas min
ordh f*irir*. lýgn. ok mit þulumodh f*irir*. enkte ¶ Þe sigia
mik ok vara þ*æt* fulaste c*re*atur / hwad c*re*atur æl fular*e*
ælla mi*n*dre vært en hundrin ell*i*r kattrin. þoathua-
-rist huilkin sæm vilde gifua hest f*irir*. hunde ell*i*r f*irir*
kat ma*n* skipte g*er*na. Vtan ma*n*nin haldh*i*r mik æn
mi*n*na en hundhen. þ*ær* til at ma*n*nin skulde mista hu*n*-

2 alle] bicameral “a”.
11 An “e” has been written in ink in the left-hand margin.
24 æl] read “ær”.
28 There is a pale zigzag squiggle in the left-hand margin, possibly an “m”.

1–28 Manuscripts: B 32$^{rb–va}$; C 31$^{ra–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 140–141
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 379–380

75

-din ha*n* vilde eig mik taka firir hu*n*dhen. Ok æn
før en ha*n* miste skinnit af hu*n*deno*m*. hell*i*r swore ha*n*
mik bort. Ok behioldhe skinnet / hwad þing hafu*ir*
ma*n*nin swa litidh. Ok leikir hans hans hugh*i*r þ*æ*r vp
a. at ha*n* huxar eig optar*e*. þ*æ*r vp a æn a mik Sa*n*-
-nelika ma*n*ne*n* hafu*ir* ænkte swa litit ha*n* komb*i*r eig
i hugh vta*n* mik. Hono*m* komb*i*r enkte swa litit til at
han sørgh*i*r eig af. vta*n* af mik. komb*i*r hono*m* ok hans
vini skadhi ok sorgh til ha*n* gifs þ*æ*r vidh*i*r. gør ha*n*
mot sino*m* værldzliko*m* h*er*ra han rædhis ha*n* sÿrg*i*r
ha*n* ødmiukar sik / Æn þa ha*n* gør mot mik þ*æt* vÿrdh*i*r
ha*n* eig / hwad ma*n*ne ær þ*æt* vm han gifu*ir* nokrom
nokot. at hono*m* gifs eig nokot atir til heidhers.
Ek sæm alla þinga skapar*e* ær ¶ Ok alla h*er*ra ok allu*m*
gifu*ir* / Mik gifs f*irir* min kærleek enkte firir þÿ halz
ek f*irir*. þe fulasta c*re*atur / f*irir* þÿ. fa lata mik værdug-
-han vara nokon heidh*i*r. Min ræddughe ær gløm*di*r
Min kærleik*i*r ær gløm*di*r Mædh þÿ min kæra mo-
-dhir swa sæm aldrig vtan sa*n*nind gik af þino*m* mu*n*ne
Swa gang*i*r ok aldre vta*n* sa*n*nind af mik M*ædh* þÿ vil
ek orsaka mik f*irir*. allo mino herskapi þ*æt* min man-
-domb*i*r var høuizskir iuir alla. Ok þæn sæm han si-
-ghir vara ohøuizskan ha*n* skal skæmmas m*ædh* æu*ær*de-
like skam / Ok pinas m*ædh* au*ær*delika pino § Þæn mik
sigh*i*r vara omanlikin. Ok min ord vara fals. ha*n*
skal flÿta nidh*i*r til heluitis sæm trækkir ok eig
Ok eig stadhna før en i nidhirsto gru*n*deno*m* ¶
Þæn mik sigh*i*r vara fulasta c*re*atur. a mins man-
doms vægna. ha*n* skal aldrig kænna mina glæ-
-dhi. ok þæn æuærdelika søtman § Ek ær swa

4 hans hans] dittography.
10 sino*m* [væl]] expunction and crossed out with one line.
11 Æn] the capital letter "Æ" is bicameral.
14 ¶] extremely pale ink.
14 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the right-hand margin.
24 au*ær*delika] read "æu*ær*delika".
26–27 ok eig Ok eig] dittography.
30 swa] bicameral "a".

1–30 Manuscripts: B 32va; C 31$^{rb–va}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 141–143
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 380–381

76

sæm þæn konu*ng*i*r* sæm ær kørdh*i*r wt af sino
rike. huilkin m*ædh* sino walde ma jngangha hwar
sæm hono*m* sỳnis / þoathuarist vil han ekke vta*n* m*ædh*
enne rætuiso. ok þ*æt* sæm hono*m* bør væl til. Swa ok
ek wtkørd*i*r ær af cristna ma*n*na hiærta. sæm mit
-rike skulde vara. En þo at ek ma alt gøra m*ædh*
mino rike. ok valde / þoathwarist ga*ng*i*r* ek ænghin
stadh in vta*n* þ*æ*r mik bør til aff rætuisonne / Huxa
idhelika fæm þing ¶ Først huru mỳkit aatskil
wærldhi*n*na heidh*i*r ok æu*æ*rdelikin heidh*i*r / Annat
værldhinna glædhi ok himerikis glædhi. Tridhia
wærldhinna rikedom Ok æu*æ*rdelikin i himerike
fiærdha værldhinna ære. Ok æu*æ*rdhelika ære m*ædh* gu-
-dhi siælfuu*m* / Fæmta huru mỳkit atskil værldhi*n*na
-lusta. Ok þæm sæm æu*æ*rdhelika ær i himerike
⟨M⟩ Aria taladhe til sin søta son Signadh*i*r vart [Section 14A]
þu min søte son ok mi*n* gudh. Tu æst þrefal-
-lelika heilagh*i*r. sæm af siwngx. S*an*ct*u*s. S*an*ct*u*s. S*an*ct*u*s ❖
d*omin*us d*eu*s sabaoth. þu æst søt*i*r ok søtar*e*. Ok aldra sø-
-tast*i*r. þu vast heilagh*i*r før en þu komt m*ædh* þino*m*
guddo*m* i mit liif. þ vast heilagh*i*r i mino lifue. Tu
æst ok vast heilagh*i*r f*irir* vtan ændha § Tu vast ok
søt*i*r før æn þu hafdhe skapad værldi*n*na. Tu vast
ok søtar*e* ænglomin. ta þu hafde þæm skapad. Tu
aldra søtast*i*r mik / þa þu gudh siælfu*ir* værdugha-
-dhis m*ædh* þino*m* guddo*m* til mik komo ¶ Ta swaradhe
ih*esus christus* Signad vart þu min kæra modh*i*r / ængla

t. The words “huxa fem ti*ng*” have been added in the top margin in a later hand (the “f” is in Latin form, not insular) and in pale ink. The pen nib has left the script rather scratchy. The phrase appears to be a reader’s page marker rather than a note made during the writing of the manuscript.

6 þo] there is a dot above and to the left of the “o”.

7 There are two dots next to one another (the right one slightly higher) between “rike” and “ok”.

13–16 On the far right-hand side of the page a smudge of red ink covers some of the letters. However, the text remains clear. The ink has blotted onto the page opposite (*p*. 77).

16 The reference “I 58” is written in black ink by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.

16 ⟨M⟩Aria] the capital “a” comprises a bicameral “a” written with a flourish running back through the shaft.

16–17 A vertical stroke precedes the first letter on each line, marking off the empty box. There is no capital, but the letter “E” is written in the left-hand margin as a guide.

21 þ] read “þu”.

1–15 Manuscripts: B 32$^{va–b}$; C 31va
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 143
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 381

16–27 Manuscripts: B 43^{rb}; C 42ra; G 161^{v}–162^{r}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 201; Geete 1901, 35
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 431

77

drøtni*n*g Ok alz himerikis herskaps. Þu sagde
mik vara søtan. ok søtar*e*. ok aldra søtast / Swa
ær nu ond*i*r bezskẏr. ok beizskar*e*. ok aldra beiz-
-skast*i*r § þæm ær ek beizskir sæm sighia mangt
hafua skapad vtan skæl. J sæm mik sighin hafua
skapad ma*n*nin til ilz. Ok ekke til goz. / vsle men
Ok litil huxillse / Vænta þe. at ek sæm bæzstir
ær. ok siælf rætuisa. hafuir skapad ænglana vta*n*
skæl. ællir ma*n*nenom þolkit godz. giuit. vta*n* ræt-
-uiso. Neig sa*n*nelika. Ek skapadhe alt væl. ok ænk-
-te ær ilt f*i*r*ir* mina skẏld. Ok af kærleek gaf ek
ma*n*nenom alt got / vtan ha*n* vændhe alt got sik i / ilt
eig þẏ at ek nokot ilt skapadhe hwadzke et ell*i*r
a*n*nat / f*i*r*ir*. þẏ diæfuulen var skapadh*i*r. Ok ma*n*ni*n* sa-
-muleid. þ*æt* var ok got sæm þe girnadhos. vta*n* f*i*r*ir*.
þẏ þe rædho sin vilia mot rætuiso*n*ne. Ok mot mi-
-nom vilia þ*æ*r vardh syndhin af. ok ilt. Ok f*i*r*ir*. þe
rørilsen. ok andra. þ*æt* sæm før var til hugnadha
þ*æt* skuldhe af rætuiso*n*ne þæm vara til ohugnada
¶ Þæim ær ek en beizskar*e*. þ*æ*r mik sighia siælfs-
vald hafua giuit. til at gøra sẏndena. Ok ekke til
got at gøra. Þe sæm mik sighia vara rætuisan f*i*r*ir*
þẏ ek gifu*i*r androm himerike ok a*n*dru*m* heluiti / þe
sæm sighia mina skuld vara þ*æt* þe æra ille §
Þæim ær ek aldra beiskast*i*r. sæm sighia min lag
vara vtan skæl. ok alt ofhard. Ok mina pino
vara enkte hardha. Ok þæim ænkte dogho. M*ædh*
þẏ swær ek þ*æt* vm mit liif swa sæm ek swor p*r*ophe-
-tano*m*. þ*æt* ek vil orsaka mik f*i*r*ir*. allu*m* ænglum

3 ær nu] read “ær ek nu”.
3 ond*ir*] read “ondum”.
4 sighia mangt] read “sighia mik mangt”.
12 i / ilt] The *diastole* has been used to separate the two words “i” and “ilt” which are written as one word in the manuscript.
15 -⟨m⟩uleid] ink blot over “m”.
18 [a>o]k
18 var] bicameral “a”.
22 rætuisan] read “orætuisan”.

1–29 Manuscripts: B 43$^{rb–va}$; C 42$^{ra–b}$; G 162$^{r–v}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 201–202; Geete 1901, 35–36
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 431–432

78

Ok helgho*m* ma*n*nu*m*. at ek hafu*ir* eig minsta math-
-kin skapad vtan skiæl. Ok enkte giort ell*i*r gør
vtan rætuiso. Ek vil ok tee þæim þ*æt* ek gaf
siælfswald. sniællelika. ok til godz f*irir*. þy lif
mik ær ænkte ilt ¶ Þe skulu ok prøua mik vara
rætuisan. j þ*ý*. at ek gifu*ir* andro*m* hymerike ok an-
drum heluiti f*irir*. þ*ý* þ*æt* bør eig til fulum ok fag-
-rum soma*n* sitia. diæfleno*m* sæm af sino*m* siælfuilia
fiold. Ok godho*m* ænglum sæm aff sino siælfswal-
-de stodho j rætuiso*n*ne badha vara sama*n*. Eig bor-
-dhe ok ondu*m* vara vtan pino. huilkin sýndhena gi-
-ordhe ok vardh f*irir*. he*n*ne § Þe skulu ok þ*æt* prøua
at þ*æt* ær ække miin skuld at ma*n*nin ær ond*i*r Mate.
ek æn en tima døø. hæld*i*r vilde ek f*irir* hwar en
man. þolika pino taka. sæm ek þog en tima a kor-
korsseno f*irir*. allom. f*irir* en manne*n* skulde i pino komo. vta*n*
ek gaf ma*n*nenho*m* siælfswald Ok vndirstandilsse f*irir*
all creatur þ*æt* han skulde mik tiæna. af kærleek
ok godho*m* vilia. ok ek ekke nødugh*i*r vara sæm
diwr. Ok hafua f*irir*. þ*ý* æui*n*nelikt arf m*ædh* mik. ok
rike / Wildhe ha*n* ekke. þa sigh*i*r rætuisan. at pi-
-nan sæm diæfleno*m* redhis skulde ok hono*m* redhas
f*irir*. þy af rætuiso*n*ne bør honu*m* mik tiæna sæm
skapar*e*. ær Ok ekke andru*m*. ¶ Þa swaradhe
maria Signadh*i*r war þu min søte. son J þik
ær al rætuisa. ok miskund. bidh*i*r ek þik misku*n*na
værldhinne. Ok swa sæm þu vast mik aldra søtast
swa gif þæim sæm þu æst nu beizskast*i*r lut m*ædh*
mino*m* søtma § Þa swaradhe sonin Signad

3 vtan] the beginning of the “v” is very blotchy.
4 lif] read “af”.
13 þ*æt* \ær/
15–16 korkorsseno] read “korsseno”.
17–19 The left-hand side of the page is very dirty.
17 siælf\s/wald
21 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the left-hand margin.
25 A pale letter form in red ink in the left-hand margin. Difficult to read, but may be an “a”.

1–29 Manuscripts: B $43^{va–b}$; C $42^{rb–va}$; G 162^{v}–163^{v}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 202–203; Geete 1901, 36–37
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 432–433

79

vardhe þu f*i*r*ir*. þý all þin ordh ganga af mi
skunlika hiærta. þu æst en godh*i*r mæklare
mællan min ok mansins. þu æst en godh søke-
-rinna tu søkir alla Tu søkir ma*n*nin i værldhi*n*ne
m*ædh* þino*m* nadho*m*. Tu søkir ha*n* i dødheno*m*. vm han
ær værdugh*i*r nokra lund þina miskund ok bøn
þu søkir ma*n*nin æpte dødhin vm ha*n* hafu*ir* nokot
f*i*r*ir* þik giort f*i*r*ir*. huilkit ha*n* maþe f*i*r*ir* þina hielp
nadh*i*r fa / mædhir þý ær han sæl sæm þik ælskar
f*i*r*ir*. þina bøn gifu*ir* ek þik. at alle þe sæm þin søt-
-ma vilia hafua sæm æra min ordh ek hafu*ir* talad
þa fa nadher Alle þe þæim taka i sin mun. ok
þugga. ok haldha. þe fa miskund. þe sæm
þæim taka ok wtsputta. þe fa fa swa mẏklo hardha-
-re þino. þa swaradhe maria ¶ Signadh*i*r var
þu min søte son / sæm ær badhe skapar*e*. ok atirlø-
-sar*e* § J*hesus christus*. taladhe min ord. æra sæm ein [Section 14B]
talgh*i*r. / þ*æ*r sæm hitin ær. þ*æ*r smæltir talgrin. þæn
sæm ænghin hafu*ir* hitan. ha*n* taghir talghin i mu*n*-
-nen. Ok sputtar atir wt / f*i*r*ir* þý ha*n* gitir ekke nidh*i*r
gangit / Swa ok min ord / þe sæm gudhlikin kær-
-leek hafua. þe taka mi*n* ord. ok halda. þe sæm
meir ælzska værldhi*n*na æn mik. þe høra mi*n* ord.
ok sputta þæim atir wt / f*i*r*ir* þý / þe þækkias þæim ænk
O Rmen ok ẏdhlan þa þe afla. þa hafua ˛ te [Section 15]
þe i lustano*m*. eitir. Ok af þeira eitirlike na-
-tura fødhis a*n*nar ormbir. Sidhan ormen ær af
-ladhir ta gitt*i*r ha*n* ekke fangit liif vtan af mi*n*-
-ne naadh / f*i*r*ir*. þý. vtan mina naad ær enkte

1 þu [þ]] expunction.
10 alle] bicameral “a”.
12 Alle] the capital letter comprises a bicameral “a” written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
12 þa] read “þe”.
13 [þungh] þugga] expunction and crossed out with one line.
14 þe] the letter “þ” is very blotchy, possibly corrected from another letter.
14 fa fa] dittography.
16–17 There is a pale “e” in the right-hand margin.
17 The reference “I 52” is written in black ink by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.
19–20 There is an illegible pale letter form in the right-hand margin.
21–22 There is an illegible pale letter form in the right-hand margin.
24–26 f*i*rir þẏ / þe þækkias þæim ænk ORmen ok ẏdhlan þa þe afla. þa hafua ˛ te þe i lustano*m*. eitir] read as “f*i*rir þẏ / þe þækkias þæim ænkte ORmen ok ẏdhlan þa þe afla. þa hafua te þe i lustano*m*. eitir”.
25 The letter “o” is written in the left-hand margin as a guide to the rubricator.
26 The reference “VI 32” is written in black ink by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.

1–17 Manuscripts: B 43^{vb}; C 42va; G 163^{v}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 203; Geete 1901, 37
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 433
17–25 Manuscripts: B 39$^{rb–va}$; C 37^{vb}–38ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 180–181
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 408–409
25–29 Manuscripts: B 165^{vb}; C 167va
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 73–74
Latin: Bergh 1991, 128

80

ok vtan hona gittir ænghin varit Ok ænkte
hafu*ir* ok faar liif vtan hona. Sidhan ormen
ær fødir. þa þakir modherin han. ok vær-
-me han vnde sik. f*irir*. þý hon hafu*ir* ængha spina
þ*æ*r ormen mate sugha. Sidhan ormen kofnar
maxan af modheri*n*na þunga ok hita / þa kæn-
-nir han af iordhinna køld. swa mædhir þý ho-
-nu*m* draghir þrang til. þa nimbir ha*n* at æta
jordhena. Sidhan ok smam ok smam. þær æft*ir*
kænnir modherin ormeno*m* røra sik / først stingir
ho*n* stiærtin at ha*n* nimb*ir* dragha han til sik. ok
-fra sik Swa stingir ha*n* riggi*n* ok andra limi swa
længhe at han kan rækkia þæim til sik ok fra sik
Sidhan orme*n* kan røra sik / þa kænnir modherin
hono*m* kripa. ok krýpir firir vnghano*m* litit ok
litit. þ*æ*r til ha*n* komb*ir* m*ædh* modheri*n*ne i nokot
soolbadh. ællis ok þ*æ*r sæm solin ær heitast. þa
mædhan vnghin huilas. ok sofu*ir* i solinne. þa
huxa modherin m*ædh* sik swa / Min son kan nu røra
sik ok krýpa. m*ædh* þý skal ek ok kænna hono*m* at
stinga. f*irir*. þý han hafu*ir* eitir til ilzko. þa far mo-
dherin bort ok leitar hwar hon findir nokon bløø-
-tan swamp. Ok ha*n* takir ho*n*. ok læggir firir vn-
-ghan mædhan ha*n* sofuir huxande swa mædhir
sik. Mins sons gaddir ær vanmaktogh*ir*. læg-
-gir ek nokot f*irir*. ha*n* þ*æt* sæm hart ær. þa gangir
han ginstan sundir m*ædh* þý skal ha*n* først nema
stinga þ*æt* bløta þ*æ*r til at ha*n* ni*m*bir stinga i þ*æt*
hardha Sidhan modherin hafu*ir* lagt swa*m*pen

6 modheri*nn*a (before)] a letter has been erased.
7 iordhinna] there is a 1-mm gap between the second "n" and the "a".
9 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the left-hand margin.
12 han] read "hon".
13 f\r/a

1–29 Manuscripts: B 166ra; C 167va
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 73–74
Latin: Bergh 1991, 128

81

vidh*i*r mu*n*nen hans sæm hænne lỳst*i*r. þa blæsir
hon i vngans øron swa ænxlika. at vngin vak-
-nar allir orfamse. ok af þæim orfamsano*m*. þa
nimbir han ginstan gaddin stinga i swampen. Ok
ni*m*bir swa længe stinga þ*æt* bløta. at ha*n* gittir þa
stungit badhe stok ok steina. þæn þina modherin
hafu*i*r swa kænt vnghano*m* sæm hænne lỳst*i*r þa
forlatir ho*n* han ¶ Þolkin ær þæn banzatte ormun-
-ghin ha*n* ær fødhr af eino*m* orme bansatto*m* sæm ær
iordhadhir i heluiti. ok af enne ỳdhlo sæm nu stu*n*-
-dar eptir ormeno*m* fara. hwad ær værre eitir æn
høgfærdhin m*ædh* þæsso komo ormen ok ỳdhan sama*n*
Ormen hafde þu þing ok mỳkla giri til værldhi*n*na
heidh*i*r. han sa ỳdhlo*n*na fægrind. ok geirnadhis meira
hona en mik § Ombren sa at ỳdlan var faghir. ok
g*i*rnadhis iæmmỳkit til he*n*na. Af þæsso*m* lustano*m* komo
bansasta somo*n* m*ædh* alle høgfærd huilkin sæm dræpir
ændhelika siæli*n*na sæm eitir likama*n* Sidha*n* þe komo
somo*n* m*ædh* ænghom mino*m* ræddugha. ok ænghom gudliko*m*
kærleik. þa afladho þe þolkit frøio sæm þe varo
siælfu*e* / før þỳ ær ek miskun*l*ikin gaf ek siæli*n*na af
mino*m* guddom. þænna vngan værmir þe bansatta
ỳdhlan f*i*r*ir* þỳ hon hafu*i*r ænghin gudhlikin kærleek
til min. þ*æt* ma meinas i spinano*m*. þa værmir hon
han vndir sik / þa ho*n* fødh*i*r ha*n* vp vndir sik til
wærldhi*n*na heidh*i*r ok høgfærdhinna. Ok mædhir
þæim howdzma*n*no*m* girnas þe m*ædh* alle astund huru
ha*n* maghe komo j værldhinna heidh*i*r ok ỳsæld.
huxande m*ædh* sik. ok sighiande hono*m* ahørande. haf-
-de tu þ*æt* valdit. ok þ*æt* husit / ta matte þu vara

2 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the right-hand margin.
3 orfa[n>m]sano*m*] a third minim is written above the "n" to transform it into an "m".
6 þina] read "þima".
8 forlatir] there is a dot above the "f".
9 fødhr] read "fødh*i*r".
12 ẏdhan] read "ẏdhlan".
15 Ombren] read "Ormbren".
16 Af] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
16 þæsso*m* [b]] expunction.
17 bansasta] read "bansatta".
25 Two pale vertical lines in the right-hand margin. They are probably the remains of a paraph.

1–30 Manuscripts: B 166$^{ra–b}$; C 167$^{va–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 74–75
Latin: Bergh 1991, 128–129

82

fadhirs like. Ok andra iæmnu*n*ge. *ok* af þolikom far
vnghin ondha giri. ok varma til værldhinna swa at ha*n*
nimbir ta æta jordhena. þ*æt* ær eptir værldhi*n*na heidh*i*r
standa. Af værldhinna heidh*i*r. ok til gang far han
leidho til gudz heidh*i*r. Ok m*ædh* þ*ý* ni*m*bir han stunda ep
-tir forga*n*gelik*om* heidh*i*r. hon sting*i*r ha*n* ok j stiartin
ok andra limi. þ*æt* ha*n* skal þæim nima røra. þa hon
bidh*i*r ha*n* ok sigh*i*r swa. Somlika skal þu lokka. til þin
m*ædh* jatilsom ok lofuan. So*m*lika m*ædh* faghrom ordhom
ok gafuom. Ok radhir ho*n* hono*m*. at ha*n* skal hafua
lifuit ospart. þ*æ*r til at han matte heita manlikin ok
ærlikin. redhoboen vara þ*æ*r til at ha*n* mate heita go-
dhir. eig ro hafua ok eig lisa. þ*æ*r til at ha*n* mate fa
stoor nampn ok viidharla vara kændh*i*r / hon kænnir
ok hono*m* at krÿpa. ok leidhir hono*m* i soolbat. þa ho*n*
lifu*i*r siælf høfærdelika. ok lustelika. ok dagh*i*r han
m*ædh* sino eptirdømilse til þolkit sama. Ok m*ædh* sino*m*
ordho*m* æggiar ha*n* til þolkit sama lifuærne. Ok sigh*i*r
swa Swa lifde þin fadh*i*r. ok þe sæm f*i*r*ir* hono*m* varo
ok hans forældra. Swa til bør þik. þ*æt* ær skam eig
vilia hafua sik ma*n*nelika / ma*n* skal faa sik ma*n*na lof
ok stort ord m*ædh* blidho*m* tillato*m*. Ok m*ædh* þ*ý* at me*n* fÿlgir
sidhuænio*n*ne. faar ma*n* ma*n*na kærleek. ok af þæssom
ordhom. ok andro*m* nimb*i*r þæn ilzske vnge krÿpa
m*ædh* modheri*n*ne i solena. þ*æt* ær af enne sÿnd i andra
alt til at ha*n* komb*i*r i solena. þ*æt* ær j køtsins lustha
Sidhan ha*n* ni*m*bir þ*æ*r røras i. þa kænnir ok þe for-
-ba*n*nadha j ÿdhlan vnghano*m* stinga. huru þa. Sa*n*lika

1 fadhir\s/
16 høfærdelika] read “høgfærdelika”.
16 dagh*i*r] read “dragh*i*r”.
27 Sidhan [þu]] expunction.
27 \han/
28 j[-]] there is a “j” followed by a short pen-stroke (an abandoned letter form). They appear to be mistakes, read the entire phrase as “þa kænnir ok þe forba*n*nadha ẏdhlan vnghano*m* stinga.”

1–28 Manuscripts: B 166$^{rb–va}$; C 167^{vb}–168ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 75–76
Latin: Bergh 1991, 129–130

83

ho*n* huxa m*ædh* sik swa Min son ær vanmæktogh*i*r i gozeno
ok i maktene m*ædh* þ*ý* læggi*r* ho*n* f*irir* hono*m* swampin. først
ær þ*æt* at ho*n* radhi*r* hono*m* huru han skal sanka sik værl-
-dhinna godz. huru ha*n* skal standa epti*r* værldhi*n*na heidi*r*
ok ma*n*lika hafua sik / þ*æt*ta þ*ý*kkis vara læt ok bløt
sæm ein swampi*r* i værldinne. Af þæsso radhe nimbi*r*
ha*n* stingha. þæim sæm eig standa a mot / bøndir
ok bokarlla takandis þeira godz. ok drøuandis
þæim oskællika. f*irir*. þ*ý* þe æra bløte standa mot. Ok ras-
-kelika nidhi*r* þr*ý*kte. þa blæsir modhere*n* i øronen swa
-fast at ha*n* vardh alli*r* orfamse. þ*æt* ær at ho*n* æggiar ha*n*
til at lata sik til meira þinga. ok høgra. Ok dragh*i*r
ha*n* swa bort af sino*m* eigno*m* skælom. þa ni*m*bir ha*n* haf-
-ua awnd til høfdingia. þa girnas ha*n* þeira hws
ok þorn. þa ni*m*bir ha*n* læggia forsat / ok fiinskap
hafua til alla. Ok alla drøfua swa længhe. at ha*n* ni*m*bir
stinga sin gadh i steinen. þ*æt* ær i þe helgha kirkiu.
Til þæssa forbannadha vngans nidhrilsse finz ekke
raadh vta*n* eit / þ*æt* ær at hans tunga sæm gaddrin ær
j. skæris af / . hwad þænne þungan hafu*ir* t*ý*dha þ*æt* sku-
-lu snille mæn wt leta. ok wt þ*ý*dha
⟨H⟩ On ær ekke min / f*irir*. þ*ý* / ho*n* ær liik þrem ma*n*nu*m* [Section 16]
først ær þ*æ*n so*m* swa sighi*r* androm. Ek vil gif-
-ua þik beskedhlika pæni*n*ga. þr til at ek ma dræpa
þin son f*irir* þino*m* øghom Swa gør ho*n* mik ho*n* t*ý*kkis
gøra litit i min heidh*i*r. Ok gifua af mino eigno. þ*æ*r
til hon moghe swa m*ý*kklo sighirlikar*e* gøra adhru*m*
skadha. Ok c*ri*stno*m* ma*n*no*m* sæm mine s*ý*ni æra drø-
-uilsse. þ*æ*r til at ho*n* gate sino barne komit i wærl-
-dhinna. Ek swær þ*æt* a mina sa*n*nind / f*irir* þ*ý* ek ær

t. rt. The corner of the page (37 mm by 4 mm) has been cut off.
6 Af] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
6–7 There is a hole in the right-hand margin, measuring 12 mm by 4 mm.
11 -fast at] there is a small dash between the words.
11 vardh] read "vardh*ir*".
15 fiinskap] read "fiandskap".
16 h[->a]fua
20 There is a small hole under the word "hafu*ir*", measuring 2.5 mm by 1.25 mm.
22–23 A vertical stroke precedes the first letter on each line, marking off the empty box. There is no capital and no visible guide letter in the margin.
30 a] bicameral "a".
30 ⟨f⟩*iri*] ink blot over "f".

1–21 Manuscripts: B 166$^{va–b}$; C 168$^{ra–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 76–77
Latin: Bergh 1991, 130–131
22–30 Section 16 has no equivalent Swedish or Latin versions.

84

sannind. Ok af minom munne enkte gik ok gangir
vtan sannind. Vtan døør hon j þoliko skipilsse sæm
hon ær nu i / hon seer aldre mit ænlite. ¶ Hon ær
ok liik þæim manne. sæm swa sighir / Ek vil gifua
þik litla pæninger til. at ek moghe brænna alla þi-
-na æghor. Swa gør hon mik. hon tiænar mik mædh
lithlo arbeidhe. ok ænghom hogh. ælla kærleik þær
til at hon matte sin vilia fulkomna. Ok andrum
alla sorgh gøra til sins vilia fultkomnilsse Sanne-
-lika ær mik henna liif wæmelikt. ok alt drøf-
-wokt firir þy. hon ær eig at einasta mik a mot mædh
sinne ondhe astund. vtan æn at hon draghir
andra mædh sinom mædfærdum. Ok størkir til iltz
§ Þridhia ær hon liik enne horkono. sæm liggir
mællan sins hwsbonda. ok horkarlssins. þy at-
-hwarist firir husbondans ræddugha. þor hon ekke
annat en vændha sik til hans. æn kærleken ær
allir til horkarlssins. Swa ok hon. æn þy at hon
þykkis tiæna. mik mædh nokrom þingom. ææ ær
al astunden. ok vilin til værldhinna. ok ælskar hona
innirlikaren. mædh þy ær hon mik ekke kæær / firir. þy
hon vil þweim herrom tiæna. Ve henne æn hon
bætra sik eig / vil hon ekke troo / þa røne
E k ær þin gudh. þik vndrar aa hwi ek ær [Section 17]
swa þoughir. til onda mæn. þæt vil ek vis-
sa þik / þrem lundom þol þæim min rætuisa
Ok þrem lundom spar þæm min miskund

5–6 There is a hole in the left-hand margin.
9 so\r/gh] although the "r" is, in fact, placed above and between the "g" and the "h".
19 tiæna] there is a hole in the page between the letters "æ" and "n". The word has been written around the hole.
22 A misshapen paraph has been written in ink in the left-hand margin.
24 The reference "I 25" is written in black ink by a later hand in the left-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.
24 There is a small guide letter "e" in the left-hand margin.
27 min [rætuisa]] crossed out with one line.

1–23 Section 16 has no equivalent Swedish or Latin versions.
24–27 Manuscripts: B 19ra; C 17^{vb}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 73
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 308

85

fyrst þol þæim min rætuisa. þ*æ*r til at allir þei-
-ra þime. ok ilzska ær fultkomen. Swa so*m* þæn
konu*n*g*i*r sæm hafu*ir* margha fanga. Spỳr men ha*n*
aat hwi ha*n* dømir þæim ekke. Swarar þa han
swa: þ*æt* ær ekke ræfstaþings time. þa ha*n* kom-
-bir. þa skulu þe dømas i alla ma*n*na asỳỳn. ok
til rætuiso*n*na værillsse. Swa gør ek / æn þỳ at-
-hwarist. at ek veet huilken ma*n*nen ær / þỳ vmbær
ek han þ*æ*r til at hans time ær Swa sagdis at saul
konu*n*g*i*r var onder. ok mik ekke kæær / hwar vilde
þỳ. þro f*i*r*ir* en þe sagho hans g*e*rni*n*ga. Annat ær þ*æt*
at þe hafua nokot f*i*r*ir*. mina skuld giort / Ok f*i*r*ir*. þy
lønir ek þæm alt atir her i værldhinne sæm þe
æfte standa Swa at eig þæn minste punc-
-tin af þỳ ha*n* giorde f*i*r*ir* mik vardhir hono*m* oløntir
æntiggia i þỳ. at han faa heidh*i*r ell*i*r gooz.
ælla annan nokon framgang / swa sæm ha*n* stod
eptir / Þridhia ær at min heidh*i*r. Ok þolomodh
skal oppenbaras i þeira ilzsko. Þỳ þolde ek juda*m*
ok pỳlatu*m*. Min miskund spar ok þæim i þrem
lundom fyrst f*i*r*ir* þỳ at min kærleik*i*r ok min
miskund ær mỳkin. Ek huxar at pinan sæm
ær ønkelikin ær hard. Ok m*æ*d*h* þỳ spar ek man-
-nenom i þæn ỳtirsta puncten. at han vardhe swa
mỳkklo minne sæm han kom senare til pino*n*na.
Annat ær / þeira natwr mate nøtas vp i sỳn-

4 aat] there is a dot under the second “a”.
9 til \at/
10 kæær] the first “æ” is blotchy.
14 [sæm þe] æfte] crossed out with one line.
18 eptir] the “r” is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
21 f[r>y]rst

1–26 Manuscripts: B 19$^{ra–b}$; C 17^{vb}–18ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 73–74
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 308–309

86

-dinne f*irir* þy. At swa sæm rudhit nøtir jærnit / swa
gør ok syndhen naturena vanmæktogha þ*æ*r til at
þeira likamlikin dødh*i*r varde swa mẏklo lætare
sæm natura*n* vare meer vp nøt / f*irir*. þẏ at færskar*e*
ok starkare natur gør hardharen dødhin ¶ Þri-
-dhia hwi miin miskund spar ondhum m*ann*om þ*æt* ær
f*irir* twæggia handa þing først f*irir* dødha manna
prøuilse. Annat f*irir*. onda manna vmuændilsse / On-
-dhe men lifua til godha prøuilse. f*irir* þẏ. at þe
vardha. af þeira ilzsko þolike til gooz af haldo-
-ghe f*irir*. þeira drøuilsse. af sẏndhinne kalla. ok op-
-tare a mik æn ællas. þa þe hafde ængin drøuil-
-se. værldhin ok lusthen vardh*i*r þæm liten astun-
-dhan. mera til min. Ok lønin f*irir*. þolomodh mere m*ædh*
þẏ spar min miskund. ondhom i wærldhinne. þ*æ*tta
maat þu væl forstanda i rosinne hon hafu*ir* þrẏ
þing / hon dønir søtlika. hon ær fagh*i*r i asẏninne
hon ær ok lin at hanna. þoathwarist gitir rosen
eig vaxet. vtan bland þorna sæm æra. hwasse
at ha*n*na. fule at see. ok hafua ænghin dønin
Swa ok godhe men. æn þẏ þe æra lini sæm roos
i þolomodheno. fagre i sino*m* mædhfærdo*m* væl dø-
-nande m*ædh* sino*m* æftedømo*m*. Ok ordhom / þoathuarist
vardha þe ekke folkeno. vtan til prøuilsse ok
drøuilsse. f*irir*. þẏ. ængin veet mẏkit han gangir
fram i godhom g*er*ningom. vtan han ær i drøuil
˽ so*m* ˼ ˽ þornen gør

1 At] the capital letter comprises a large bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.

7 dødha] read "godha"?

17 ær] the "r" is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a small backward hook.

18 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the left-hand margin.

25 g⟨*a*⟩ngir] ink blot over "a".

26–27 vtan han ær i drøuil ˹ so*m* ˺˻ þornen gør] read as "vtan han ær i drøuilso*m*". The words "þornen gør" are catchwords.

27 ˹som˺] encapsulated by straight lines.

27 ˹þornen gør] partially underlined by the tail trailing off and back from the final "n" in "þornen".

1–15 Manuscripts: B 19^{rb}; C 18$^{ra–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 74–75
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 309

15–27 Manuscripts: B 17^{vb}; C 16va
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 66–67
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 302

87

Þornin gør ok þ*æ*tta. at han værnar rosena þ*æt*
man faar ekke raskelika taghidh. hona
Swa ok þe drøuilsse sæm ondhe men gøra godho*m*
dragha opta godha men af sẏnde*n*ne at þe skolo
eig komo i ofmẏkla glædhi ælla latir / firir
ofmata glædhi vækkin i mẏkla sẏnd vp Swa
gitir ok ænkte viin varit færst vtan dræggena
Swa ok ænghin rætuiis gitir standit i sinne ræt
-uiso vtan drøuilsse. ok diæwlssins rørilsse. Ok
af þẏ. ha*n* vmbær þ*æt* hono*m* komb*i*r til. þẏ væxe ha*n*s
løn i hẏmerike. ok hans kærlek*i*r ok hugswalil-
-se til gudz i iordhrike. Min miskund þol ok opta
ondha mæn / f*irir* ondha ma*n*na vmuændilsse ok hir-
-tilsse. f*irir* þẏ ondhe lifua opta ondhom til gooz
Swa sæm þa en ondir seer annars ofilzsko / ok
fall / huxar swa m*ædh* sik / hwad dugh*i*r mik hono*m*
følghia. hwad nẏt hafu*i*r han af þolike sẏnd
se hwad ilt ha*n* ær i komin før þolika g*er*ning
bætra ær mik vænda atir þimlikan / før en ek
kømbir i þolikit. Ok swa af annars fallum
Ok sẏndha skudilsse vændir mangir af sẏndi*n*ne
Sigh*i*r mæn ok swa. at hwar sæm vardhir stu*n*ge*n*
af scorpione. vardh*i*r han smoord*i*r m*ædh* þe oleo sæ*m*
annar scorpio ær dødh*i*r i / . þa faar ha*n* bøt*i*r
Swa ok manghe m*ædh* þẏ skudha a*n*nars vsald. þa
helnas þe opta. ok hirta sik / ok skæmmas þolikt

2 taghi\d/[g]h] expunction.
4 men [i]] expunction.
4 \af/
24 faar [hoon]] crossed out with one line.

1–14	Manuscripts:	B 17^{vb}–18^{ra}; C 16^{va}
	Editions:	Old Swedish: *BU* I, 67
		Latin: Undhagen 1978, 302
14–26	Manuscripts:	B $19^{rb–va}$; C $18^{ra–b}$
	Editions:	Old Swedish: *BU* I, 75
		Latin: Undhagen 1978, 309–310

88

gøra sæm / før þẏ þeira sa*m*uit sigh*i*r þæm þ*æ*t. þe
hafua þ*æ*r ængha nẏt af. ok godhleek Swa þol min
miskund onda. man. ok swa spar min rætuisa
E en saal. ok en diæfwl sẏntos badhen liik i [Section 18]
mu*n*neno*m* ganande / øghone*n* brænna*n*de i*n*na*n* sæm
et glas. øron*e*n hængiande sæm a*n*nor hunda øron
bukin mẏkit vidh*i*r ok sidh*i*r. hendirna sæm andra
griipskloor. føtirne sæm andra stimpara. brẏstit
kalt sæm en iis. Ta sagde diæfwlin til domarens
Døøm os somo*n* til hionalagh. þa swaradhe doma-
-ren Sigh hwad skæl tu hafu*i*r til hænna Ta swa-
-radhe diæfwlin. Ek spør þik først f*i*r*i*r. þẏ. þu æst
rætuis Plæghar mæn eig swa sighia. hwar sæm
et diwr ær. þ*æ*t ær vargha køn. edd*i*r leons kyn
edd*i*r nokot þolikit / Nu spør ek þik. hwem ær þæs-
-sin sal liik. ællis hwad kẏn. Ta swaradhe doma-
-ren. þ*æt* ær allu*m* oppenbart. at hon ær þik. ok þino*m*
kompono*m* liik. þa swaradhe diæfwlen. þa ho*n* ko*m*
wt af þino*m* smørilsso bru*n*ne. þ*æt* ær w fwntenom
þa var ho*n* þik liik. Nu hafu*i*r ho*n* þ*æt* gløмt ok af-
twaghit m*ædh* þẏ ær ho*n* mik liik. Ok ær miin m*ædh*
þræim rætom. En ær þænne. at ho*n* ær mik liik
i skipilsæm / Annat at vi hafuu*m* badhin en vilia
þridhia at vi hafuu*m* badhen en tiænilsse. Ta swa-
-radhe domare*n*. huru ær ho*n* þik liik i skipilsse Ta
swaradhe diæfulin / Vi hafuu*m* badhin øgho*n* ẏpin
þoathuarist seem vi ænkte got f*i*r*i*r þẏ ho*n* vilde

1–11 The far right-hand side of the page is dirty.
3 man] read "mæn".
4 The reference "VI 31" is written by a later hand in the left-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.
4 The capital letter "E" is written in the left-hand margin as an indicator to the rubricator.
4 A vertical stroke precedes the first letter on this line, marking off the empty box. There is no initial.
10 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the left-hand margin.
18 kompono*m*] read "kompano*m*".
19 w] read "wr".
23 Annat] the capital letter comprises a large bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.

1–3 Manuscripts: B 19va; C 18^{rb}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 75
Latin: Undhagen 1978, 310

4–27 Manuscripts: B 164$^{ra–b}$; C 165^{vb}–166ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 65–66
Latin: Bergh 1991, 121–122

89

ænkte høra þ*æt* edd*i*r see þik hørdhe til Swa
ok ek vil enkte þ*æt* see sæm þik ær liwst. Vi haf-
-uu*m* ok badhen en øron. æn vi høro*m* ænkte got
til vara nẏt ok gagn. f*i*r*i*r. þẏ. ho*n* vildhe ænkte
høra vtan sin lusta. ok værldhi*n*na lusta. ok latir
þin hedh*i*r var hænna angh*i*r. Swa ok ek vil
ænkte þ*æt* høra. þu hafu*i*r hedhir af. Ok alt þ*æt* þik
ær liwft þ*æt* ær mik alt leit. þẏ gang*i*r þins søtma
ok dẏghd røst aldre i vaar øro*n*. os til gagn Vi
hafuu*m* ok badhin mu*n* ypnan þoathwarist gang*i*r
þ*æ*r ænkte got i. f*i*r*i*r. þẏ hon hafde ypna*n* sin mu*n* mæ-
-dhan ho*n* gat til alt þ*æt* henne lẏste. ok lukthan til
alt þ*æt* þu bødh. ok vilde. Swa ok ek hafu*i*r min mu*n*
luktan til alt got. ok ẏpna*n* til alt ilt. ok til alla
þinna drøuilsse. vm þ*æt* vare møghelikit at þu
gate drøfwof*i*r varit / Vi hafdu*m* badhen ena
hend*i*r / f*i*r*i*r. þẏ. alt þ*æt* ho*n* fik. ok gat draghit so-
-mon þ*æt* hiolt ho*n* til døzens. Ok ængin gat af he*n*-
-ne ænkte lukkat Swa ok ek alt þ*æt* i mina kløør
kømb*i*r. þ*æt* hald*i*r ek swa stadhlika. at þ*æt* takir æn-
-ghin wt. vtan þu m*ædh* þinne rætuiso. Vi hafuu*m*
ok badhen ens bwk. hænna bukir þ*æt* var henna
giri. hon var swa stoor. at mate hon hafua fa*n*git
alla værldhi*n*na. ok æn stẏrt ifu*i*r alla m*ædh* þik i hi-
-merike. þ*æt* hafde hon g*e*rna giort. Ok en hafde
ho*n* eig vardit full. Swa ok ek mate ek fa
alla þe helgha sala sæm æra i hẏmerike. ok

1 ⟨æ⟩nkte] dirt over "æ".
2 liwft] read "liwst".
6 hænna [æn]] crossed out with one line.
15 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the right-hand margin.
16 drøfwof*ir*] read "drøfwod*ir*".
16 ena] there is a short diagonal stroke above the "e".
25 g*er*na] bicameral "a".

1–27 Manuscripts: B 164$^{rb–va}$; C 166ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 66–67
Latin: Bergh 1991, 122–123

90

i skærzlsslo elde. Ok alle þe sæm æra i iordrike
swa sæm ek hafu*ir* þæim sæm æra i heluiti ek gior-
-dhe þ*æt* g*er*na. Ok var*e* en ein saal vtan. Swa mẏkin
ær miin giri. at ek vilde en ho*na* hafua. Vi hafuu*m*
ok badhen eins brẏst. ok kalt sæm iis. f*irir*. þẏ ho*n* haf-
-de ænghin gudhlikin kærleek. ell*i*r kærleeks gniisto
i sik Swa ok ek hafu*ir* ænghin kærleek til þin. vta*n*
swa mẏkla awndh. at var*e* þ*æt* møghelikit. at ek
matte tusanda sinno*m* døẏia. Ok ææ atir til pino*n*na
lifua. þ*æt* giordhe ek g*er*na. þ*æ*r til. at tu matte døø
ella drøfuas. Vaar laar ok knææ æra vtan lidha-
-moot. Ok badhen eins. f*irir*. þẏ at he*n*na vili bøgdis
aldre. eftir þino*m*. vtan var tuært a moot þino*m* vilia
Swa ok min vili. ginstan ek var skapadh*i*r. Ok ek sa
min ærlikheit þa høgfærdadhis ek ok girnadhis ifu*ir*-
þik vara. Ok af þẏ fiol ek. Ok hafu*ir* ek eig min
vilia mote þino*m*. æn þẏ ek hafu*ir* ekke makt vtan
af þinne rætuiso. Var bein æra ok badhen eins. ok
sæm stimpara. f*irir*. þẏ / Swa sæm ma*n*ne*n* førir likama*n*
fra*m* m*ædh* fotomen Swa ok m*ædh* godho astundan. ok
godho*m* g*er*ni*n*go*m*. gang*i*r ma*n* fram til þin. þænna astu*n*-
-dan. sæm varo til þin. Ok skẏlia uidh*i*r. værldhi*n*na
varo afhugna ok borto. f*irir*. þẏ / þu vast f*irir*. he*n*na sæ*m*
dødh*i*r man. Swa hafu*ir* ok ek ængha astund go-
-dha til þiin. vtan alt þ*æt* þik høre til ær mik swa
leit sæm a*n*nat eiter Se Domare þæsso*m* lundom
ær ho*n* mik liik i sino*m* skipilso*m*. / Vi hafuu*m* ok

t. lt. There are two diagonal penstrokes.
1 skærzlsslo] read “skærzsslo”.
15 \ok/

1–27 Manuscripts: B 164$^{va–b}$; C 166$^{ra–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 67–68
Latin: Bergh 1991, 123

91

badhen en vilia. f*irir*. þý vi viliom ænkte þ*æt*
þu vilt Vi hafuu*m* badhin en smakilse f*irir*. þý vi-
vitu*m* væl. at þu æst þæn bæzste. ok þ*æ*r al dýgd
af ær. ok alla dýgd hafu*ir* þoathwarist smaku*m*
ække vi huru godh*ir*. ok søtir tu æst f*irir*. þy var
vaar vili mote þino*m* vilia Nu domare m*ædh* hoo*n*
ær mik liik i skipilsæm. i vilia. ok i smakilsom
døøm somon. þa i þe sama stundinne syntis en
godhir æng*i*l. Ok sagde til domarens Min gudh
ok min h*err*a. Ek var m*ædh* þæsse saal fra þæim
timanom sæm likamen. ok siælin komo saman
Ok skýldis ek vidhir hona eig mædhan ek fan
en punctgodhan i henne Nu latir ek hona
toma af godho sæm ein toman sæk. Hoon hafde
þrý ill. fýrst at ho*n* trode all þin ord vara
lýgn. Annat at ho*n* huxadhe þin doom ekke va-
-ra hardhan. Ok ekke vtan flætiu. þridhia at
þin miskund. var f*irir*. he*n*na dødh. ok hiolt ho-
-na f*irir*. enkte. ho*n*. var ok i hionalag / ok ælska-
-dhe eig vta*n* eina. þ*æt* giorde hon. ekke f*irir*.
gudhlikan kærleek / vtan f*irir*. þý ha*n* hafde
swa mýkin køtlikin kærleek til þ*æt* eina kø-
-tit. at han gat eig fangit af sik at smitta
sik m*ædh* andre. Han hørdhe ok messo kærlika
Ok las þ*æ*r til at ha*n* skulde eig vara. wt-
-skyld*ir* af Androm. Han tiænte þik kærlika

5 vi [e]] expunction.
13 punctgodhan] read “punct godhan”.
13 hona] the “o” is slightly misshapen. The scribe may have begun by writing an “e”, but then changed this to an “o”.
16 l[i>ẏ]gn
26 Androm] the capital letter comprises a bicameral “a” written with a flourish running back through the shaft.

1–26 Manuscripts: B 164^{vb}; C 166$^{rb–va}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 68–69
Latin: Bergh 1991, 123–124

92

þær til at þu skulde gifua hono*m* hilso. Ok gooz
ok heidh*i*r. þær til at þu skulde gøma han. af
þæim fallom men kallar vara vlýkko / firir
þæssa tiænist gaf tu hono*m* tusandfald atirløøn
her i værldhinne. þu gaf hono*m* fagh*i*r barn ok
helso. þu gaft hono*m* gooz ok saligheit. þu fýl-
-te hans giri sæm han stodh ept*i*r / swa at eig
var þæn minste punkten þ*æt* eig fik atirløøn
hær i værldhinne f*irir*. þý latir ek ha*n* nu toman
sæm ein toman sæk af allo godho. þa swaradhe
diæfwlen. mæn þænna siæl ær toom af allo
godho. Ok tu æst rætuis domar*e* døøm os soma*n*
til hionalag / ær eig swa scrifuat i þinne book
þe sæm hafua et ia. ok en vilia. te magho ko
-mo somo*n* til hionalagh døøm os somo*n* mædha*n*.
vi hafuu*m* et ia. ok en vilia. þa suaradhe doma-
-ren § lætu*m* siælinna swara. ta swaradhe hoon
før en ek vilde til hymerikis. komo þ*æ*r til at
þu skulde hafua þæs meira hughswalilsse.
før vilde ek brinna æwi*n*nelika i heluiti. Ta
swradhe domare*n*. þin vili ok þit iaa ær þin
domare. Ta swaradhe diæfwlin. þý ær hon
rætlika miin. þý skal sæm mæn plæghar saghia
he*n*na køt vara mit køt. æn þoathuarist ek ær
eig køtlighin. Ok hænna blood vari mit blood.
Ok i þe stunde*n*ne sýntis diæfwlen vara mý

3 fallom [m*ædh*]] expunction and crossed out with one line.
3 fir\i/r
6 saligheit] there is a dark mark under the "t".
21 swradhe] read "swaradhe".
23 saghia] read "sæghia".

1–26 Manuscripts: B 164^{vb}–165^{rb}; C 166$^{va–b}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 69–70
Latin: Bergh 1991, 124–125

93

kit gladh*i*r. m*ædh* liiknilsæm sighiande f*i*r*i*r þý ande-
likin þing ku*n*na ekke forstandaz vta*n* m*ædh* liiknil-
-sæm. þ*æt* ær alt i diæfulen*o*m giort m*ædh* en*o*m punct
Sidhan diæfwlen sýntis vara swa gladh*i*r. Ta swara-
-dhe domaren hon*o*m. hwi æst tu swa gladh*i*r. ell*i*r hw-
-adh nýt hafu*i*r tu af siælinna pino. þa swaradhe diæ-
-wlen. ængha nýt hafu*i*r ek af hænna pino / ell*i*r glæ-
-dhi vta*n* meira sorg ok pino. f*i*r*i*r. þý þa ek brænnir hona
þa brænnis ek hardare atir. þa ek pinar hona. Ta
ær min pina hardhare. vtan af þý at tu løste hona
m*ædh* þino blodhe. ælskadhe hona swa mýkit. at þu
gaf þik siælfua*n* f*i*r*i*r. hona. Ok ek gat hona darat
þ*æt* ho*n* vilde mik heldir æn þik lýdha. þ*æt* ær miin
glædhi. Ok af þý glæz ek. Ta swaradhe domare*n*
þiin ilzska ær mýkin. Nu þoathuarist tu æst swa
ilzskær. lofuor ek þik at þu se þik vmkring / ok
alt sendh*i*r ha*n* sa vp / ta sýntis vpganga swa sæm
ein fagh*i*r skinande stiærna. Ok ginstan diæwlen
sa þ*æt* / þa þigde han sæm ha*n* hafde varit slaghin
þa sagde domare*n* Ek lofuar þik tala. Sigh huæm
ær þænne siæl liik. þa swaradhe diæfwle*n*. / hon ær
skina*n*de sæm nokor sool. swa sæm ek ær fular*e* æn
nokor røkir / hon ær fuld m*ædh* allo*m* søtma. Ok alle
dýgd. swa sæm ek ær fulder m*ædh* alle ilzsko. ok
awnd. Ta sagde domaren. hwad vilde tu gifua
þ*æ*r til. at tu mate þe salinna / fa j þit valdh / Ta

10 hona] bicameral “a”.
14 A bicameral “a” has been written in ink in the right-hand margin.
16 ilzskær] the “r” is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
16 vmkring] there is a 2-mm gap between the “m” and the “k”. The letters are, however, joined by a stroke from the “m” to the “k”.
24 fulder] there is a short horizontal stroke that runs through the main shaft of the “f”.

1–26 Manuscripts: B 165$^{rb–va}$; C 166^{vb}–167^{rb}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 70–72
Latin: Bergh 1991, 125–126

94

swaradhe diæfwlen. þ*æ*r til gafue ek g*e*rna alla þe
sala i mino valde æra. þ*æt* ek mate hona fa. Ok æn
þ*æ*r til vilde ek þolo swa. hardha pino swa sæm m*ædh* liik
-nilsæm. Ein stolpe var*e*. satt*i*r fuller m*ædh* swærdzoddom
vddir vidh wdd swa þrangt at eig gate en naals
-odd*i*r gangit mællan. gino*m* þæssa vdda vilde ek g*e*rna
fara. af høgxsta tronen*o*m. Ok i nidharsta gru*n*dit
Ok fara j þe sama pinona. Ok ææ lifua þ*æ*r til at
ek mate fa þe saal sæm nu gik vp sæm stiærna ¶
Ta swaradhe domare*n*. þiin awnd ær mẏkin til min
ok minna helgha sala. Moot þinne awnd ær ek swa
kærleeks fuldir at var*e*. þ*æt* møghelighit. at ek
mate optar*e*. døø. g*e*rna. þoke ek ena þolika pino
særdelis f*i*r*i*r. hwario ena saal sæm ek þogh ein tima a
korsena f*i*r*i*r alla wærldinna. fẏr en nokor þeira skul-
de komo i pino. ællis ok nokor þeira sæm i pino*n*ne ær
skulde þ*æ*r i dwælias. Swa at eig skulde atir vara
ein saal i pino*n*ne. Ok eig ein oren andhe. þ*æ*r eig wr-
-dhe friæls vm ek matte f*i*r*i*r. rættuiso*n*ne optare døø
æn þu diæfwl æst swa awndz fullir. at tu ant eig
enne saal til min komo ¶ . Ta taladhe var h*e*rra
til þe godha saal. Ko*m* hiit miin wtualdh ok min
kæra i þe. glædhi sæm aldrik ændas. ko*m* hiit miin
søta i j þæn lusta. *ok* þæn søtma sæm ænghin ka*n*
sighia af hans. godhleik vtan þæn sæm kænnir
ko*m* hiit til gudh. ok til þin h*e*rra. Ek vil siælfu*ir*
bẏggia i þik. Ok þu i mik / f*i*r*i*r. þẏ / at i mik ær

13 pino] there is a dot below the second minim of the “n”.
14 tima] there is a dot above the third minim of the “m”.
15 f[*iri*>ẏ]r
20 ant] bicameral “a”.
24 i j þæn] read “i þæn” or “ij þæn”.
24 sətma] bicameral “a”.

1–27 Manuscripts: B 165$^{va–b}$; C 167^{rb}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 72–73
Latin: Bergh 1991, 126–127

95

alt got / Ok ek vil fýlla þik m*ædh* allo godho. Kom
hiit til miin af þe ýslo værldh. f*irir*. þý. i hænne
ær ække vtan pina. Ok ho*n* ær liik pino. Ek vill.
gifua þik þæn heidhir ær aldre ændas. þæn søt-
-ma aldrig leidhis firir vtan ænda
E N saal kom til domsens. ta sagde domare*n* [Section 19]
til sit herskap. ho*n* ær ekke miin f*irir*. þý. Mins
hiærta sorg. ok saar var hænna ekke einara. æn hæ-
-nna owins skiold*i*r vare. gino*m* stunghin. mina fota
vndir varo henne swa. øma. Ok swa bøkte henne
þ*æt* illa vara. sæm mæn boro et æpple gino*m*. *ok* sýrg*i*r
ekke þ*æ*r af / minna handa saar. ok vnder
varo i hænna hiærta swa sæm et klædhe vare gino*m*
stungit Swa huxadhe hon mina vnd*i*r vara læta
Ok for swa litit hiolt ho*n*. þæim. þý býr he*n*ne ænk-
te hafua m*ædh* mik. T*e*r næst taladhe domaren til
salinna. þu spurdhe idhklika i þino sa*m*uiti hui ek
værdoghadis døø a mandomsins vægna. Nu spør
ek þik. æn þoathwarist at ek veet alt / hwi æst
tu dødh til salinna. þa swaradhe salin f*irir*. þý. ek æl-
skadhe þik ænkte. Ta sagde domaren Tu vast mik
swa sæm eit dødhborit barn. Modhere*n* hafde ekke
mi*n*na sorgh firir þ*æt* dødhborna barnit / æn f*irir*. hint
so*m* liif hafu*i*r. Swa ok ek. Ek løste þik m*ædh* swa storo
drøuilse. so*m* nokon min helgha*n* man. ok æmmýkkla
pino þolde ek f*irir*. þik sæm f*irir*. min bæzsta vin. æn þy
þu hiolt þ*æt* firir ænkte M*ædh* þý swasæm dødhbo-
-rit barn hafu*i*r eig søtma af modheri*n*na spina. eig

1 alt] bicameral “a”.
1–3 The left-hand side of these rows is somewhat dirty.
5 The capital letter “E” has been written in the right-hand margin.
6 The reference “VI 28” is written in black ink by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin and Old Swedish versions.
6 A vertical stroke precedes the “N” on this line, marking off the empty box. There is no initial.
12 af / [minda]] expunction and crossed out with one line.
13 varo] there is a dot under the “r”.
14 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the right-hand margin.

1–5 Manuscripts: B 165^{vb}; C 167$^{rb–va}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 73
Latin: Bergh 1991, 127

6–28 Manuscripts: B 162$^{ra–b}$; C 163^{vb}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 56
Latin: Bergh 1991, 111

96

hugnat af hænna ordhum eig varma af hænna
brysti Swa ok þu skalt aldre kænna þæn søtma
sæm ær æwinnelikin / vta*n* æui*n*nelika sorg / þu skalt
aldre høra mina glædhi røst þik tik hugnadha
Tu skalt ok aldre værma fa af mino*m* kærleek ok
mi*n*ne miskund Gak i þæn stad sæm dødhborit
barn bør at vara. þ*cær* skal þu lifua i dødhheno*m* i
æui*n*neliko lifue. æ. brænna ok aldrik vardha fult
⟨G⟩ wdh taladhe / þrẏ þing biwdhir ek ˛ brænt [Section 20A]
þik / þrẏ þing forbiwdh*i*r ek þik. þrẏ þing
lofuar ek þik. þrẏ þing radhir ek þik § fẏrst
biwdh*i*r ek þik enkte geernas. ok astunda vtan
gudh / Annat alla høgfærdh flẏ / þrẏdhia køt-
-sins lusta flẏ / ¶ þrẏ þing fẏrbiudh*i*r ek þik
først / onẏttelika ok mẏkla talan. Annat ofmato
i allu*m* þingo*m*. þridhia vnẏttelika ok ofmateli-
-ka. værldz glædhi § þrẏ þing lofuor ek þik
hafua. først matelika vaku til likams vpuæk-
-kilsse. Annat matelikin sẏmpn til likama*n*s vp-
-heldi. Ok stẏrkilsse ¶ þrẏ þing radhir ek þik
fẏrst matelikit arbeide. i vaku. i fasto. j allo
gudhliko arbeidhe. þ*cær* m*ædh* ma þu skẏlda hymerike
Annat at tu skipa þ*cæt* gooz þu hafuir alt j gudhz
heidh*i*r. ok skælika / þa slækkir tu heluit*is* pino
þridhia at tu hafui tw þing i þino. hiærta
først at þu huxa idhkelika hwad ek hafuir
giort f*irir* þik. m*ædh* þẏ ek løste þik. Ok at ek þol.

4 tik] read “til”.

8–10 ok aldrik vardha fult Gwdh taladhe / þrẏ þing biwdhir ek ˛ brænt þik] read as “ok aldrik vardha fult brænt Gwdh taladhe / þrẏ þing biwdhir ek þik”.

9 The capital letter “E” has been written in the left-hand margin as a guide to the rubricator.

9–10 A vertical stroke precedes the first letter on each line, marking off the empty box.

10 The reference “II 16 (8)” is written by a later hand in the left-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin version (Liber II 16) and the Old Swedish version (Book II 8).

25 hafui [tu]] expunction and crossed out with one line.

1–9 Manuscripts: B 162^{rb}; C 163^{vb}–164ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 56–57
Latin: Bergh 1991, 111

9–27 Manuscripts: B 51^{vb}–52ra; C 50^{vb}–51ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 247–248
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 79

97

þik i sy*n*dinne / Ok þe huxilse vpuækkia gudhe-
-likin kærleek § Annat at tu huxa idhkelika
mina rætuiso. ok þæn hardha domen þ*æ*r vækkir
vp gudhelikin ræddugha i hoghin. Ek sæm tala uidh [Section 20B]
þik ær ih*esus christus*. sand*i*r gudh Ok ma*n* skapare himbla
ok iordha. en gudh m*ædh* fadhere*n*o*m* ok þæm helgha
anda. eig þrý gudhi. vtan en fadhir. ok so*n*. ok þæn
helghe ande. Ek ær þæn sami sæm taladhe m*ædh* mo-
-yse. ok allu*m* p*ro*phetome*n*. Ek gaf laghin jsraelis
folke. Ek ær þæn sami sæm laa i iu*m*frunna lifue
m*ædh* ma*n*domeno*m*. þoathwarist var ek i guddomeno*m*
styrandhes badhe j hýmerike ok i iordhrike / þæs-
-sin ord. ek tala vidh þik nu. þe skulu sighias þæs-
-so*m* konu*n*ge j þ*æt*ta rike. ¶ . Ek ær krono*n*na ko- [Section 21]
-nu*ng*i*r*. weest þu hwi ek sigh*i*r krono*n*na konu*ng*i*r*
Ok ekke kronadh*i*r konu*ng*i*r* Sa*n*nelika min gudh-
-domb*i*r ha*n* var vtan vphof. ok vta*n* ændha. ha*n* liik-
-nas væl vidh krono. f*irir*. þý swa sæm i krono*n*ne / ær
eig vpbørilse ok eig ændhe. Swa var han ok
ær f*irir*. vtan ændha / m*ædh* þý liiknas ha*n* væl uidh
krono. þænna guddomen ha*n* gømdis i minom
ma*n*dome. firir þý at swa sæm eins rikis krona
gømis konu*n*geno*m* a hend*i*r sæm komo skal til
rikit Swa. ok guddome*n* gømdis i ma*n*domeno*m*
Ok f*irir*. þý ma ek væl kallas kronu*n*na konu*ng*i*r*
§ . Ek hafde fýrst twa sweina. þe tiænto

4 "NB" has been written in pencil in the right-hand margin.
6 ok (second occurrence)] followed by a raised dot.
14 The reference "II 7" is written by a later hand in the left-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin version.
19 ændhe. [þ]] expunction.
25–26 A bicameral "a" has been written in ink in the right-hand margin.

1–4 Manuscripts: B 52ra; C 51ra
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* I, 248
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 79
4–14 Section 20B has no equivalent Swedish or Latin versions.
14–26 Section 21 has no equivalent Swedish version.
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 46

98

mik m*ædh* fultkomliko hiærta. ok alle makt / fyr-
-ste heit pætar. Annar heit paal. m*ædh* petare
mena ek alla klærke. m*ædh* pauale alla leekmen. f*irir*.
þy at swa sæm i laghomin m*ædh* et nampn sæm
var israel. mente ek alt isr*ae*ls folk. Swa ok nu
m*ædh* þæssom þwæm mena ek alla klærka ok leek
-men. Pætar var i klærkx æmbiti. ok i hionalag
f*irir*. þy at ha*n* gat ekke andelikit æmbiti væl haldit
j kiotliko lifuerne. þy fyrsagde han lustan. ok
fylgde mik m*ædh* fullo hiærta. Paual var rein af
allu*m* lusta. M*ædh* þæsso*m* þwæim giorde ek stora na-
-dhe. ok dygd Petare gaf ek binda ok løsa. j hi-
-merike ok i iordrike. Paual var hono*m* iæmliker
j heidhreno*m*. ok æro*n*ne / at swa sæm þe varo badhe
j iordrike like. ok kompona. Swa ok æra þe i glæ-
-dhinne badhe like. Ok iæmpne. Sidha*n* þæsse mæn.
sæm varo ok stodho f*irir*. þe helghe þroo badhe klær-
-ka ok leekmen varo frafalnne. Ok ein litin þime var
framlidhen. þa vexte køtit va*n*mæktokt / þa
var ma*n*ne*n* æ daghu*m* ok daghu*m* nidh*ir* lutir til syn
-dinna / gudhlikin kærleik*ir*. minkadhis / værldin-
-na giri øktis. m*ædh* þy misku*n*nadhe ek badhe klær-
-ku*m* ok leekma*n*no*m* / Ok lofuodhe ek klærku*m* hafua
matelikit gooz. þ*ær* til at þe skuldo swa mykla hel-
-d*ir* mik i*n*narlika tiæna. Ok andra m*ædh* sino lifuær-

3 \ek/
5 israel] written with a horizontal stroke through the top of the "l", probably an otiose abbreviation mark.
7 hionalag] there is a dot above the second "a".
10 Paual] the second "a" is bicameral.
15 kompona] read "kompana".
18 \litin/

1–25 Section 21 has no equivalent Swedish version.

Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 46–47

99

-ne løsa Leikma*n*nome*n* lofuodhe ek hionalag Lof-
-likt m*ædh* kỳrkionna bande / J þæim þimano*m* var bla-
-nd klærku*m* ein godh*i*r man. han huxsade swa m*ædh* sik
mit kiøt dragh*i*r mik til lusta. værldhin draghir
mik til onỳttelika sỳnd. ok girilsse. Diæfulen læg-
-g*i*r f*i*r*i*r. mik mangha snaro. Ok kastar ondh huxilse
i min hugh. M*ædh* þỳ vil ek gøra þrỳ þing til heiders
fỳrst þ*æ*r til. at mit kiøt draghi mik eig til omỳki*n*
lusta. f*i*r*i*r. þỳ vil eig eỳ hafua skipadha tima i allo
mino lifuærne plagha mit køt m*ædh* fasto. spækia
lustan. likame*n* m*ædh* vaku. jdhkna i mateliko ok ide-
-liko arbeidhe / Annat ek vil gøra gudhi þ*æ*r til. at
diæfwlen dar*e* mik eig m*ædh* varldhinna fægrind.
ok ælskogha. f*i*r*i*r. þỳ vil ek f*o*rlata wærldinna heidh*i*r
ok fægrind. ok fỳlghia mino*m* gudhi m*ædh* fatikdoo*m*
þridhia ek vil offra gudhi þ*æ*r til. at diæfwlen
dar*e* mik eig m*ædh* nokro*m* huxsilsæm. þỳ vil ek for-
-lata min eighen vilia. ok gifua mik vnd*i*r a*n*na-
-rs hand. ok lỳdhno badhe i nødh. ok i lost / þæn
man var þæn sæm fỳrst bỳgde klost*i*rlifnad. Ok fult
ko*m*nadhe væl. Ok gaf ma*n*go*m* got eptedømilse. ok
vægh at lifua gudhlika § Bland leikma*n*no*m*
stodh væl eina stund Somlike arbeidhade jordhe-
-na. So*m*like sigildo. So*m*like arbeidhade m*ædh* sinom
handom bland þæssa leikmen / Varo sumi þe
sæm heito kirkiu*n*na værnara sæm nu kallas

8 draghi] the letters “ag” are smudged.
9 eig eẏ] read “ek”.
13 varldhinna] may read “værldhinna” as there is a small dot above the first “a”.
18 -lata] there is a dot above the second “a”.
18 vil[dhe]\ia/] crossed out with two lines.
20 \þæn/

1–22 Section 21 has no equivalent Swedish version.
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 47–48

22–26 Manuscripts: B 225^{rb}; C 225^{rb}; F 22^{r}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 366; *BU* IV, 325
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 47–48

100

hofmen / þe toko vapn a sik til þe hælgha k*i*rkiu
værilsse. Ok til nidhrilsse gudhz ouina / Bland þæs-
-sa mæn sæm kallas kirkiu*n*na værnara. var ein mi*n*
godh*i*r vin han huxsadhe swa m*ædh* sik // Ek ẏrker eig
jord sæm bonde. Ek siglar eig sæm køpman. Ek
arbeidhar eig m*ædh* mino*m* handom. Ek ær ok eig
ma*n*nelikin i stẏrk sæm k*i*rkiu*n*na værnara bør til
at vara. þẏ at mit kiøt ær bløt at tolo saar / lika-
-me*n* all*i*r siwkir ok vanmaktogh*i*r til arbeidhe / han-
-dhin lat at slaa. gudz ouini. hugrin ostadhughir
at huxa gudhlikin þing / hwad skal ek þa gøra
mino*m* gudhi til heidh*i*r Sa*n*nelika sagde ha*n* m*ædh* sik
Ek vil vpstanda. Ok ganga til værldinna høfdin-
-gia. Ok þe hono*m* min hugh. Ok vanmækt. Ok binda
mik vndir hans lẏdhno m*ædh* mino*m* swornom eidhe
Ok iætta honu*m* tro. at ek vil vara hono*m* lẏdhugh*i*r
j alt þ*æt* sæm ær kirkiu*n*na heidh*i*r ok gagn. þæn
man kom til værldhinna forman. Ok sagde swa
Min he*r*ra ek ær ein af þæim sæm heita kirkiu*n*na
værnara. Ek kænnis vidh*i*r. at mit kiøt ær omata
bløt at þolo saar / handhen seen ok lat at slaa
gudz ouini. hughre*n* ostadhugir at huxa got Min
æghin vili ær mik alt ofkær roo ok onder vani
dragh*i*r mik fra gudz heidhir þẏ bind*i*r ek mik
m*ædh* mino*m* sworno*m* eidhe vndir gudz lẏdno. ok
þino sæm ær hofdinge. ok forma*n* a gudz væg

2 Blan\d/
4 An “e” has been written in ink in the left-hand margin.
4 Of the two *virgulae suspensivae*, the first is dotted.
6 mino*m*] there is a dark dot above and to the left of the “m”.
10–15 The far left-hand side of the page is stained.
13 A bicameral “a” has been written in ink in the left-hand margin.
17 kirkiu*n*na] possibly “ki[i>r]kiu*n*na”.
24–26 The left-hand side of the page is dirty.

1–26 Manuscripts: B 225$^{rb–va}$; C 225$^{rb–va}$; F 22$^{r–v}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 366–367; *BU* IV, 325–326
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 48

101

na. at ek vil m*ædh* mino lifue værna þe helgha
kirkio. ok gudz troo. forma*n*ne*n* swaradhe hono*m*
swa. Min godhe vin tu hafu*ir* godha akt. Ek vil
ganga m*ædh* þik til gudz huus. Ok vara þin vit-
-nisman til þinne lofuon. ok eidh. Sidha*n* þe ko
-mo badhe f*ir*i*r* mit altare. þa bøgdhe min vin siin knæ
f*ir*i*r*. mino altar*e* / ok sagde swa forma*n*nenon*m* a høra*n*de
Min gudh þ*æ*r mik skapadhe. Ek ke*n*nis mik redho
hafua varit altz ilz. Ok siwkan til got *ok* þolomo
-odh. køtit armt at þolo saar. ok þwang. vilian
til þin heidhir liten. frætilsse manga Ok diæw-
-lsins snarur oþalika. þ*ý* biwdh*ir* ek mino*m* sweino*m*
-eidhe vnd*ir* þino l*ý*dhno. Ok þænna høfdings lo-
-fwondis þik. ok allu*m* helgha ma*n*nu*m* i þæsso*m* stad
a mina þro ok sa*n*nindh. at ek vil m*ædh* þinne hielp
ææ mædhan ek lifu*ir* st*ý*rkia þe helgha þroo. Ok
þr*ý*kkia þina ouini nidh*ir*. Ok þina vini foordra
ænkior / ok fadhurløøs barn. værna rætuiso*n*na
ælska ok sa*n*nind. Ok mote helgho l*ý*dhno aldre
gøra / framleidhis vndirbinder ek mik. at vm
ek kan af þe helgha l*ý*dhno ganga. liggia vn-
-dir høfdingia*n*s næfst / Ok vil ek hono*m*. l*ý*dha
sæm gudhi siælfwm i allo þ*ý* sæm k*ý*rkio*n*na
heidhir ær. ok n*ý*t. Ok eig moot gudhi ær / æfte
þæssin ordh. Ok jatilsse. forma*n*nen huxadhe sniæl-
-lelika m*ædh* sik. Ok skipadhe hono*m* en klædhebonadh

2 swaradhe hono*m*] the two words are joined by a stroke from the "e" to the "h".
9 There is a small tear (2.5 mm) above the capital letter "O" in "Ok".
11 frætilsse] read "fræstilsse".
12 sweino*m*] read "sworno*m*".
13 There is a pale paraph in the right-hand margin.
24 heidhir] there is a small otiose stroke on the "r".
26 -le\li/ka

1–26 Manuscripts: B 225$^{va–b}$; C 225va; F 22^{v}–23^{r}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 367–368; *BU* IV, 326–327
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 48–49

102

m*ædh* huilkom han skulde vara. wtmærktir af
andro*m* ma*n*no*m*. Ok teelse til sins lifuærne. ok
lofuon. Þ*æ*r næst fik han mino*m* vin swerd i
handh. ok sagdhe M*ædh* þæsso swærdhe skalt tu
nidhra gudhz ouini. Ok værna gudz vini Sidha*n*
fik ha*n* a hans arm skiold. ok sagde M*ædh* þæsso*m*
skiold skalt þu værna þik moot þino*m* ouinom
Ok þolo slag f*i*r*ir*. gudz heidh*i*r Swa at fẏrra riifs
skioldhin brẏste. æn þu flyẏr Sidha*n* lagde ha*n* sina
-hand a hans hals. til teekn at ha*n* skulde vara lẏ-
-dugh*i*r. ok gudz vilia at gøra. ok ekke sin. ok sag-
-de swa. Nu æst þu vndir lẏdhno bunden. Ok har-
-dare fæstir til gudz æn fẏrra. Vakta þik firir
olẏdno. Vit þ*æ*t vm tu æst olẏdugh*i*r þe helghe
k*i*r*k*iu. Ok brẏtir þin eidh. ta gaar tu diwpare til
heluitis nidh*i*r æn annar / f*i*r*ir*. þy tu æst meir skẏl-
-dugh*i*r gudhi f*i*r*ir*. þin eid en annar man sæm ekke
-hafu*i*r iakat ell*i*r swrit Sidhan lagde forma*n*nen
mantill vm min vin. til at þe allu*m*. hwad kærleek
Ok troo ha*n* hafde til gudh. Ok hwat ha*n* hafde gu
-dhi iacat. þ*æ*r til at fler*e* skulde i gudz kærleek
-fẏlghia. æpti / Æpte þæssa ordha framførls. klær-
-kin þæn sæm mæssona sagde. ha*n* gaf mino*m* vin min
likama. til trøst ok fæstilsse. Ok swa blef han
stadhugh*i*r i mi*n*ne tiænist Ok hiolt sina lofuon
mannelika. Ok fultko*m*nadhe hedhirlika. swa at
⌞ ha*n* vilde held*i*r li- ⌟

6 arm] there are two short diagonal strokes above the "a".
9 There is a small tear above "flyẏr".
16 annar] the "r" is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
17 There is a *capitulum*-like symbol in the left-hand margin.
27 The catchwords are encapsulated with two horizontal lines above and below, two vertical lines to the right, and a pale decorative scribble to the left.

1–27 Manuscripts: B 225^{vb}; C 225$^{va–b}$; F 23^{r}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 368; *BU* IV, 327
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 49

103

han vildi held*i*r lifuit tappa æn lydhnona brẏta
þolkin var þæn godhe georgius. ok vtalike
andre sæm þæsso fẏldo epte / þolike skuldo
riddarene vara. vm þe vildo ræt riddarskap
halda. sæm þe æra til bundne. Vtan nu kære
ek ih*esus christus* sand*i*r gudhz son. ok ma*n*. f*i*r*i*r. þæssom
formanno*m*. ok riddara ok hofmen sæm mina
kẏrkio skuldo værna æra diæwlsins riddara
Ok ekke mine. þe skuldo værna þe helgha tro
Ok nidhra henna ouini. Nu þola þe mina ouini
Ok tighia kwarre vm kirkio*n*na last. ok drøuil-
se. hafua*n*dis riddara nampn æn ænkte vilia
þe gøra m*ædh* g*er*ni*n*go*m*men sæm þa æra bundne
E K ær sandir h*er*ra. ænghin ær vær-˪ til [Section 22]
-dugh*i*r h*er*ra heita vta*n* ek. f*i*r*i*r. þẏ at ængin
ær ifuir mik. ok alt vald ok h*er*rado*m* ær af mik
Ek hafde twa sweina / m*ædh* huilko*m* ek mente klær-
-ka ok leekmæn klærken hafde meira heidh*i*r.
f*i*r*i*r. þẏ han hafde lifuærne. þ*æt* ær væl wærdugt
at swa mẏklo hardare ok bætre lifuærne ma*n*-
-nin hafu*i*r / swa mẏkla meira heidh*i*r ær ha*n* vær-
-dugh*i*r. hafua badhe i hẏmerike ok i iordrike
Bland. leekma*n*no*m* var en min godh*i*r vin
sæm ek før sagde. huilkin sæm burdhe fẏrst
ræt riddarskap. ok værna þe helga k*i*r*k*iu

4 riddarskap] there is a patch of dirt covering the letters “ap”.
13 þa] read “þe”.
14 ˛ til] slightly raised above the line.
14 The reference “II 8” is written by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin version.
14 The guide letter “e” has been written in black ink in the left-hand margin, and a letter (possibly “E” or “g”) has been written in the right-hand margin.
13–15 sæm þe æra bundne EK ær sandir h*er*ra. ænghin ær vær- ˛ til -dugh*i*r] read “sæm þe æra bundne til EK ær sandir h*er*ra. ænghin ær værdugh*i*r”.
14–15 A vertical stroke precedes the first letter on each line, marking off the empty box. There is no initial.

1–14 Manuscripts: B 225^{vb}–226ra; C 225^{vb}; F 23$^{r–v}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 368–369; *BU* IV, 327–328
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 49–50
14–25 Section 22 has no equivalent Swedish version.
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 50

104

Ok styrkia þe helgha troo. Hono*m* fỳlgde vtalike
æpte. *ok* æra jæmlike hono*m* j hỳmerike / ok æn þỳ þe
gwtu eig sit blood wt alle f*irir*. þe helgha k*ir*kiu troo
þoathwarist f*irir*. þæn godhuilia þe hafdo til min. ok
g*er*na wt gutit sit blood f*irir*. mik vm timim hafde swa
varit til. Ok ouini redho. f*irir*. þỳ æra þe like j æru*n*ne
f*irir*. vilians skwldh. m*ædh* þæim sæm sit blod wtgutu
f*irir*. mik § Nu vil ek sighia þik swa sæm først
gik. af ræt riddarskap. / hans nampn sigh*i*r ek þik
ekke f*irir*. þỳ. f*irir*. þỳ þu kænnir. ha*n* ekke / vtan hans
akt ok lifuærne vil ek þik tee. f*irir*. þỳ mik swa sỳnis
Ein ko*m* til mit minstær ok vilde varda riddar*e*. þa
ha*n* ingik j mønstrit. þa hørde ha*n* eina røst ok øpte
swa. Vilt tu riddare vardha / ta bør þik hafua þrỳ
þing / først troo at þ*æ*tta bødh sæm sỳnis i p*re*stins
handu*m* þ*æt* ær ih*e*su *christi* likame sæm stoodh a korseno
Ok stodh vp aff dødh. Ok ær vaar skapar*e* Ok atir
-løsare. Annat þu skalt hafua þ*æt* ær meira. Afhald
af þino*m* lusta. ok sỳnd sidhan þu vardh*i*r riddare
æn þu hafde fỳr. þridhia skalt þu eig standa
eptir værldi*n*na heidh*i*r. ælla giri vtan alla þina
akt hafua til gudz vilia. gøra ok heidh*i*r. Sidha*n*
þænne ma*n* hafde þ*æt*ta hørt / Ok ha*n* var huxande
hwad ha*n* vilde her m*ædh* gøra. þa hørde han eina
andra røst i sino*m* hogh ok sagde swa vil tu min rid-
-dar*e* vardha. ek vil gifua þik agha þ*æt* þu seer

2 jæmlike hono*m*] the two words are joined by a stroke from the "e" to the "h".
5 timim] read "timin".
5 hafde] there is a dot in the loop of the "h".
6 [->j]] the "j" has been written over the beginning of another letter, possibly an "æ".
8 A bicameral "a" has been written in ink in the left-hand margin.
10 f*irir*. þẏ. f*irir*. þẏ] dittography.
10 kænnir] the "r" is written with a small otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
18 Afhald] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.

1–26 Section 22 has no equivalent Swedish version.
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 50–51

105

Ek vil lata þik høra þ*æt* þik lỳst*i*r Ek vil lata þik
fa þ*æt* þu stundar eptir / Æfter þessin ordh sagdhe
þ*æ*nna ma*n* m*ædh* sik siælfuu*m*. hin fỳrre h*e*rra*n* biwdh*i*r
mik þro þ*æt* ek seer ekke. jakar mik þ*æt* ek weet
ekke / biudh*i*r mik halda mik af þỳ mik lỳst*i*r aat
Ok hopos þ*æt* ek ær owiis. aa. Annar h*e*rran jakar
mik wærldinna heidh*i*r sæm ek seer. lofuor mik haf-
-ua lustan sæm ek geernas. biwdh*i*r mik ææ see ok
høra þ*æt* mik lỳst*i*r. aat. Sa*n*nelika ek vil held*i*r honu*m*
fỳlghia. sæm ek ær vis vp a. Ok mik lofuor hafua
þ*æt* mik lỳstir. æn hino*m* sæm mik iættar þ*æt* sæm ek seer
ekke. Ok hører / . þænne man gifuandis wærldinne
sina troo. ha*n* gik fỳrsto*n*ne. af ræto riddaraskapi / ha*n*
kastadhe min skiold f*i*r*i*r mina føt*i*r. Ok swærdit til
mi*n*na sidho. Ok swa gik ha*n* wt af mino
møn*s*tre. Sidhan han var wt gange*n*. Ta taladhe
røsthin i hans hiærta. sæm f*i*r*i*r taladhe ok sagdhe
swa. Vil tu min riddare vara. ta skalt þu fara a
mark ok gatu m*ædh* alle høgfærd. at swasæm gudz
riddara ælzska alla ødmiwt Swa ælzska þu alla
høgfærdh Swa sæm ha*n* ær lỳdugh*i*r ok vndirgif-
-uin sino*m* forma*n*ne. swa skalt þu ængo*m* lỳdha vta*n*
þik siælfuu*m* / ængu*m* bøgia þin hals alla knææ
Huru þu moghe ma*n*likare. Ok hedherlikare æn
andre men. læt ænghin stigha ifu*i*r þik / Ok tak
swærd i þina handh til at nidhra þæm sæm

2 Æfter] bicameral “Æ”.
11 iættar \þ*æt*/
11 sæm [s] ek] erasure.
15 af [mẏnstrẏt]] crossed out with one line.
16 [->t]aladhe
17 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the right-hand margin.
23 þin[s]] expunction.
23 alla] read “ælla”.

1–26 Section 22 has no equivalent Swedish version.
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 51

106

mi*n*na fo*r*magh æn þu. Ok þ*æ*r til at þu giote wt þins
iæmcristens blood. at þu maghe fa hans ægho
þak skiold a þin arm. þ*æ*r til at þu gifui ger-
-na þit liif wt f*i*r*ir*. wærldinna heidh*i*r. ok nẏt /
Ok gif ænghom heid*i*r vtan þik siælfwm. vm þe
helgha tro ok. budh skalt þu ænkti gifua Swa ok
þu halde þik af ænghom lusta sæm þik lỳst*i*r at
fultkomna. Ok þin likame kræfu*ir* æpte. þæssin
ord satte þæn vsle man i sin hwg ok vilia at fult-
-komna. Ok m*ædh* huilke akt gik han til at riddare
vardha § formannen sæm þa var han lagde sina ha-
-ndh a hans hals. Ok fik honom skioldh a hans
arm m*ædh* þæim ordhom sæm þ*æ*r til varo skipadh. Ok
þæn stadh sæm han hafde til skipad. f*i*r*ir* þỳ
at ænkte hindrar mannen ælla skadhar i hwad.
stadh han vard*i*r riddare. vm hans akt ok vili ær
godh*i*r f*i*r*ir*. þy at gudh ær i allom stodhum. ær ok hans
akt swa þ*æt* han vil riddare vara f*i*r*ir*. værldinna hei-
-dher ok nampn. Ok ække f*i*r*ir*. þæn skuld. at han vil
gudhi gøra meira heidh*i*r. Ok værna þe helgha
k*i*rkiu. Ok fadherløøs barn ok ænkior. þa dugh*i*r
honom ænkte þæn godhe stadhin han var riddare
j / firir þỳ akten ær ondh. ¶ . æpte þ*æt* at þ*æ*n vsle
man vard riddare giordher. þa idhknadhe han
sik i alle høgførdh. ok ondom lusta. ænkte hux
-ande a þ*æt* hans lofuon bant han hardare til
minna tiænist. æn sæm han var fỳr / þænna

1 \þær/
4 A tick (✓) has been drawn in pencil in the left-hand margin.
9 A *virgula suspensiva* has been written in ink in the left-hand margin.
14 þæn [staf s]] expunction and crossed out with one line.
25 høgfødh] read "høgfærdh".
25 ænkte] there is a dot underneath the "t".
27 fyr] the "r" is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.

1–27 Section 22 has no equivalent Swedish version.

Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 51–52

107

riddara fyldo. ok fỳlghia æn oþalik þusand
Ok fara diwparen til heluitis æn þe foro ællas
vm þe varo eig riddara. § nu mat þu spøria
mik þ*æt* mange mæn vildho g*er*na vara. høghtiidh-
-liki i wærldinna heidh*i*r. ok fa ekke þæs æmpni
Ok m*ædh* þỳ fa ekke þe swa hardha pino. sæm hine
sæm sin framgang allan hafua. ok sins vilia fult-
-ko*m*nilse. Til þæssa huxilla vil ek siælfu*ir* þik swara
hwilkin man sæm hafu*ir* fultkomlikin vilia. vara
vara i wærldhinna heidh*i*r. Ok læggær allan hwg
ok makt aa. huru han moghe komo i wærldinna
heidh*i*r. ok lusta. ok faar eig æmpni at fwltkomna
vilian. vit þ*æt* f*irir*. visso. at þæn man han plaghas
epte þæim onda vilian*om* vm ha*n* døør i hono*m* Sa-
-mulund sæm þæim sæm fultkomnadha m*ædh* g*er*ni*n*go*m*-
-min. þolike*n* vilia f*irir*. þy ha*n* hafde g*er*na fultko*m*nat
sin vilia. vm min lønliki dombir hafde hono*m* eig
atir haldit. Ek vil sighia þik æptedømilse
af þwæim sæm i þæsso rike nỳlika varo.
Annar fik allan sins vilia framgang / Annar
hafde þoliken sama vilian vta*n* ha*n* fik ekke
makt ok æmpni at fultko*m*na vilian sæm han
vilde. þæsse hafua badhe eina pino. Ok æra
ææ for vtan ænda i fordømilsse i heluitis
pino. f*irir*. þỳ at a*n*nar þeira fultko*m*nadhe alla*n*
sin vilia. ok likamans lusta. Ok fik allan sins
vilia framgang / Annar. giorde swa mỳkit
sæm han hafde æmpne. Ok hafdhe gerna

2 heluitis] the ending of the word has been corrected, but it is difficult to see from what.
8 huxilla] read "huxillsa".
9–10 vara vara] dittography.
10 vara [i]] expunction.
13 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the right-hand margin.
18 Ek[ke]] expunction.
19 af [þæ]] expunction.
20 Annar] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
25 a*n*nar] is preceded by a bow-shaped stroke, possibly the beginning of an abandoned "þ".

1–28 Section 22 has no equivalent Swedish version.
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 52

108

þusand sinno*m* sins iæmcristins blood wtgutit þ*æ*r
til at ha*n* maþe hafua sins vilia fultko*m*nilse fang*it*
þæsse badhe hafua badhe eina pino. huilke æn
þ*ý* at þe dogho eig badhe vm en tima. þoathua-
-rist sigh*i*r ek þik huru bæggia þeira saal var
skapadh. i þeira *ý*tirsta tima. þæn tima salin.
gik af likamano*m*. þa øpte hoon til likaman. Ok
sagde. hwar æst tu likame þe vana s*ý**ý*n. Tu iaka-
-dhe mik. hwar ær nu þæn lusthen. ok girin tu þedhe
-mik. hwad æra nu þe lustelika ordh. tu bat mik n*ý*-
-tia. ok høra / J þe samu stund sæm salin hoo*n* taladhe
swa. þa s*ý*ntis en diæfwl. ok sagdhe. þe s*ý*nin lika-
-min iakadhe þik. þ*æt* ær ekke vtan ein luste ok væ-
-dhir. þæssin dogha þik nu til ænkte. Ta øpte salin ok
sagdhe. Ve Ve mik swa illa ek ær darat. Ek seer þing
Ek seer þæn mik jakadhis i brødz like / þ*æt* ha*n* ær
ængla he*r*ra. ok ald*ra*. skapare. Ek seer at þe lønin ha*n*
iakadhe mik. þe æru vgripplighin. ok oseiandis hwat
søtma ok d*ý*gd þe hafua m*ædh* sik. Ek f*ý*rstandir ok
nu. þ*æt* afhaldh þ*æt* ha*n* radhe mik. ok l*ý*dhna. þe
hafdo mik varit bæzst Sidhan ho*n* hafde þ*æt* sakt
ta øpte salin m*ædh* þrænna ve. Ve mik at ek skapat
vardh. ok fødh. Ve mik at mit liif vardh swa
langt i wærldi*n*ne. Ve mik at ek skal æwi*n*nelika
lifua i dødheno*m*. ok pino*n*ne. ok aldrik skal ændas

8 vana] read “væna”.
13 iakadhe [mik]] expunction and crossed out with one line.
13 \þik/
13 vtan] there is a small dot above and to the left of the “a”.
15 seer þing] should probably read “seer þrý þing”. Compare comp. app.
16 ær] the “r” is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.
24 Ve] there is a dot inside the capital letter “V”.

1–27 Section 22 has no equivalent Swedish version.
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 52–53

109

Sidhan foor ho*n* tiit hon skulde Se huru sto-
-ra pino vsle men køpa. f*i*r*ir*. litin lusta Ok værl-
-dhinna heidh*i*r sæm ær ekke vtan sæm eit blom-
-st*i*r sæm skøt falnar. Ok swa sæm hafsins fra-
-dha. sæm sẏnis stoor. ok vardh*i*r til ængsins
A Ldir þæm time sæm var fra þẏ at adam var [Section 23]
skapadh*i*r. Ok all wærldhin. ok nu til þænna
stund. þ*æt* ær ekke vtan ein stund m*ædh* mik sæm ma-
-ng aar æær m*ædh* idh*i*r. Ek sagde þik i gaar. at þ*æ*n
sæm fẏrst gik fra ræt riddarskap. ha*n* kastadhe
skioldhin til mi*n*na føtir. swærdit til mi*n*na sidho
hwad teknar skioldhen þ*æ*r min ma*n* skal haf
-ua. a arm. vtan rætho þroo efte þe helgha k*ir*kiu
huilka hwar kristen man skal hafua þænna ski-
-oldh. þ*æt* ær þe helgha troo ha*n* kastadhe borth
þa ha*n* vildhe ekke afhald hafua. eig huxa hwi
ha*n* var skapadh*i*r. ællas ok hwar til. hwi ha*n* var
atirløst*i*r m*ædh* mino blodhe. ælla hwad ha*n* skulde
mik þ*æ*r firir gifua Sa*n*nelika hafde ha*n* troot
mik vara alzualdughan. Ek formatte alt ẏfirt
hono*m* gifua. hafde ha*n* troot fultko*m*lika mik
atirløsar*e*. Ok huxat mina harda pino. Vtan
iæf hono*m* hafde ænkte þẏkt vm værldhi*n*na vara
§ Vtan ha*n* kastadhe borth skioldhin sæm ha*n*
skulde værna sik m*ædh* moot vantro*n*næ. Til mina
føtir ek hafu*ir* til andhelik vndirstandilse

5 ængsins] there is a dot under the first "n".
5 The letter "E" has been written in the right-hand margin.
6 The "a" has been written in the left-hand column.
6 A vertical stroke precedes the first letter on this line, marking off the empty box. There is no initial.
6 þæm] read "þæn".
6 The reference "II 9" is written by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin version.
7 The reference "(VIII 33)" is written by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Old Swedish version.
8 stund] there is a short diagonal stroke (grave) above the "u".
10–b. A section of page in the right-hand margin (13 mm by 102 mm) has been cut away.
12 hwad [ti]] expunction.
21 h[a*n*>a]fde] an otiose nasal stroke over the "a" has been partly erased.
21 mik] read "mik vara".

1–5 Section 22 has no equivalent Swedish version.
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 53
6–15 Manuscripts: B 226$^{ra–b}$; C 225^{vb}–226ra; F 23^{v}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 369–370; *BU* IV, 328–329
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 53
16–26 No equivalent Swedish version.
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 53

110

sæm þwa føt*i*r m*ædh* huilkom ek ga*n*gir til man-
-zins. første foten ær gudhelikin luste. þ*ær*
ek hafu*ir* til ma*n*nin m*ædh* huilko*m* ek draghir
ma*n*nin til min / Annar ær mit þolomot m*ædh* huil
-ko*m* ek tol syndughan man. alt i ẏtirsta pu*n*c-
-ten ¶ æn þænne vsle ma*n*ni*n* kastadhe þro*n*na
skiold f*irir* mina føt*i*r þa ha*n* gaf eig vm min
gudhuilia. ok gudhlika lusta. Ok forsmadhe
mit mẏkla þolomodh. / han kastadhe ok swær-
-dit til mi*n*na sidho. hwad teeknar mins riddara
swærd. þ*æt* ha*n* skal i sinne hand hafua vta*n* gud-
-lika*n* rædduga sæm ha*n* skal hafua i sino*m* ger*n*ingo*m*
rædhas idhkelika min doom. ok mina wreide
hwad teeknar miin sidha vtan miin værn ok
hielp m*ædh* huilki ek varnar þæim til min flẏia
at diæfwlen fræsta þæim eig ofmẏkit. Ok gø-
-mir ek þæim af omẏklu*m* vadha. Vta*n* þænne
ma*n* kastadhe bort mins riddara swærd. þ*æt* ha*n*
vẏrdhe eig mit waldh. ok eig mina hemd
ella þolomodh. Ok kastadhe til mi*n*na sidho
swa sæm ha*n* vildhe sighia. Ek rædhes þik
ænkti. Ok þorf þina hiælp ænkte vidhir / f*irir*.
þẏ ek ær riker þ*æt* valdir min bẏrdh. þ*æt* ek ær
heid*i*rlikær. þ*æt* vald*i*r min vmsorg ok viisdom-
-bir. ha*n* brøt ok sina troo ok jakilsse hwad

4 Annar] the capital letter comprises a bicameral “a” written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
10–b. A section of page in the left-hand margin has been cut away.
11 sinne hand] the words are joined by a stroke from the “e” to the “h”.
14 sidha [ok]] expunction.
14 \vtan/
15 varnar] read “værnar”.
15–16 There is a patch of dirt on the right-hand side of the page surface.
25 brøt] b\r/øt

1–25 No equivalent passage in Swedish.

Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 53–54

111

ær þ*æt* jakilsse. þ*æ*r mæn bør til jaka sin gudh.
þ*æ*tt. ær. gudlik*i*r kærleik*i*r. hafua till gud. ok.
ænktit ælska vtta*n*. han *ok* honu*m*. lyda. þæ*n*na trw*na*
brøt. han. þa han. ælskadhæ. hæld*i*r. væroldena
glædi. / æn þæ som. æwi*n*nælikæn. ær / þæsso*m*. lundom.
kastadæ. han. bort. miin vapn. *ok* brøt truna. *ok* sua.
gik han. bort aff mi*n*na audmiukt. mønstræ for.
þwi alla. krisna ma*n*na likame som audmiukt ær j
þæ eru mit mynst*i*r. ok m*ædh* þeim lyst*i*r. mik boo. þ*æ*r.
som høgfærd. *ok* wond*i*r. lustæ ær jnnæ þæi*m*. maa.
ek ækki naalkas for þwi þæi eru. dyæwlsens
mynstær ok. ækki mit. ⟨S⟩idhan. þæ*n*. ma*n*. . war.
bort. af mi*n*næ trw. *ok* mi*n*s wins skypilsæ gænge*n*. *ok* /
han. hafdæ. idknat. sik j allu*m* lusta *ok* høgfærdh /
þa han kom a siin ytarsta tima. *ok* sielen gæk.
af likameno*m*. þa komo diofla skar*e* moot hæ*n*næ /
ok sagdæ fyrsta røstæ*n*. swa. ær. æk þ*æ*tte. som gek
bort af. rætte audmiukt *ok* fylghdi. os j allæ.
høgfærd. ok æn vm. han hafdæ gætet j tweim
fæto*m*. ifuir os gangit j rætte høgfærd. han
hafdæ g*e*rne þ*æ*tt. giort. þa sagdæ sialæ*n*. æk ær.
þæ sama. þa swaradæ rætwisæ*n*. siale*n*na / . þ*æ*tte.
ær gudz. rætwisæ *ok* þinnæ høgfærd. løøn / at.
þw. skalt. falla. fra æno*m*. dyefli ok till æins

2 ær.] Hand 2 begins.
2 gudlik*ir*] read "gudlik*in*".
12 The letter "E" has been written in black ink in the right-hand margin.
13 ok /] possibly "ok-".
16 hæ*n*næ /] possibly "hæ*n*næ-".

1–14 No equivalent passage in Swedish.
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 53–54

15–24 Manuscripts: B 226^{rb}; C 226ra; F 23^{v}–24^{r}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 370; *BU* IV, 329
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 54–55

112

annars. alt till þw. kombær. nidarst j heluitis.
grund. ok m*ædh* hwars. dyewls. pino. skalt þw.
warda. luttaken *ok* fyllas. Annur. røsten. af
hæluite. øfte. ær æk. þ*æ*tte. þæn so*m*. gik af gudz.
riddarskap. *ok* fylgdi wart. riddaraskap. þa.
swaradæ. sielæn jak. ær wissuligha. þæ sama.
Tha. sagdhæ. rætwisæ*n*. þ*æ*tte ær. þins arwad*is*.
løøn. At swa ma*n*gæ. som þik fylgi. æpti j þino
lifwærnæ af hwars þæi*r*e pino skalt þw war
da luttakin ok hwars þæi*r*e pina skall. auka.
þina pino. at hon wardar. hardar*e*. æn þæs.
mans pina so*m*. war*e* sarghadh*i*r. ok fængi æn
saar ifuir saar. af swerdhi alt till ænkti
war*e*. vsargat. a likamano*m*. swa skal. þiin pina
økias / . af swa mango*m*. so*m*. þit lifuerne æfti
fylgia Ok komb*i*r. þik sorgh ifwi sorgh. ok.
pina ifuir pino ok fylles m*ædh* allo we. ok.
aldhræ vardh*i*r. þw yfrit fylt*i*r. þyt wæ. skall.
æ. for. vtta*n*. ændha nyghias ok. aldhræ mi*n*kaz
Thridia røstæ*n*. af hæluit*is* øfti *ok* sagde. ær þ*æ*tte.
sami som ælskadæ skapat firi skaparen verolde*n*na.
kærlæik for gudz. kærleik. forsmade skaparans.
bod. / . ok ælskade. siin æghin wilia / . þa swara-
dæ sielen. æk ær þæn sami. þa swaradæ.

8 At] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
8 fylgi] ink blot above "f".
12 ok] possibly "Ok". The "o" has a dot in its centre.
18–19 An elongated paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the left-hand margin.
19 mi*n*[g]\k/az] expunction and crossed out with one diagonal line.
22 skaparans] there is a dot above the "n".
23 wilia] bicameral "a".

1–24 Manuscripts: B 226^{rb}; C 226ra; F 24$^{r–v}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 370–371; *BU* IV, 329–330
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 55

113

rætuisa*n* / þik skall. ofnas. twe inga*n*ga. at eno*m*
skall. þik jnganga. all pina. swa at ek. þe*n*
minzsta. huxilse. ælla. vnyttalikit ordh. þ*æ*r.
þw huxadæ ællige talade. mote gudhi
skall wara. vplagat. for þy þu. sældæ þiin
skapara. ok. tokt. þin æghin lusta. for ha*n*s.
lusta. Ad adru*m*. jngangeno*m* skall þik aldræ
jngange. miscund ellage gudlike*n* kærlæk*i*r
vtan þiin pina skall. wara æ for vtan æ*n*da.
ok æ lifua j pinu*n*na. ok aldræ dø. / . þæ*æ*.
skulu. ok aldræ þrøtas so*m* þik skulu pina
þ*æ*tte. war þæ*n*. fyrst. gek. af mino riddar-
skap Sæ hwat. at*i*rløn. han fik / fran.
honu*m*. wændi. alt himirik*is* hærskap sit æn-
liti ok aldræ wændir till hans for vta*n*.
⟨T⟩ hæt. standh*i*r. sc*ri*fuat. j møysi. ˛ ænda [Section 24]
lagh þ*æ*tt. møyses tha han gømdæ fe j
ødhæmarkænna. þa. saa han at. buskin log
adhæ þo at hworo. brændiz han ækki. Af
hwilkæ syyn møyses vndrada mykit þa.
ropade æin røst af buskano*m* ok sagde.

2 ek.] read “ekke”.
7 j⟨n⟩gangeno*m*] ink blot over “n”.
14 sit] there is a dot between the “s” and the “i”.
15 The letter “E” has been written in black ink in the right-hand margin.
15–16 The reference “II 10” is written in black ink by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin version.
15–17 ok aldræ wændir till hans for vta*n*. hæt. standh*i*r. sc*ri*fuat. j møysi. ˛ ænda lagh] read as “ok aldræ wændir till hans for vta*n*. ænda Thæt. standh*i*r. sc*ri*fuat. j møysi. lagh”.
17 \fe/
19 hworo] read “hwaro”.
19 The phrase “jfr ofan riddarskap” is written in pale pencil by a later hand in the right-hand margin.

1–16 Manuscripts: B 226va; C 226$^{ra–b}$; F 24^{v}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 371; *BU* IV, 330
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 55
16–21 Section 24 has no equivalent Swedish version.
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 56

114

ræk horir mi*n*s folks. nødh. *ok* vnseel. ok varku*n*.
na. jak þæim j þeim mykla þreldo*m*. þæ.
hafua af pharao. konu*n*gæ. jak. ær þæ sama.
røsten som øpte. till møysen af buskanom.
som nu tala. wid þik jak seer *ok* høre mi*n*s
folx. nødh *ok* þrældo*m*. Hwa war. mit folk.
j logume*n*. vta*n* isra*e*l m*ædh* hwilko jak menar.
nw riddare. som mine skuldho. wara jak.
seer. þæir*e* nødh. *ok* þrældo*m*. so*m* dyewlen
mødh*i*r theim mædh Samuled. som pharao
giordæ mino folkæ. j egypto. først fyrst
læt h*a*n. þæi*m*. bygga. vp sina borghæ. . mura
m*ædh* sino ægno. ærwede. *ok* sialfue skuldu
þæ. æn syrgia sik halm *ok* wid som þæ.
skuldu giora. till tiglæt m*ædh* / . Annat at.
þæ fingo æingin þak. *ok* l*øø*n firir sit arfuo-
de Thridia at þæ pintos hardlika. af
pharao swenom. wm þæ giordæ. ek swa.
mykit som vppa þeim lagdes Thette m*i*t.
folk. bygde pharao konu*n*ghe. twa borge
m*ædh* myklo. nødh. *ok* angist Swa gior. ok.
nu. thæn wonde pharao þ*æ*tt. ær diewlen.

1 horir] read “hørir”.
11 først fyrst] dittography.
15 giora] bicameral “a”.
21 gior] read “giør”.

1–22 Section 24 has no equivalent Swedish version.
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 56

115

mino folke. þ*æt* ær riddaro*m* sæm mine skuldo
vara. Ok af anduardho hafua varit Sa*n*ne-
lika sigh*i*r. ek þik. at stodho riddara j þe ski
-pilse sæm þe æra bundne til. Ok min vin først
burdhe. Ok hiolt. § Þe bẏggia diæfwlenom
borgha samuleid sæm isr*ae*l pharaoni / fẏrsta
ær þeira lika*m*likit arbeidhe sæm þe arbeida
nat ok dag f*i*r*ir*. wærldi*n*na heidh*i*r ok nẏt
Annar borghin ær þeira hux vro. *ok* vmsorg
f*i*r*ir*. þẏ þe hafua aldrig roo. f*i*r*ir*. wærldi*n*na
fiikt. ok huxilsse. Vta*n* swa sæm pharao
gaf eig mino folke ladhur fulla m*ædh* korn
eig viingarda. eig a*n*nar lika*m*lik nyt atgøra
lerit at brænna vta*n* þe sẏrgdo sik badhe
f*i*r*ir* leer ok halm Swa gør ok diæwlin mino
folke. þ*æt* ær riddarome*n*. þe arbeida nat ok
dag. þoathuarist. gita þe eig fultko*m*nat Ok
fẏlt sina giri. eig fangit roo. ællis øfrit
vtan arbeide. Ok æn fa þe æng*i*n
aftær lønen vtan æwi*n*nelika pino. M*ædh* þẏ
varku*n*nar ek þæim. at mine mæn bẏggia
diæfwleno*m* hws. sæm mik skuldo bẏggia
sæm þeira herra ok skapare ær

t. rt. The corner (26 mm by 41 mm) has been cut off.
1 Hand 1 begins.
7 [->a]rbeida] there is a dot underneath the "i".
13 atgøra] read "at gøra". The words are written together here due to lack of space at the end of the line.
17 þ\o/athuarist
19 [vndan] vtan] crossed out with one line.

1–23 Section 24 has no equivalent Swedish version.

Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 56–58

116

E K sagde þik fýrra. hwad pino þæn [Section 25A]
fik sæm først gik af ræt riddarskap
Nw vil ek sighia þik hwad at*ir*løøn ok glæ-
dhi. þæn fik sæm ræt riddarskap burdhe
ok væl fultkomnadhe. Ta ha*n* ko*m* a sin ýtir-
-sta tima. Ok salin skulde vidh likama*n* skÿ-
-lias. þa ko*m* mote honu*m*. v. legiones a*n*gelor*um*
Ok komo mange diæfla. f*irir*. þy þe æra fulle
m*ædh* ilzko. Ok huxadha nokon sin ræt finna j
hono*m*. Ta hørdis ein røst fult skær ok lius-
-lik. af himbleno*m* ok sagde swa. Ek ær þæn
sami sæm sik bant til gudhz m*ædh*. sino*m* eidh. Ok
fultko*m*nadhe allan hans vilia. þa swaradhe
ha*n*. siælfu*ir* ok sagde. Ek ær visslika þæn sami.
þær æfte hørdos þre røstor. ein af guddom-
-sins vægna. Ok sagde swa. Ek ær þætta þæn
sæm þik gaf liif ok saal. Tu æst mi*n* kære son
Tu giorde min vilia. ok laggde alla þina akt
til min. ko*m* hiit mi*n* kære son til þin søta fad*ir*
Ek skal gifua þik þ*æt* arfwit / ok fædhirne
sæm aldrik ko*m*bir ændhe aa. þik bør til glæ-
-dhi ok æra. f*irir* þý þu lydhe þino*m* fadhir

t. lt. The corner of the page has been cut off.
t. The reference "II 11 (VIII 37)" is written in black ink by a later hand at the top of the page and refers to the Latin version (Liber II 11) and the Swedish version (Book VIII 37).
1 The "e" has been written in the left-hand margin.
1–2 A vertical stroke precedes the first letter on each line, marking off the empty box. There is no initial.
2 The capital "E" has been written in the left-hand column.
4 riddarskap] there is a squiggle above the "s".
6 vidh] there is a dot inside the "d".
7 ko*m*] read "komo".
8 þy] the "þ" is misshapen.
9 huxadha] possibly "huxadho".
16 Ek] is poorly legible due to grazing on the surface of the page.

1–22 Manuscripts: B 231$^{rb–va}$; F 34^{v}–35^{r}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 392–393; *BU* IV, 352–353
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 59

117

kom til min. min kære son. Ek skal væria þik mædh
mino valde. Ek skal krona þik mædh glædhi ok æro
Annar røsthin øpte af mandomsins væghna. ok
sagde swa. kom hiit min kære brodhir. til þin
brodhir. Ek þok pino firir. þik. Ek gaf mit blodh
firir. þik. Ek þook dødh firir þik. kom til min firir. þý
tu følgde mik. ok loot þin vilia æfte minom
Tu vast redhoboen gifua blodh mote blodhe. Pi-
-no moot / pino. Ok mædhan þu fýlde mik j þino
lifuærne. fýlgh nu mik i mino. lifue sæm al-
-drigh ændas. þær ær æwinnelikin glædhi. ok
ænghin sorg ælla giinwærdha. kom til min j
æwærdelikit liif. firir. þý þu æst sannelika min brodir
Þridhia røsten øpte. a þæs helgha anda væg-
-na. eig firir. þý at men skal vænta vara þreia
gudha. vtan firir. þý at andhelig þing gita ekke
begripitz af køtlikom vtan mædh liiknilsson. firir. þý
alt þæt ek talar mædh þik. þæt gør ek mædh liiknilsom
þær til at þu giti fýrstandit min vilia. § þri-
dhia røsthin hon sagde swa. kom hiit min sig-
-nadha swen. þu æst swasom ein godhir ok man-
-nelikin riddare. sæm aldrig bant sin hiælm
af firir. læti. Ok aldrik flydhe. firir. rædde. Tu

2–3 An elongated paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the right-hand margin.
10–11 al-|-d*r*igh] possibly "al-|-di\r/gh".
19–20 The left-hand side of the page is very dirty.

1–23 Manuscripts: B 231va; F 35^{r}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 393–394; *BU* IV, 353
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 59–60

118

vast swa lustelikin at mik lyste byggia m*ædh* þik
þu vast swa ma*n*nelikin vtan. at mik lỳste væria
þik m*ædh* þy. f*irir*. þins likama vroo sæm tu hafde ko*m*
i æw*ær*delika roo. f*irir*. þins hux drøuilsse. Ko*m* til mik
i æwinnelika glædhi f*irir* þin gudhlika kærleik. ok
ma*n*nelikit lifuærne. Kom i mik siælfua*n*. ek vil bỳg-
-gia j þik. Ek vil glædhias i þik. Ko*m* hiit min
kære swen i þæn lusta aldrik ænde a kombir
sæm all*i*r søtme ær i. Ok ænghin drøuilsse. ko*m*
hiit ærlikin riddar*e* Ek skal fỳlla þik m*ædh* oll*u*m
søtma. æra þik m*ædh* oll*u*m heidhir. krono þik m*ædh*
alle glædhi. Ok æui*n*neliko lifue. Æptir þæssa
þre røste taladhe fæm legiones angelor*um*. huar
m*ædh* sinne røst § fỳrsta legio sagde swa. Gan-
-gum. f*irir* þæssom ærlika riddara. ok førum f*irir* ho-
-no*m* gudhi ha*n*s vapn. þ*æt* ær hans mỳkla troo
ha*n* hafde til gudz. at ha*n* væmpte sik moot
diæwlsins fræstilse. Annar legio sagde ga*n*gom
f*irir*. þæsso*m* howizlika riddara. Ok teem gudhi ha*n*s
manszlika skiold. þ*æt* ær hans mỳkla tolomodh
han hafde m*ædh* huilko alt þ*æt* honu*m* til ko*m* drøuilse
ok nødh. alt þolde han gladhlika f*irir* gudz kærlek
Tridhia legio sagde gangom f*irir* þæssom godha
riddara sæm gudh *ok* var h*er*re ælskadhe af
˽ Alle makt ok vi ˼

1 lustelikin at] should probably read "lustelikin innan at"; cf. "vtan" on l. 2.

2 ma*n*nelikin] there is a dot over the first minim of the second (that is, the first non-italicised) "n".

13 huar] there is a small dot between the "u" and the "a".

18 Annar] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.

19 howizlika] read "høwizlika".

25 The catchwords are encapsulated with a single horizontal line above and double horizontal lines on all other sides.

25 Alle] the capital letter comprises a bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.

1–25 Manuscripts: B 231$^{va–b}$; F 35$^{r–v}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 394; *BU* IV, 353–354
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 60

119

Alle mak ok vilia / ok føren f*i*r*ir* hono*m* hans huassa
swærd. þ*æt* ær hans gudhlika lydhna han lofuo-
-dhe. ok hiolt væl æfte. swa at han vilde hæld*i*r
køtlikit liif tappa æn af lydhnu*n*ne ganga i minsto
punctenom. ¶ fiærdha legio sagde. gangom f*i*r*ir* þæs-
-som ma*n*nalika riddara. ok førom f*i*r*ir* hono*m* hans
starka hæst. þ*æt* ær hans starka ødmiwkt f*i*r*ir* þy at
swa sæm hestin føre fram manzsins likama. Swa
føre ok ødhmiwkten ma*n*ne*n* fram f*i*r*ir* gudh. Ok
ledh*i*r han til alla fultko*m*lika g*er*ni*n*ga Sa*n*nelika
þænne riddare. han sat stadhlika. ok reid sigh-
-irlika f*i*r*ir* þý all høgfærd var dødh f*i*r*ir* hano*m* / *ok*
beezsk f*i*r*ir* hans saal. Ok al ødmiwt var hono*m*
søøt. m*ædh* þý rædhis han ænkte / vtan / gudh. ok gir-
-nadhis ænkte vtan han. fæmta legio sagdhe
ga*n*gom f*i*r*ir* þæsso*m* dýgdeliko*m* riddara til gudz *ok*
føru*m* fram hans faghra hielm. þ*æt* ær hans mý-
-kla hop. ok astwnd til gudz sæm han hafde
Sa*n*nelika ha*n* hopodhis ænkte vta*n* gudh. han
girnadhis ænkte vtan gudh. ha*n* huxadhe æn-
-kte vtan gudhz vilia. gudh var idhelika i ha*n*s
huxilsæm. ok i hans mu*n*ne. ok f*i*r*ir* hans hæn-
dir giorde han alt þ*æt* han arbeidhadhe

1 Alle] the capital letter comprises a large bicameral "a" written with a flourish running back through the shaft.
1 mak] read "makt". Cf. *p*. 118: 25.
14 \vtan/] its place in the sentence is marked by short diagonal lines before "vtan" and on the line.
19 ænkte] there is a dot above the "n".
20 hans[s]] erasure.
23 ha[m>n]] erasure.

1–23 Manuscripts: B 231^{vb}; F 35^{v}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 394–395; *BU* IV, 354
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 60–61

120

førum *þ*ætta f*i*r*ir* gudhz asyyn f*i*r*ir* þy ha*n* ær vær
-dugh*i*r at hafua æwi*n*nelika roo f*i*r*ir* litla vroo.
æwinnelika hwilo f*i*r*ir*. litit arbeide. Mædh þæs-
-sum røstum førdis mins vins saal vp i hymeri-
-kis roo. Ta gladdis salin. ok sagde i þæim pu*n*cte-
-no*m*. Sææl ær ek at ek tiænte mino*m* gudhi. huil-
-ken ek nu seer Væl ær mik f*i*r*ir* þ*ý* ek kænnir / þe
glædhi mik iættadhis. Væl ær mik f*i*r*ir* þ*ý* ek hafu*i*r
þe ærona sæm aldrig ændas. þ*æ*tta var alt i einom
puncti m*ædh* mik giort. vta*n* f*i*r*ir*. þ*ý* vta*n* þu gittir ekke ande-
-lik þing gripit vta*n* m*ædh* liiknilsæm. þolikin heid*i*r
fik min vin. Ok þolikin atirløøn Swa ok alle þe
sæm honu*m* fylghia æpte. ok æn þ*ý*. at þe gafuo
eig alle sit blood f*i*r*ir* mik. hafua þe vilian fult-
-komna*n* at gøra þ*æt* æn swa vare fall aa. Sa*n*neli-
-ka døø þe i þæim vilianom ha*n* standir þæim f*i*r*ir*
g*er*ni*n*gena swa fullelika sæm þe hafde gifuit sit
blood wt f*i*r*ir* mik. See hwad godh*i*r vili gøør. Ok
huru kær ha*n* ær mik. Ek er sa*n*dir gudh *ok* konu*n*g*i*r [Section 25B]
ænghin ær. konu*n*gir ell*i*r herra heita vtan ek
f*i*r*ir* þy alt vald ær af mik. Ok ænghin vardhir
vældugh*i*r. vtan ek gifu*i*r mit þol til. Ek ær þæn
sami gudh ok h*er*ra sæm dømde ifuir diæwlin
sæm fiol f*i*r*ir* høgfærdh. awnd. ok giri. Ek

1 føru⟨*m* þ⟩ætta] graze on the surface of the page.
6 S⟨*æ*æ⟩l] graze on the surface of the page.
7 -ke⟨n⟩] graze on the surface of the page.
7 e⟨k⟩] graze on the surface of the page.
10 þu] there is a dot in the "u".
10 \ekke/
19 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the left-hand margin to mark the beginning of a new revelation.

1–19 Manuscripts: B 232ra; F 36^{r}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 395; *BU* IV, 355
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 60–61
19–22 Manuscripts: B 230^{vb}; F 33$^{r–v}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 389–390; *BU* IV, 349
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 61
22–24 No equivalent passage in Swedish.
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 61

121

dømde ifu*ir* adam. ok chaim. ok ifui alla værl-
-dena m*ædh* flodhene. Ek ær þæn sami sæm talar
m*ædh* þik sæm israels folk leidhe wt af egipto
lande i mangho*m* teekno*m*. J mik ær all rætuisa ok
var ok ær ææ f*irir* vtan ænda. ok vpbýrilse skipt*is*
eig vm æll*ir* minkas. vta*n* min rætuisa ær stadh-
-likin. Sa*n*nelika rætuisan lystis þrefallelika m*ædh*
gudz sýni fýrst laghin sæm hard varo
blidhkadhis. Annat at gudz son af rætuiso*n*ne
þolde dødh. þridhia at gudhz domb*ir*. þýkk*ir* læn-
-gir draghas. ok þollikare*n* vara ifu*ir* syndogha
men nu æn fýr. hardh*ir* syntis gudh i adam ok j
jsr*ae*ls folke. þe sama rætuisa*n* ær nu m*ædh* mik. ok
ær awinnelika sæm þa var. Vtan miskunde*n*. ok
kærleikin sæm var lýkter i rætuiso*n*ne synis ok op-
-penbaras nu meir æn þa. æn þoathuarist ek
giorde aldrik miskund vtan rætuiso. § Nu maat
tu spøria aat hwad miskund ek gør m*ædh* forba*n*na-
-dhom ma*n*no*m*. sa*n*nelika æn hafu*ir* ek miskund til
þeira. Swa sæm tu maat firstanda m*ædh* liiknils*æm*
Laat swa sæm ein rætuiis domar*e*. sate a sinom
doomstool. hans eighin brodh*ir* kome til domen ok
hafde sik fýrbrutit. Domare*n* f*irir* þý ha*n* ær ræt-
uis talar til sin brodh*ir* Min kære brodh*ir* ek
ælzska þik af allo hiærta. þoathwarist ma ek

8 sæm [laghin sæm]] expunction and crossed out with one line (dittographic phrase).
13 jsr*ae*ls] the sequence of letters in the abbreviated form, "jslr̃s̃", is incorrect.
14 awinnelika] read "æwinnelika".

1–25 No equivalent passage in Swedish.
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 61–62

122

eig moot rætuisonne göra. þy at mit eghit sam-
-uit. ok min saal sæghia þik þin doom. æfte honum
bør þik dømas Sannelika ek ær sandir domare
firir. þý mik ær allir dombir gifuin. Mannin ær min
brodhir. a mandoms vægna sæm ek a mik þook
þa han kombir til min doom. hans egit samuit ok
skæl sighir honom. hans brot ok doom. Ek swara
salinne. ok sighir swa. tu seer alla rætuiso i þi-
-no samuiti. sigh hwad tu æst værdughir firir þin
brot hafua Salin swaradhe þæt ær gudhlikin
rætuisa. at mædh ek vildhe eig mins skapara ok
gudz lydno standa. ta skal ek i æuinnelika pino
firir. þý ek hafde vilian æwinnelika sýndha. Ta
swaradhe ek mædh liiknilsæm sighiandis. firir. þý
þæt þu høre mædh manghom ordhom. þæt görs alt mædh
mik i einom punct. tu æst min brodhir. Ek þolde
þe harda pino firir. þik. þær til at tu skulde eig til
pino komo. Ek þedhe þik þæt sæm vardha skul
-de mædh minom prophetom. Ek ælskadhe þik swa sæm
fadhir son. Ok swa sæm godhir brodhir sin bro-
-dhir. Ek aminte þik mædh minom prædicarom. at tu
hafde ok afgangit ok skulde atir til min komo
Ek kastadhe a þik þwang ok drøuilsse. at tu
skulde swa mýklo hældir vidh þik kænnas

3 domare] there is a tittle over the “e”.
23 tu] there is a dot in the “u”.
24 kænnas] there is a dot above the “s”.

1–24 No equivalent passage in Swedish.
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 62–63

123

þ*æt* vyrdhe þu ænkte. Ok hiolt min godhuilia
f*irir* latir. m*ædh* þý ær þ*æt* rætuisan. mæn þu vilde eig
mik lydha ok atiruænda af þino*m* lusta. Ta skalt
tu nu kænna mina rætuiso / Toathwarist ær ek en
swa miskundsamb*ir*. at vare þ*æt* møghelikit mik / en
ein tima døø. hæld*ir* þolde ek en ein tima þolika
sama pino f*irir* þik. sæm ek þolde en tima f*irir* alla
værldinna. a korseno. f*irir*. æn þe skulde komo i þæs-
sa harda pino sæm þik æui*n*nelika f*irir*. þin brot af
rætuiso*n*ne ær reeid. Vtan rætuisan sighir at ek
maa eig optare døø Mýskunde*n* sighir vare þ*æt*
møghelikit. gerna vilde ek hældir døø. æn þu skul-
-de þæssa harda pino þolo. Se hwru misku*n*nelikin
ok huru kærleiks fuldhir ek ær. þoathwarist vil
ænghin min kærleik skodho. Nu mæn ek ær swa
misku*n*nelikin. ta manar ek idhir riddara at i le-
-tin mina miskund. Ok komi*n* atir til miin før æn
min rætuisa komb*ir*. Ek kærer at i hafuin gifuit
mino*m* owin diæfleno*m* jdhra tiænist mik hafuin i for-
-smaat. J hafuin bort kastad mit baneer Ok mins
owins baneer ær vptakit. komin atir riddara til
jdhan ødhmiwklikin h*er*ra m*ædh* ødmiwkt f*irir*. þy i haf-
-uin fra mik gangit m*ædh* idhre høghfærd. þýkkir
jdhir þunkt vara nokot f*irir* mik þola. huxen hwad

3 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the right-hand margin.
8 þe] read "þu".
21 A paraph has been written in ink, now faded, in the right-hand margin.
22–23 haf-|-uin] the final "n" is misshapen. The scribe has started to write a new letter, abandoned it, and changed it into a final flourish on the "n".

1–16 No equivalent passage in Swedish.
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 63

16–24 Manuscripts: B 230^{vb}; F 33$^{r–v}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 390–391; *BU* IV, 349–350
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 63–64

124

ek gudh siælfu*ir* þolde. ok giordhe f*irir* jdh*ir*. Ek gik
m*ædh* blodhogho*m* fotom f*irir*. idhir til korsit / mina
hændir ok føtir varo ginu*m* borodha m*ædh* hwasso*m*
naghlum. Alla mina sỳnwr varo wt tanda m*ædh*
altz mins likama drøuilse ok þwang. Ek spar-
dhe ænghom minom limi til þinonna f*irir*. til at i skul-
-dhen gladhlika jdhrom herra epte fylghia. ok
eig skæmmas þolo drøuilse f*irir*. hans heidhir
ok f*irir* idhra sala nỳt. Vilin i atir til min komo
Ek vil gladhlika moot jdhir ganga. ok gifua
jdh*ir* rika æror sæm aldrig ændas. Ek sæm tala
vidh þik ek ær i fadherenom. ok þæim helgha
anda ein gudh. Ek þok man*d*om a mik. ok þolde
ek i honom þe harda pino. ok þæn hardha dødh
f*irir* man*n*a hỳlso. Ek stood ok vp af døødh. ok foor
ek til hỳmerikis badhe m*ædh* minom mandom ok
guddhom. Ek sagde þik først at riddarskap
var mik kærast bland all lifuærne. f*irir* þỳ þe
lofuodhe sit køt mote mino at gifua Sit blod
mote mino. § . Nu kære ek a riddara sæm mi- [Section 25C]
-ne skuldo vara. at þe æra altzstings fra mik
gangne. Ek er þeira skapare ok atirløsare Ek
ær þeira vphald ok stark. æn ængin þeira
vil vidh*ir* mik kænnas. Nu huilkin man

4 wt tanda] there is a small diagonal dash between the two words.
6 atføra] read "at føra".
9 sala] the second "a" is bicameral.
10 gladhlika] there is a dot above and to the right of the second "a".
15 ma*n*na] the first minim of the "m" is dotted.
15 vp] the "v" is dotted.
16 mino*m*] the letters "o*m*" are dirty.
20 Nu] the "N" is written with a flourish.
20 The reference "II 13" is written in black ink by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Latin version.
21 The reference "(VIII 35)" is written in black ink by a later hand in the right-hand margin and refers to the equivalent passage in the Old Swedish version.
22 gangne] the first minim of the second "n" is dotted.

1–20 Manuscripts: B 231ra; F 33^{v}–34^{v}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 391–392; *BU* IV, 344–347
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 64–65

20–24 Manuscripts: B 230$^{ra–b}$; F 31^{v}–32^{r}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 386–387; *BU* IV, 346–347
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 65–67

125

m*ædh* ræt riddarskap vilde atir til mik komo.
þa matte han þæssom lundom mik þækkias
þæn sæm riddare vil varda. ok mik þækkias. han
skal m*ædh* sino*m* hæst g*er*na til kỳrkio ridha. ok þær
stigha ginstan af sino*m* hæst / f*irir*. þỳ hæstin ær ekke
skapadh*ir* f*irir*. høgfærd skuld. vtan fram atføra
sin likama m*ædh*. Ok til at værna sit liif f*irir*. sinom oui-
-nom. þ*ær* næst skal ha*n* læggia sit mantolband a
sit ænni. til teekn. at swasæm messo diækn liggir
ifiuir sik til teekn. at ha*n* hafuir takit gudz wkh
ifu*ir* sik. Swa skal ok riddare. bandit a sit ænne
læggia til teekn at ha*n* skal væria gudz kors. ok
þ*æt* ỳdhelika hafua i sino*m* hogh. mæn han gaar
til kirkiugarden. ta skal hans værldz h*er*ra ba-
-neer. sæm hans vapn ok teekn ær ascrifuat f*irir*
hono*m* bæratz. til teekn. at hono*m* bør til værldz h*er*ra
at heidra. j allo. þỳ sæm eig mote gudhi. Ok þe
helghe kirkiu Sidhan ha*n* stighir i kirkio garden
Ta skulu klærka moote honu*m* gaa m*ædh* mino baneer
sæm min pina stand*ir* aa. til teekn. at honu*m* bør til a
gudz væghna. þe helgha k*ir*kiu heidhra. Ok henne
lydha. Ta ha*n* kombir til kirkiu dør. þa skal mit
baner f*irir*. hono*m* ganga. i*n* j kỳrkiona. Ok værldz
høfdingias baner stande vtan vidh dørina. til
teekn at gudhilikt vald gangir f*irir*. manliko
valde. Ok gudhi ær meira heidhir gørandis

6 høgfærd] there is a 1.5-mm gap between the "g" and the "f", but they are joined by a pen stroke.
6 atføra] read "at føra".
9–10 liggir ifiuir] read "læggir stolam ifuir".
14 kirkiugarden] the "n" is covered by dirt.
17 eig] read "eig ær".
23 vær\l/dz
25 gangir] the "r" is written with an otiose stroke in the form of a backward hook.

1–26 Manuscripts: B 230^{rb}; F 32$^{r–v}$
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 387–388; *BU* IV, 347
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 67

126

æn ma*n*no*m*. Ta han i*n*combir i kỳrkiona. þa skal mes-
-sa ginstan. børias. Ok þa agn*us* dei siwngs. ta skal
høfdingin swa sæm konu*n*gir. ganga til altaren m*ædh*
riddarano*m*. ok sighia swa. Vil tu riddare værda
ta skalt tu jaka gudhi ok mik at þu skalt vær-
-na þe helgha k*i*rkiu. Ok nidra. hænna. ouini. lỳdha.
þinom værldz høfdingia. i allo þỳ eig ær moot
gudhi ok þe helghe kirkio. Gudz heidh*i*r stỳrkia
ok fræmia m*ædh* alle sinne makt Sigh*i*r han iaa
ta fange hono*m* ginstan swærd j hand ok sighi swa
Ek far þik swærd i þina hand m*ædh* huilko tu skalt
væria þit liif Ok nidra gudz ouini. ok hafua þit
liif ospart f*i*r*i*r. þe helgha k*i*rkiu troo. ok gudz vina
hilso ok hielp Þær næst fae skiold a hans arm ok
sæghi swa. Mædhr þæssom skiold skal tu værna fa
dhur løøs barn ok ænkior. gudz vanheidher hæm-
-nas. ok gudhlikheit fræmia. M*ædh* þæssom skiold
skalt tu stadhugh*i*r. ok gladlika moot gudz oui-
-nu*m* standa. Sidha*n* skal ha*n* føyia mantolin vm
hans bak. Ok mantuls bandit læggia nidh*i*r a ha*n*s
bryst. til teek at hono*m* skal komo i hugh idhelika
hwad han hafu*i*r gudhi iaat. Ok at ha*n* hafu*i*r þol-
-kin klædhebonat a sik takit f*i*r*i*r. kirkionna værn
ok stỳrkilsse. Sidhan skal han læggia sina hand
a hans hals til teekn. at ha*n* ær gifuin vnde

8 fultkomnilse] the series “mni” is missing one minim.
11 swær\d/
15 Mædhr] read “Mædh”.
21 teek] read “teekn”. Cf. “teekn”, *p*. 126: 25.

1–25 Manuscripts: B 230$^{rb–va}$; F 32^{v}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 388–389; *BU* IV, 347–348
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 67–68

127

kirkionna lydhno. ok sighir swa. Nu æst tu vndir
lydno bunden meir æn fÿr. gif þik vin vm at
fultkomna mædh gerningomen. þæt tu lofuor mædh ordho-
-men. þa faar tu otalikin løøn mædh gudhi. ællas
faar þu hardare pino æn andre fÿr þina lofuon
Sidhan þætta vardir giort ta skal þæn sæm mes
-sona sighir gifua honom min likama til stÿrkÿlsse
ok fultkomnilse. Ok takir han mik mædh þæim hug
at han vil fultkomna mædh gerningomen. þæt han ær bun-
-den til mædh ordhomen. Ek sandir gudh ok man vil
komo til hans ok aldrigh fra honom skÿlias ok
vil ek brænna han swa mædh minom kærleek. at han
skal ænkte swa geernas sæm mik. ænkte ræ
das. vtan. mik. Sannalika. ek vill vara. j honom.
ok vm kring han. *ok* styrkia ok gøma han. j
allum. hans medferdum. sowande *ok* wakande
Framleidis kan. þat ok swa wara. at nokor.
werdhir riddare. a æimi mark. *ok* takar han.
riddaraskap mædh. þeim hwgh. at han will verna.
þa hælgho kirkio. vtan. jaff ek will ok þær.
till hans koma. *ok*. mædh. honom. bliwa far þui
ek ær j allum. stadhum / æn þui hworo. min
hæidhir þækkes. mik bætir j þæim. stadh. som.
mit. lof ær. widhir. j adrom. stad. þætte biudir.
ek æinghom. giora / vttan hwilkom. som. wilde.

14 Sa*n*nalika] Hand 2 begins.
15 kring[h]] expunction.
18 æimi] read "æini".
20 jaff] read "jæf(f)"; cf. "iæf", *p*. 109: 23; OSw. *jæf*; ON *ef*, *if*.
b. rt. The corner of the page (19 mm by 36 mm) has been cut off.

1–25 Manuscripts: B 230$^{va–b}$; F 32^{v}–33^{r}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 389; *BU* IV, 348–349
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 68

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riddaraskap gøma. ok swa so*m* æk hafw*ir* nu sakt
a sik taka. þa waræ þæt mik kært. for þwi at
swa som. m*œdh*. hogfærdh. ær ræth riddaraskap nidh*i*r
lakt. Swa. skuldhæ þæt. attær. vpp takas medh
audmiukt. ok gudlikæ þolomodh **amen**

3 hogfærdh] read "høgfærdh".
5 amen] possibly a later addition by another hand.

1–5 Manuscripts: B 230^{vb}; F 33^{r}
Editions: Old Swedish: *BU* III, 389; *BU* IV, 349
Latin: Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 68–69

CHAPTER 11

Commentary, References, and Indexes

11.1 Commentary and References

1: 1–26 A facsimile of this page can be found as fig. 15.

1: 3 Translation of Liber VI 52 begins. Edition of Latin text: Bergh 1991, 180–192. Edition of Old Swedish parallel (Book VI 52): *BU* III, 132–147. See also Westman 1911, 64; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, III, 113–121; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 96–97; Gilkær 2000, 77; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, III, 105–113.

This section introduces a recurring theme in Birgitta's visions: the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, and Mary all enter into conversation with each other and with Birgitta. The vision takes the form of an interview with all sides asking and answering questions, and Mary acting as *mediatrix* between man and God. On Mary's role as intercessor, see Warner 1976, 273–331. Birgitta had direct experience of the judiciary and her inspiration in this type of revelation is the court of law. Her father, Birger Persson, was the lawman of the Tiundaland district in Uppland, involved in the codification of *Upplandslagen* at the end of the thirteenth century, and participated in the election of King Magnus Eriksson in 1319. Her husband, Ulf Gudmarsson, was the lawman of Närke province and a prominent member of the king's council. See Klockars 1966, 139–149; Pernler 1993, 51–65.

1: 3 *Christi brwdh*: Birgitta's name is not used until *p*. 25: 16 (and only once again on *p*. 53: 6–7). She is usually referred to as the "bride of Christ"; Klockars 1966, 67–68; Klockars 1976, 193–194; Morris 1999b, 66–67; Sahlin 2001, 34–77 (especially pp. 47–52); note to *p*. 61: 13. After the death of her husband, Ulf Gudmarsson, in 1344 or 1346—see Ekwall 1973, 1–9; Liedgren 1974, 51–54; Ekwall 1976, 32–35; Tjader Harris 1990, 240 n. 32; Jönsson 1993, 35–48; Morris 1999b, 60–61; Sahlin 2001, 16 n. 13—Birgitta received her "calling vision" in which God speaks to her from a bright cloud and calls her Christ's bride and his channel ("sponsa" and "canale"; see *Ex*. 47; *A&P*, 80–81). On Birgitta's concept of a nun as the bride of Christ, see Härdelin 1993, 203–212.

1: 11 *ollum vslom*: Cf. Sap. 11: 24.

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1: 11–15 *þæt ... þing*: For a description of the ways that Birgitta received her visions, see *A&P*, 484; Dahlerup 1998, I, 340; Morris 1999b, 74; Sahlin 2001, 54–71.

1: 12–13 *tu ... likama*: Cf. Gen. 2: 21.

1: 15–16 *søøth ... æru*: Cf. Ps. 118: 103; *p*. 11: 24–25; *p*. 53: 5.

1: 24–25 *Ek ... ænda*: Cf. Apoc. 21: 6; Apoc. 22: 13.

2: 6 *diæfwlsins. vilia*: On the appearance of devils and demons in Birgittine works, see Fröjmark 2001, 275–284.

2: 8 *han ... værldena*: The image is reminiscent of the poison that Miðgarðzormr, representing destruction and the forces of evil, spits out across the world during Ragnarǫk of Norse mythology.

2: 15–16 *Visselika ek er*: The word order (adverbial—subject—finite verb) is incorrect in a main clause of this type. See Wessén 1948, III, 204–205; Haugen 1976, 312; Barðdal *et al*. 1997, 351–352; cf. *p*. 22: 16 and *p*. 36: 13.

2: 20 *kari*: Cf. Act. 9: 15.

3: 5 *tÿlka gerning*: The first of many examples of the varying use of ⟨t⟩ and ⟨þ⟩ in the manuscript. See further Wessén 1968–1976, II, 87–88.

3: 7 *swa ... aasne*: Cf. Ps. 31: 9; Bolton Holloway 1981, 175–186. On the use of the ass as a symbol of lust, unwise curiosity, and unpleasant habits (beginning with Apuleius' *Asinus Aureus*), see Scobie 1975, 26–46.

3: 8–9 *Awi swaradhe ek*: This is a *locus desperatus* as the meaning of "Awi" is uncertain. Marius Sandvei (1938, 44) reads it as "Auwi" and suggests a corrupt form of "A þwi". Klemming bases his reading on the Latin and Swedish versions and writes: "Andin swaradhe", correctly ignoring the dittographic "swaradhe" (the second "swaradhe" has, indeed, been crossed out with a red horizontal line), but also deleting the pronoun "ek". It may be significant that the Latin has the following sequence of letters: "et nichil emend***aui*** *respondit* spiritus" (my *emphasis*); compare "***Awi*** *swaradhe* ek" (my *emphasis*). The Birgittine-Norwegian text does not include the Latin "et nichil emendaui" (see comp. app.). If the scribe had the Latin before him, perhaps he became confused and took the last few letters of this clause as a word, that is "awi" (cf. Latin "ave" and

Old Norwegian "aufi" or "afi"), or he may have been working with a corrupt Latin text. The crossing-out of the dittographic "swaradhe" was done by the rubricator (the lines are in red ink), which suggests that the scribe was unaware of his mistake. The difference between who is answering in l. 3 ("Tha swaradhe ek") and Latin ("Tunc ego respondi") on the one hand, and Old Swedish version ([B 178^{rb}] "Hon swaradhe") on the other may also be relevant to this instance.

3: 21 *Ek ær ... þæim*: On the life of Birgitta as a noblewoman, see Morris 1999b, 35–63; Sahlin 2001, 14–15.

3: 21–22 *skœmmis ... tala*: Cf. Eccles. 4: 24.

3: 24 ff. *Naar os prædikadhis ...*: In her works Birgitta underlined the importance of preaching. She sharply criticised complicated sermons that the listener had difficulty following (*Ex.* 23), but equally recognised that audiences may not want to hear what is being preached (Liber VI 4: 3). Cf. Petrus Comestor, *Verbum abbreviatum*, 8. "De curiosa praedicatione" (*Patrologia Latina*, CCV, 40–42). See also Hedlund 1993, 311–327. Cf. the usage of the word *prædika* here with the occurrence on *p.* 66: 26–27 (with note). On Birgitta as preacher, see Sahlin 2001, 212–220.

4: 1–4 *Hwi ... heidher*: See Sandvei 1938, 48 on the Norwegian character of these lines when compared with Old Swedish.

4: 3 *glædhi*: The substitution of ⟨gl⟩ for ⟨kl⟩, and vice versa, is not uncommon in East Scandinavian manuscripts. It occurs three times in total in E 8902 (also *pp.* 4: 15 and 17: 14). Cf. also, for example, the Danish manuscript, Holm. K 48, fol. 30^{r}, ll. 21–22, which has "klæ|thæ" for "glæ|thæ".

4: 8 *Gudhz modhir swaradhe ...*: Mary's reply uses female imagery (birth and motherhood) to awaken a sense of empathy within Birgitta and to provide a greater sense of Christ's humanity. On the context and significance of mystical pregnancy and childbirth for Birgitta, see Sahlin 2001, 78–107 (with references), and Sjöberg 2003; cf. also Myrdal and Bäärnhielm 1994, 18. Rather than as majestic queen of heaven, Birgitta usually portrays Mary as mother—a typical depiction for the Marianism of the fourteenth century. See Bugge 1975, 141–154; Warner 1976, 177–269; Bynum 1982, 136–137; but cf. also note to *p.* 24: 19 below. Altogether Birgitta has over a hundred different names to refer to the Virgin—see Klockars 1966, 112. On Birgitta's devotion to the mother of Christ, see Graef 1964, 279–280; Andersson 1978; Lundén 1979, 32–60; Rossing 1986,

160–174; Koch 1987, 161–183; Montag and Nyberg 1988, 489–491; Børresen 1991, 21–72; Koch 1991, 471–489; Sahlin 1993, 213–227.

4: 15 *glædhi*: See the note for *p*. 4: 3.

4: 18–19 *Ok … obrẏgdilse*: Cf. Matth. 27: 37–44; Marc. 15: 29–32; Luc. 23: 35–38.

5: 5 *høghførdoghe*: Cf. *p*. 9: 19 "skẏnubøøn", where the scribe writes ⟨øø⟩ for ⟨ee⟩ (or ⟨ei⟩).

5: 7–14 *Thẏ … þing*: This metaphor gives us an insight into how Birgitta thought a lady should run her household. See Myrdal 2004, 36.

5: 9 *þrælane*: There were probably very few, if any, slaves remaining in Sweden in the fourteenth century. For example, no reference is made to slavery in *Magnus Erikssons landslag* from *c*. 1350. See *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, IX (1964), cols 13–28, *s.v*. "Træl". The word must refer to servants here.

5: 24 ff. *Ther æfte sẏntos …*: The three women mentioned in the following "scene" are Birgitta's dead mother (Ingeborg) in hell, Birgitta's dead daughter (Ingeborg) in purgatory, and Birgitta herself still alive. It provides us with an autobiographical insight into Birgitta's attitude—unforgiving, relentless, and filled with terror. The macabre scene of the horrors of decomposition and death is a motif that had become very popular from *c*. 1350, the time of the Black Death, and culminated in the building of so-called *transi* tombs. These horrors of death were used in moralistic works to counter pride—as Bernard of Clairvaux wrote in *De Contemptu Mundi*: "O esca vermium! O massa pulveris! O roris vanitas, cur sic extolleris? [O worm food! O pile of dust! O vanity of dew! Why art thou so extolled?]" (quoted in Cohen 1973, 24–25 n. 33). See further Huizinga 1982, 134–146; Malvern 1982, 415–450; Swanson 1995, 199–203; Binski 1996, 123–159 (especially pp. 134–138 on encounters between the living and the macabre dead); Kinch 2002, 159–202.

6: 4 *The foresagda modheren …*: The grotesque description of her mother's torture in hell shows how Birgitta understands the torments of hell to vary according to the sins of the deceased. She describes this more clearly in *Ex*. 89: 7–9. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) confirmed that everyone would be judged after death—the good would be taken by Christ and the evil by the devil. Subsequent councils and papal decrees developed the doctrine, specifying that

all would be judged immediately after death, and that the torments of hell would vary according to the sins of the deceased. See *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, VI (1961), cols 425–437, *s.v.* "Helvete".

Birgitta's portrayal of hell is a mixture of grotesque tortures, similar to those found in other visionary literature, and the fiery Gehenna (Iosue 15: 8; Isai. 66: 24). The best-known and most influential description of the afterlife is Dante Alighieri's *Inferno* in *La Divina Commedia* (1314), which drew heavily on Book VI of Virgil's *The Aeneid*. As in Birgitta's revelation it shows how the punishment of various sins involves a process that either copies the sin or contrasts with it. This law of divine retribution, known as *contrapasso* and discussed by Thomas Aquinas in *Summa theologiae* (but ultimately based on Exod. 21: 23–25), is typical of medieval views of hell. Examples from Dante's *Inferno* include Paolo and Francesca (Canto V: 73–142; Alighieri 1988, 76–84); Taïde (Canto XVIII: 127–135; Dante Alighieri 1988, I, 275); Bertram dal Bornio (Canto XXVIII: 133–142; Dante Alighieri 1988, I, 422–423), and Ugolino (Canto XXXIII: 1–78; Dante Alighieri 1988, I, 488–493). See also note to *p*. 9: 15.

There are a number of Scandinavian works (mainly translations of continental works) that include visions of hell:

Danish:	Henry Suso's *Gudelig Visdoms Bog*: see Brandt 1858–1865, I; *Huore sancte Pouel vort pint*: see Brandt 1858–1865, II, 24–28; *Kristi Opstandelse*: see Brøndum-Nielsen 1955.
Icelandic:	*Duggals leiðsla*: see Cahill 1983; *Visio Pauli*: see Tveitane 1965.
Norwegian:	*Draumkvæði*: see Barnes 1974.
Swedish:	*Tungdalus och hans syn*: see Dahlgren 1875, 215–252; Henry Suso's *Den eviga vishetens ur*: see Bergström 1868–1870; *Nicodemi Evangelium*: see Klemming 1877–1878, 373–419.

Visions of punishments in hell are also mentioned more fleetingly in West Norse works such as *Vǫluspá* (v. 39), *Sólarljóð* (vv. 57–68), *Saga Óláfs Tryggvasonar* (ch. 76), *Saga Óláfs Tryggvasonar by Oddr Munk* (ch. 13.9), *Þorsteins þáttr skelks*, *Rannveigar leiðsla* in *Guðmundar saga biskups*, *Af Lanfranco* (fragment), and *Af manni einum er leiddiz til helvítis ok himinríkis* (fragment). Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum* (VIII 14) also describes a journey to a hell-like place.

For an overview of the literature that purports to describe actual visions of the afterlife during the Middle Ages, see Patch 1970, 80–133.

7: 4 *breedhføta*: The precise meaning of this word is uncertain; it is certainly some sort of toad. See Söderwall 1884–1918, *s.v.* "bredhföte".

The toad was associated with the devil, whose coat-of-arms included three toads (Friar 1992, 228). Furthermore, the creature was associated with death, sin, temptation, the torments of hell, witchcraft, and even the Black Death. See Apoc. 16: 13; Summers 1926, 158–159; *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, V (1960), cols 474–477, *s.v.* "Groddjur"; Kramer and Sprenger 1971, 116 (II, 1: 5); Kieckhefer 1989, 90, 196; Robbins 1996, 25–47; Smoller 2000, 172–174. On homiletic traditions linking toads with death, see Owst 1961, 290–299; Boase 1972, 45 (and fig. 33). In *Tungdalus och hans syn*, men and women in hell are seen giving birth to toads through their feet, hands, breasts, and arms (Dahlgren 1875, 230, ll. 17–22). The sculpture of "Frau Welt" at the Cathedral of Worms (*c.* 1310) shows a woman being eaten from behind and within by toads (plate in Binski 1996, 141).

7: 6 *tu … dotter* (Lat. "lacer[a]ta et venenosa filia mea"): See Bergh 1991, 43 on "lacerata" as an error for "lacerta".

7: 8 *badhel*: An *Östgötsk* form. See Rietz 1867, *s.v.* "bale, m."; Rydqvist 1883, 28 ("badhul"), 64 ("bædhil"); Söderwall 1884–1918, *s.v.* "bädhil"; Törnqvist 1953 4 n. 1; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 95; Wessén 1969, 65 ("bale"); cf. the other dialectal forms "w" on *p.* 88: 19 and "wkh" on *p.* 125: 10. See section 6.4.

7: 11–22 *Thÿ … brœnnande*: Birgitta's mother is punished in retribution for her daughter's sins. The sins and their punishments are examples of *contrapasso* (see the note to *p.* 6: 4). What is particularly interesting here is that in the same way as the prayers of the living can help the souls of the deceased (intercession), so too do the sins of this living daughter influence the treatment of her deceased mother in the afterlife. The sins committed by Birgitta listed here are various expressions of vanity. The implication is that Birgitta's mother brought her up incorrectly and taught her to value flattery and pride. This is an accusation Birgitta also directs at herself with regard to her own daughter; see the note to *p.* 15: 6.

7: 25 *korumpo*: The reason for choosing the image of a cow's tail is unclear, but it is clearly meant to be abusive. Janken Myrdal suggests that the image of a filthy cow's tail made an impression on Birgitta when she was at Ulvåsa (Myrdal 2003, 23). It could also be based on folk tradition. A parallel is found in Scandinavian folklore, where *huldra*-women are alluring and seductive Siren-like creatures of the forest, but have hollow backs and cow tails—their beauty is at once provocative and false. In the paragraph "Lekarerætten [the musician's statute]" in *Äldre Västgötalagen*, a cow's tail or behind is used in an imagina-

tive and somewhat comical ordeal for seeking recompense by a musician who has been hit and injured; for an edition, see Wessén 1994, 7. See also Wessén 1954.

8: 4 *sliik ko*: As on *p*. 7: 25, it is difficult to find a reference to a cow in either biblical sources or medieval bestiaries. The comparison to a cow is no doubt based upon the perceived understanding that the animal was stupid, stubborn and unclean. Among later works we find George Pencz, the sixteenth-century German little master and pupil of Dürer, who used the cow in his engravings of the seven deadly sins to represent lust. In other moralising prints of the sixteenth-century the bull is used to represent the recklessness of young men; see Armstrong 1990, 82, figs 32, 91, and 92. Human-bovine images in medieval Scandinavian literature appear in *Kirjalax saga*, *Lokasenna*, *Ljósvetninga saga*, and Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*. There appears to be little positive in the qualities of such hybrids.

8: 12–14 *Ok ... fødhis*: On birthing and a woman's unclean blood, see Barratt 2001, 67–75, 123–127.

8: 15 *vpætin af mathkom*: Cf. *p*. 10: 19 with references.

9: 9–11 *Thÿ ... limi*: Cf. 1 Cor. 6: 15; Rom. 6: 13. Cf. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, III, 18; *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXII, 1160; Lefèvre 1954, 449; Türk 2000, 364. See also Klockars 1966, 219–221; and Scherabon Firchow and Grimstad 1989, 125.

9: 15 ff. There are 16 examples of *contrapasso* in the following part of the revelation:

	Punishment in hell	**Sin committed on earth**	**Location**
1	Feet like toads with insatiable devils biting her.	Never trying to leave her life of sin.	9: 15–9: 19
2	Legs and thighs like thorny twigs.	Sexual desire and lustful behaviour.	9: 19–9: 22

	Punishment in hell	Sin committed on earth	Location
3	Loose discs in her spine.	Spending time thinking either of worldly pleasures of her own unhappiness. As the spine follows the movement of the head, so she should have followed the will of God, the head of all good people.	9: 22–10: 10
4	Biting serpent curled up inside her stomach like a wheel.	Insatiable greedy desire to own things and was a spendthrift.	10: 11–10: 18
5	Naked breast eaten up by maggots.	Loving "rotten" things more than God.	10: 18–11: 12
6	Arms like millstones.	Desire to live a long life of sin and the hope that God's punishment would be lighter than was stated in Scripture.	11: 2–11: 18
7	Hands shaped like clubs that are too heavy to use.	God's message was of no interest to her.	11: 18–11: 21
8	Throat like burnt timber.	God's words were not sweet to swallow.	11: 21–12: 4
9	Lips cut off.	Quick to speak vain words, but slow to speak the word of God.	12: 4–12: 7
10	Chin shaking and teeth clashing.	Fed and drank in order to fulfil her bodily desires—but this was of no advantage to her soul.	12: 7–12: 16
11	Nose cut off as a sign of shame.	Life of wrong-doing.	12: 16–12: 20
12	Eyes, having burst from crying, hang on sinews over her cheeks.	Her eyes were always pleased to see the beautiful colour of her cheeks.	12: 20–13: 2
13	Sunken, black, deformed face.	Took pride in her beauty.	13: 2–13: 7

(cont.)

	Punishment in hell	Sin committed on earth	Location
14	Brain is pouring out of her head like molten lead.	As lead is easily malleable, so her conscience (housed in her brain) was easily bent after her heart's will.	13: 7–13: 16
15	Brain is pouring out of her head like hot tar.	She viewed Christ's blood pouring from his side as nothing more than tar, and fled the word of God as if it were tar.	13: 17–14: 4
16	Ears stopped with hard stones.	Whilst vain words could enter her heart through her ears, God's love could not enter.	14: 4–14: 11

Reading through the revelation we work our way up the body of the mother, beginning at her feet and ending with her ears. Consequently the sins move from the more sensual (for example, lust and gluttony) to the more cerebral (for example, bad conscience and closure to God's love). A woodcut of the mother in hell can be found in the first printed edition of Birgitta's *Revelationes* (Lübeck: Bartholomæus Ghotan, 1492), 378. See fig. 58 opposite.

See Lindblom 1915, 513–529, and Aili and Svanberg 2003 on medieval illustrations of Birgitta's revelations.

9: 16 *bredhføta*: See the note to *p*. 7: 4 above.

9: 19–22 *Miin ... vilia*: The mother's punishment for lust is described. See the note to *p*. 9: 15 above.

9: 19 *skÿnubøøn*: Wessén (1968–1976, II, 88) suggests this is a spelling mistake for "skÿnubeen".

9: 22 *minom vilia* (Lat. "voluptatem meam"): See discussion in Bergh 1991, 44.

9: 22–10: 10 *at ... seer*: Cf. Col. 2: 19. The mother's punishment for sloth is described. See the note to *p*. 9: 15 above.

FIGURE 58 *ULB Düsseldorf (O.u.H.G. 616:INK). The incunable is on loan from the city of Düsseldorf to the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf*

10: 11–18 *En … Omiskundsamlika*: The mother's punishment for avarice is described. See the note to *p*. 9: 15. The same punishment as here, but for sinful members of the clergy, is found in the *Tungdalus och hans syn* (Dahlgren 1875, 231, ll. 12–32). A similar torture can also be found among the seven punishments described in *Elucidarium* (AM 76 8°, fol. 66^{v}, ll. 19–21): "Siætæ | er ormæ th*er* tøm æd*er* bodæ bag | oc foræ / oc bodæ innæn oc vthen [The sixth (punishment) is the worms who are eating them from the back and the front, and both from within and without]"; Kroon *et al.* 1993, 265.

10: 18–11: 2 *En … ælskadhe*: The mother's lust is being punished. See the note to *p*. 9: 15.

10: 19 *gnaghit af mathkom*: Cf. Iob 7: 5; Iob 21: 26; Iob 24: 19–20; Isai. 14: 10.

10: 23–24 *Ok … mathkum*: Maggots were thought to appear spontaneously during putrefaction. See Dupuis and Louis 1988, 155. Cf. also the twelfth-century Aberdeen Bestiary: "Vermis est animal | quod plerumq*ue* de carne u*e*l de ligno | uel de quacumq*ue* re t*er*rena sine ullo | concubitu gignitur [The maggot is an animal that generally springs forth from meat or from wood or some other earthly material without being reproduced through intercourse]", Aberdeen University Library, MS 24, fol. 72^{r}, ll. 2–6. The fifteenth-century Middle English poem "A Disputacion betwyx þe Body and Wormes" in British Library MS Add. 37049, fols 32^{v}–35^{v}, contains illustrations depicting a dead noblewoman being eaten by worms (fols 32^{v}, 33^{v}, 34$^{r–v}$, and 35^{r}; reproduced in Malvern 1982, 444 and 447–450).

11: 2–18 *Mina … ræthuisan*: The mother's desire for a long life of sin and her belief that her punishment would be lighter than that described in Scripture are being punished here. See the note to *p*. 9: 15.

11: 5 *langar alder*: Klemming has changed this to "langan alder" (*BU* III, 139, ll. 14–15), but according to Sandvei (1938, 44) this change is unnecessary as "alder" could be a feminine noun. However, the feminine noun "alder" means "old age" and is not found in phrases expressing a long time. He might be thinking of the feminine plural noun "alder" (cf. ON *aldir* < sg. *ǫld*), but this word would be very unlikely here. The most probable explanation is surely scribal error—the phrase should, indeed, read "langan alder". See Söderwall 1884–1918, *s.v.* "alder, m. 3" and "alder, f."; Heggstad 1930, *s.v.* "aldir".

11: 18–21 *Mina … nÿt*: The mother is punished for not following God's message. See the note to *p*. 9: 15.

11: 21–12: 4 *Min … strupa*: The mother is further punished for not listening to God's words. See the note to *p*. 9: 15.

11: 24–25 *gudz … suælgia*: Cf. Ps. 118: 103; *p*. 1: 15–17; *p*. 53: 5.

12: 4–7 *Mine … gudzordh*: The mother is punished for her unwillingness to speak the word of God. See the note to *p*. 9: 15.

12: 7–16 *Hakan … gangn*: The mother is punished for being gluttonous and vain. See the note to *p*. 9: 15. Chattering teeth are also mentioned among the punishments of hell in *Elucidarium* (AM 76 8°, fol. 66^{v}, ll. 17–19): "Fæmte er ath the | skæluæ m*et* theræ tænd*er* foræ th*et* | ou*er*uætæs ve th*er* the hauæ [The fifth (punishment) is that their teeth chatter because of the immense pain that they are experiencing]" (Kroon *et al*. 1993, 265).

12: 16–20 *Næsana … skam*: The mother is marked with the sign of shame—her nose is cut off. Cutting off the nose was done to mark a criminal or slave in medieval Scandinavia (as elsewhere). The high degree of shame associated with this punishment can be seen by the fact that the infliction of such a mark on someone innocent was treated most seriously in Scandinavian law; see, for example, *Arvebog og orbodemål*, Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, E don. Var. 136 4°, fols 126^{v}–127^{r} (Uldaler and Wellejus 1968, 39–40) and *Magnus Eriksson's Law*, Uppsala, University Library, B 23, fol. 105^{v}, ll. 1–6 (Wiktorsson 1989, 199). It also appears as a punishment in *Rimkrøniken* inflicted by Valdemar Christoffersen and his army against the defeated Wends (Copenhagen: Ghemen, 1495, p3^{v}, ll. 5–12):

> Thi brende ieg ha*n*s slot stædher oc by | och sloo hans folk tijl døde | Och th*e*m som ieg lod leffue ther y | th*e*m giorde ieg megen nøde | Paa somme lod ieg skære næsen op | och somme theris ørnæ aff skære | Saada*n* lyde paa theris krop | burde th*e*m syden ath bære
>
> [So I burnt down his castle, places and town, and killed his people. And those who I let live, I caused them much affliction. On some I had their noses cut open, and on some their ears cut off. Such injuries on their bodies they then had to bear]

12: 20–13: 2 *En … blÿgd*: The mother is punished for vanity. See the note to *p*. 9: 15.

13: 2–7 *Ok … vanskapadh*: The mother is punished for vanity. See the note to *p*. 9: 15.

13: 7–16 *æn … eig*: The mother is punished for following her own desires rather than God's. See the note to *p*. 9: 15.

13: 17–14: 4 *Ok … vældh*: The mother is punished for fleeing the word of God. See the note to *p*. 9: 15.

14: 4–11 *Miin … ørom*: The mother is punished for not listening to God's words. See the note to *p*. 9: 15.

14: 13 *pæninga skÿptare*: The image of the money changer must come from Birgitta's travels; see Myrdal 2003, 37.

14: 19–21 *En … hÿmerike*: Birgitta's mother explains how communication with God is through a good soul and conscience—not through the empty undertaking of religious observances. This point is reiterated on *p*. 61: 2–4 and *p*. 91: 19–24.

15: 6 ff. *Þær eptir taladhe …*: There follows a description of the grand-daughter (that is, Birgitta's own daughter, Ingeborg) in purgatory. In *Ex*. 98 (and *A&P*, 494–495), we read that Birgitta wept upon hearing the news of her daughter's death—not through grief, but rather because she felt she had not brought her daughter up piously enough.

Scriptural support for the existence of purgatory is slight (2 Macc. 12: 39–46; Matth. 12: 32), but the doctrine of a place of purification is part of even the earliest Christian tradition. The General Council of Lyon (1274)—and the later Councils of Florence (1439) and Trent (1563)—supported the doctrine of purgatory. Birgitta's purgatory has three levels, which are described in Liber IV 7–9 and illustrated in the Ghotan edition of her *Revelationes* printed in Lübeck in 1492. Prior Petrus also mentions Birgitta's three-levelled purgatory during the canonisation process (*A&P*, 532). This tripartite division of purgatory and the graduation of punishment has two clear near-contemporary parallels—works by St Frances of Rome (1384–1440) and an anonymous fifteenth-century revelation by an Englishwoman. See Butler 1991, 71–73; Baring-Gould 1897, 185–202; Powell Harley 1985; Le Goff 1984, 220–230. A woodcut

of the tripartite purgatory can be found in Birgitta's *Revelationes* (Lübeck: Bartholomæus Ghotan, 1492), 202:

FIGURE 59 *ULB Düsseldorf (O.u.H.G. 616:INK). The incunable is on loan from the city of Düsseldorf to the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf*

See Lindblom 1915 on medieval illustrations of Birgitta's revelations.

15: 9 *scorpia*: This could be a reference to Ezech. 2: 6–7 or Luc. 10: 19. It is intended to underline Ingeborg's scorn for her mother.

15: 12–13 *Ok ... gerningom*: See Sandvei 1938, 44 on the missing "af" in this phrase.

17: 14 *glædh*: See the note for *p*. 4: 3.

17: 17–18 *trællin*: See the note for *p*. 5: 9.

18: 1–2 A facsimile of this page can be found as fig. 16.

19: 11–13 *naar ... trin*: See Sandvei 1938, 48 on the Norwegian character of these lines when compared with Old Swedish.

19: 15 *ffly*: On the use of continental "ff" by Norwegian scribes in place of Anglo-Saxon "f", see Munch 1924, I, 107; Vágslid 1930, 49; Seip 1954b, 118.

21: 12 *orma*: At first, the scribe wrote "arma", probably through confusion with the references to "armanæ ok føta*n*næ" in the preceding line. Cf. Sandvei 1938, 44.

21: 14–15 *fliutandæ … jakklom*: A similar image is used by Julian of Norwich in the second revelation of chapter 2 of her *Revelations of Divine Love*: "the droppes of water that falle of the evesyng of an house after a grete shower of reyne"; Colledge and Walsh 1978, II, 312, ll. 22–23. On the use of *jǫkul* to mean "icicle", see Rooth 1961, 14–16.

22: 16 *Ok … saa*: The word order (adverbial—subject—finite verb) is incorrect in a main clause of this type. See Wessén 1948, III, 204–205; Haugen 1976, 312; Barðdal *et al.* 1997, 351–352; cf. *p.* 2: 15–16 and *p.* 36: 13.

23: 1–19 A facsimile of this page can be found as fig. 17.

24: 1–22 A facsimile of this page can be found as fig. 18.

24: 19 *himmerikis drøtningh*: Birgitta's portrayal of the Virgin has developed to show her not only as mother, comforter, and *mediatrix*, but also as the glorious queen of heaven and ruler. On this image of the Virgin, see Warner 1976, 103–117, 285–288. See also *p.* 60: 23–24 with note. Cf. notes to *p.* 4: 8 (Mary as mother); notes to *p.* 63: 15 and *pp.* 76: 1–77: 1 (Mary as queen of angels); notes to *p.* 61: 13, 16, 17–18 (Mary as bride of Christ).

25: 15 Translation of Liber I 11 (Undhagen 1978, 271–272) begins; cf. the Old Swedish Book I 11 (*BU* I, 34–35). See also Westman 1911, 64; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 91–92; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 73, 95–97; Gilkær 2000, 77; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 70–71; Andersson 2014, 42–45.

25: 17–18 *min … altareno* (Lat. "corpus meum verum est, quod in altari consecratur"): Cf. Liber I 1: 3; Liber I 3: 1; Liber I 14: 1; Liber I 26: 26; Liber I 47: 17, 22, 28, 37; Liber I 49: 2; Liber I 59: 16; Klockars 1966, 99–102, 333 (*s.v.* "Altarets sakrament, mässan").

25: 20–27: 6 *anduardhade … limom*: Cf. Liber I 10: 15–32.

25: 22–26: 1 *Naar … pino*: Cf. Liber I 10: 21.

25: 23–26: 1 *Ok … pino*: Cf. Liber I 30: 2.

26: 1–2 *eig ... pinonna*: Cf. Liber I 30: 4.

26: 3–8 *Naar ... þik*: Cf. Liber I 1: 9; Liber I 34: 24.

26: 5–6 *En ... hierta*: Cf. Liber I 10: 33.

26: 18 *min ... drik*: Cf. Ps. 68: 22; Matth. 27: 48; Ioh. 19: 29; Liber I 30: 2.

27: 5–6 *skulu ... lustom*: Cf. Rom. 6: 6–23; Gal. 5: 24; Col. 2: 20.

27: 8–10 *jak ... naadh*: See Westman 1911, 120.

27: 11 Translation of *Ex.* 51: 9–18 (Hollman 1956, 170–172) begins; cf. the Old Swedish Book IV 130 (*BU* II, 242–244). See also Westman 1911, 64; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, IV, 153–154; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 96–97; Gilkær 2000, 77.

27: 21–22 *Ek ... vmkringskoren*: Cf. Matth. 1: 18–25; Luc. 2: 1–21.

27: 23–24 *Ek ... vbrÿgdilse*: Christ is mocked throughout his life, but most poignantly after his arrest. Cf. Matth. 26: 67 (Isai. 50: 6); Matth. 27: 27–31, 39; Marc. 15: 16–20, 29; Luc. 22: 63; Luc. 23: 35–39; Ioh. 19: 2–3.

27: 24 *Ek ... bundhen*: Cf. Matth. 26: 47–56; Marc. 14: 43–50; Luc. 22: 47–53; Ioh. 18: 3–12.

28: 1 *Ek var flængdir*: Cf. Ioh. 19: 1

28: 4 *þorna krononna*: Cf. Matth. 27: 29; Marc. 15: 17; Ioh. 19: 2, 5.

28: 9–29: 11 *en ... klædhe*: Cf. Matth. 27: 32–55; Marc. 15: 21–41; Luc. 23: 26–49; Ioh. 19: 16–37.

29: 15 Translation of Liber VIII 57 (Aili 2002, 223–224) begins; cf. the Old Swedish Book VIII 57 (*BU* III, 475–476). See also Westman 1911, 64; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, III, 333–334; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 96–97; Gilkær 2000, 77.

29: 15–31: 8 Birgitta and the Black Death are discussed by Wessén 1968–1976, II, 121–123; Echart 1993; Fogelkvist 1993, *passim*; Harrison 2000, 393–394. Birgitta's prediction of the plague is also referred to in the 1350 entry in the *Diarium Vadstenense* (*DV*, 116):

> Anno Domini mcccl [...] Eo tempore viguit in regno Swecie magna mortalitas, qua nemo meminit maiorem exstisse nec ante nec post; quam diu ante predixerat futuram beata Birgitta. Christus namque in quadam revelacione eam sic predixit dicens: "Vadam per mundum cum aratro meo" etc.
>
> [The year of Our Lord 1350 (...) At that time, a great mortality raged in the kingdom of Sweden; no-one can can remember a greater pestilence than this, either before or since; St Birgitta had long beforehand predicted that this would come about. Christ namely foretold it thus in a revelation, in which he says, "I shall walk through this world with my plough," and so on.]

The repercussions of the Black Death in Norway and Sweden are described in Authén Blom 1992, 543–573; Harrison 2000, 349–370, 381–410. One of the consequences was the emptying of the Benedictine monastery at Munkeliv in Bergen of all the brothers. The house was subsequently handed over to and repopulated by the Birgittines. See Lange 1856, 263–315; Gunnes 1990; Gunnes 1991, 221–230; Helle 1995, 866–873; section 3.4 "The Birgittine Movement in Norway and Munkeliv".

29: 21 *ødhmiwkt i klædhom*: Birgitta has already referred to the pride and ostentation of women in her kingdom (*pp*. 3: 19–4: 22) and is not alone in naming improper dress as one of the causes of the Black Death (see, for example, John of Reading and an anonymous writer both quoted in Horrox 1994, 131–134). There is a long tradition in Christianity of humility in dress and shunning vanity. For example, Gregory the Great (*Homiliae in Euangelia* 40; *Patrologia Latina*, LXXVI, 1305) says that attention to dress and appearance is sinful. See Fogelqvist 1993, 204–207.

30: 12 *diæfwlen diktadhe quinnomen*: See Fogelqvist 1993, 52–55.

30: 17–31: 8 In her *Revelations*, Birgitta continually underlines the importance of almsgiving (Fogelqvist 1993, 218–221). Almsgiving and greater religious observance were to appease God, who was using the Black Death as a universal punishment for people' sins. Birgitta states that these sins were three in number: immodest clothing, lack of charity, and poor religious observance. Attendance at mass and public intercessionary processions became compulsory. See Magnus Eriksson's open letter to the Swedish people from *c*. 1349 (*Diplomatarium Suecanum*, III.2, 156).

31: 1–25 A plate of this page has been reproduced in Wessén 1968–1976, II, 96–97 (plate 3).

31: 7–8 *twande … føtir*: Cf. Ioh. 13: 1–17. The unwillingness of the clergy to attend to the poor during the plague can be read in contemporary documents. See Michele da Piazza's *Cronaca*, translated in Horrox 1994, 35–41 (especially p. 36). Other, more literary, attacks on the clergy during the fourteenth century are discussed in McGuire 1997, 45–98 (especially pp. 79–88).

31: 9 Translation of Liber IV 50 (Aili 1992, 167) begins; cf. the Old Swedish Book IV 50 (*BU* II, 92). See also Westman 1911, 69 n. 1; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, II, 94–95; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 96–97; Gilkær 2000, 77; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, II, 97–98.

31: 9 *Christi brwdh*: See the note for *p*. 1: 3.

31: 13 *vænktir*: The meaning is "armed" (*væmpter*). See Söderwall 1884–1918 (supplement), *s.v*. "ivirväpnter".

31: 13–14 *swarter blaman*: On *blamæn*, see Adams 2015, 205–206.

31: 16 *þre konunga*: The kings are Magnus Ladulås Birgersson (1240–1290), Birger Magnusson (1280–1321), and Magnus Eriksson (1316–1374). Cf. Liber VIII 48.

32: 5 Translation of Liber IV 51 (Aili 1992, 168–171) begins; cf. the Old Swedish Book IV 51 (*BU* II, 93–96). See also Westman 1911, 64; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, II, 95–97; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 96–97; Gilkær 2000, 77; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, II, 98–100.

32: 13–15 *hwart … taladhe*: The talking book of law by which the soul is judged underlines the importance to Birgitta of the *written* law—be it the Bible or secular law. The book was seen by Birgitta as a valuable instrument of power that both was eternal and transcended the earthly realm. See Bolton Holloway 1992, 123–127. For references on Birgitta's legal background, see the note to *p*. 1: 3.

36: 13 *wissalighæ … sagdæ*: The word order (adverbial—subject—finite verb) is incorrect in a main clause of this type. See Wessén 1948, III, 204–205; Haugen 1976, 312; Barðdal *et al*. 1997, 351–352; cf. *p*. 2: 15–16 and *p*. 22: 16.

36: 17 *rucæidan*: See Eklund 1991, 130–133 for discussion of the metathetic spelling of "vr" in medieval Norwegian dialects. Cf. *p*. 39: 12.

37: 9 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber I 55 (Undhagen 1978, 420–423) and the Old Swedish Book I 55 (*BU* I, 191–194) begins. On this revelation concerning patience, see also Westman 1911, 64, 69; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 172–173; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 123–125; Bergh 1987, 43–49; Gilkær 2000, 78; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 152–153; Andersson 2014, 219–222, 268–274.

37: 14–15 *þre lýti*: Cf. Liber II 20; *Ex*. 83; Klockars 1966, 40; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 123–124; Nyberg 1991, 32–33; Sjöberg 2003, 39.

37: 17 *Mine … land*: Cf. Luc. 19: 12.

37: 21–22 On this section about the workers, there is no mention of tithing (as there is in the Latin and Old Swedish versions). See also *p*. 38: 17; *p*. 39: 10; *p*. 41: 1.

37: 24 *þa … nampn*: See Sandvei 1938, 44–45 who suggests that "glømdis" is a scribal error for "gømdis", and Bergh 1987 who argues that "glømdis" is, in fact, correct and original.

37: 25 *þa … sagdho*: On the occurrence of the negative particle "eig" in this phrase, see Bergh 1987, 48–49.

38: 1–4 *vaar … høfdingia*: Cf. Matth. 21: 33–43; Matth. 25: 14–30; Marc. 12: 1–11; Marc. 13: 34–37; Luc. 12: 36–40; Luc. 15: 13–32; Luc. 19: 12–27; Klockars 1966, 66.

38: 1–25 A facsimile of this page can be found as fig. 19.

38: 1 *annor land*: Cf. Luc. 19: 12.

38: 8, 9–10 *omẏklom*: See Sandvei 1938, 45 for the assimilation /fm/ > /m/. Cf. *p*. 52: 11; *p*. 67: 24; *p*. 72: 6; *p*. 87: 5; 99: 8; *p*. 110: 16.

38: 17 *tiundha pæningh*: Cf. Deut. 12: 11; Deut. 12: 17; Deut. 14: 22–29; 2 Esdr. 10: 37–39; Gregory IX, *Decretales*, III, 30; Klockars 1966, 154; *p*. 37: 21–22; *p*. 39: 10; *p*. 41: 1.

38: 18–19 *firir ... stoor* (Lat. "Tanto enim gloriosior erit merces, quo maiorem caritatem nostram viderit"): Cf. Liber VI 65: 78–84.

39: 10 *tiundha peningh*: Cf. Deut. 12: 11; Deut. 12: 17; Deut. 14: 22–29; 2 Esdr. 10: 37–39; Gregory IX, *Decretales*, III, 30; Klockars 1966, 154; *p.* 37: 21–22; *p.* 38: 17; *p.* 41: 1.

39: 12 *rwœidhir*: On this metathetic spelling, see Eklund 1991, 130–133. Cf. *p.* 36: 17.

39: 13–16 *Ek ... kirkia*: Cf. *p.* 37: 9–15.

39: 16–19 *wæroldœnnæ ... skapat*: Cf. Liber I 56: 7; Liber I 59: 18; Liber III 26: 1; *Ex.* 50: 2.

39: 19–24 *ok þy ... snillæ*: Cf. *pp.* 37: 23–38: 5.

39: 24–40: 1 *hœiras*: See Sandvei 1938, 45 on loss of /d/ before /r/. Other spellings in the manuscript are with "heedhr-", "heid(h)r-", and "hæidr-".

40: 1 *domarene*: In other words, "clerici"; cf. Liber I 55: 2 (*p.* 37: 17–21); Liber I 55: 4 (*pp.* 37: 23–38: 5); Liber I 55: 8 (*p.* 38: 19–25); Liber I 56: 7–10; Liber I 56: 19; Liber II 20: 7, 10–12.

40: 8–10 *þe ... flati*: For discussion, see Westman 1911, 64; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 124–125 (includes a translation in modern Swedish).

40: 13 *Mædh vœrnaromen*: In other words, "defensores"; cf. Liber I 55: 2 (*p.* 37: 17–21); Liber I 55: 5 (*p.* 38: 5–13); Liber I 55: 9 (*pp.* 38: 25–39: 5); Liber I 56: 11, 21–29; Liber II 7: 30; Liber II 20: 8, 13–15.

40: 18 *glœdhias þœr af*: See Westman 1911, 68 on the missing "eig".

40: 20 *sỳndena* (Lat. "mortalia peccata"): Cf. Liber I 59: 31. See *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, VII (1962), cols 155–160, *s.v.* "Huvudsynd".

40: 24 *Arbeidis folkit*: In other words, "laboratores"; cf. Liber I 55: 3 (*p.* 37: 21–23); Liber I 55: 7 (*p.* 38: 14–19); Liber I 55: 10 (*p.* 39: 5–13); Liber I 56: 7, 12, 30.

41: 1 *tiundha*: Cf. Deut. 12: 11; Deut. 12: 17; Deut. 14: 22–29; 2 Esdr. 10: 37–39; Gregory IX, *Decretales*, III, 30; Klockars 1966, 154; *p*. 37: 21–22; *p*. 38: 17; *p*. 39: 10.

41: 5–6 *gudhlikin ... kærleikir* (Lat. "gladius timor"): Cf. Liber I 21: 12; Liber I 41: 30; Liber I 41: 42; Liber I 43: 3; Liber I 53: 13; Liber I 55: 20; Liber I 56: 1; Liber II 9: 9; Liber IV 74: 45; Liber IV 95: 6–8; Liber VI 5: 8.

41: 7 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber I 56 (Undhagen 1978, 423–429) and the Old Swedish Book I 56 (*BU* I, 194–199) begins. See also Westman 1911, 64–66; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 173–176; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 140; Gilkær 2000, 78; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 154–157; Andersson 2014, 223–228.

41: 9–10 *swasom ... fullir*: On the bottomless money-bags, see Fogelkvist 1993, 45–46.

41: 12–16 *Nu ... sik* (Lat. "3 Attamen ego sum sicut dominus, qui et pater et iudex est. Cui eunti ad iudicium dicunt circumstantes: 'Domine, procede cicius et fac iudicium!' Quibus respondit dominus: 'Expectate modicum usque cras, quia forte filius meus adhuc interim emendabit se.'"): For discussion, see Westman 1911, 64.

41: 21–22 *Ek ... punctin*: Cf. Liber I 25: 5; Liber I 14: 3; Liber I 5: 14; Liber I 25: 3; Liber I 36: 6; Liber I 37: 9; Liber I 56: 6; Liber III 26: 20; Liber IV 99: 7; Liber VI 37; Matth. 5: 26.

41: 22–25 *Vil ... meirae* (Lat. "Verumptamen, *quia iusticia mea incommutabilis est et quamuis diu protrahitur*, tamen aut puniam, si non emendauerint se peccatores, aut misericordiam faciam in conuersos" [my *emphasis*]): The immutability of God's justice is not highlighted in the Birgittine-Norwegian version. See Liber I 56: 6 app. and refs.

41: 25 *før*: That is in Liber I 55: 1–3 (on *p*. 37: 9–16).

41: 26 *domara*: Cf. Liber I 55: 2 (*p*. 37: 17–21); Liber I 55: 4 (*pp*. 37: 23–38: 5); Liber I 55: 8 (*p*. 38: 19–25); Liber I 55: 14–16 (*p*. 40: 1–13).

42: 3 *þær ... snille*: Cf. Liber I 55: 14–16 (*p*. 40: 1–13).

42: 5 *þe ... lagh*: Cf. Exod. 20; Deut. 5.

42: 7–11 *ræk … þæningin*: Cf. Ecclus. 7: 36; Deut. 15: 7. For a discussion of the differences between the Birgittine-Norwegian and Latin versions, see Undhagen 1978, 425 n. 27.

42: 12 *lata … vara*: Cf. the differing meanings in Lat. "simulare se meum" and OSw. (B 42^{rb}) "The lata sik vara mina thiænara".

42: 14–15 *vm … pæningin*: The reference is to simony (Act. 8: 18–24); cf. Liber IV 33; Liber IV 137; Liber IV 142. See also Westman 1911, 293–295 (transcription of Ups. C 86); Lundén 1957–1959, III, 339, 341–343; Klockars 1971, 122–123; *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, XV (1970), cols 293–295, *s.v.* "Simoni".

42: 20–25 *Mædh … vreidhe*: Cf. Liber I 55: 2 (*p.* 37: 17–21); Liber I 55: 5 (*p.* 38: 5–13); Liber I 55: 9 (*pp.* 38: 25–39: 5); Liber I 55: 17 (*p.* 40: 13–15).

43: 1–5 *Almoghin … atirhaldh*: Cf. Liber I 55: 3 (*p.* 37: 21–23); Liber I 55: 7 (*p.* 38: 14–19); Liber I 55: 10 (*p.* 39: 5–13); Liber I 56: 19 (*pp.* 40: 24–41: 4).

43: 11–14 *Swa … afgudh*: Cf. 3 Reg. 19: 17–19; Rom. 11: 3–5.

43: 25–44: 6 *Swa … rætuisa* (Lat. "sic ego verba mea mitto amicis meis, que non sic obscura sunt ut Apocalipsis, quem Iohanni ostendi sub obscuritate, ut a spiritu meo in suo tempore, cum michi placeret, explanarentur. 16 Nec ita occulta sunt, ut non annuncientur—*sicut Paulus videbat de misteriis meis, que non licebat loqui*—, sed sic aperta sunt, quod omnes tam parui quam magni intelligant, tam leuia, ut omnes, qui velint, possint capere. 17 Ergo amici mei verba mea venire faciant ad inimicos meos, si forte conuertantur, et innotescat eis periculum et iudicium eorum, ut compungantur de factis suis!" [my *emphasis*]): In Books I and II, written during the Sweden period, there are no quotations at all from Acts and just one quotation from Paul's letters (quoted above). However, E 8902 lacks even this single quotation. See Westman 1911, 66; Klockars 1966, 93 n. 18.

44: 8 *blifuir … stein*: Cf. Luc. 21: 6; cf. Luc. 19: 14; Agg. 2: 16.

44: 8–9 *Domarane*: Cf. Liber I 55: 2 (*p.* 37: 17–21); Liber I 55: 4 (*pp.* 37: 23–38: 5); Liber I 55: 7 (*p.* 41: 26); Liber I 55: 8 (*p.* 38: 19–25); Liber I 55: 14–16 (*p.* 40: 1–13).

44: 13–14 *j … wtslækkis*: Cf. Marc. 9: 42 "in gehennam in ignem inextinguibilem" (sometimes biblical manuscripts add this phrase to Marc. 9: 48); cf. Liber I

17: 12. The torturing of souls in frying pans ("j braadpannona") can also be found in the treatment of murderers in *Tungdalus och hans syn* (Dahlgren 1875, 220, ll. 13–25; Mearns 1985, 94, l. 396). The use of "culinary" forms of torture (for example, roasting, spitting, and baking) is a common feature in descriptions of hell; see, for example, *St Patrick's Purgatory* (Easting 1991, 3–154 *passim*). *Elucidarium* (AM 76 8°, fol. 61^{v}, ll. 1–9) describes a mysterious island where devil-like smiths torture souls (Kroon *et al.* 1993, 245):

> **M**en i the ølandh th*e*r | ær megel behe*n*næligh ti*n*gh ynnæ. | th*e*r ær een øø th*e*r møgh*et* langh ær | th*e*r maa ma*n* høræ smedier ⟨s⟩mediæ | i eth hus och øpæ som dieflæ. | th*et* ær syelæ th*e*r pinæs i aff | dyeflæ
>
> [But in those islands, there are many remarkable things. There is an island that is very long, where one can hear smiths smithying in a house and shouting like devils. There are souls that are being tormented in there by devils.]

Satan is also compared to a smith who serves God by punishing evil men in his forge in Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, II, 9 (Lefèvre 1954, 408); cf. Scherabon Firchow and Grimstad 1989, 93.

44: 16 *Værnaranna*: Cf. Liber I 55: 2 (*p.* 37: 17–21); Liber I 55: 5 (*p.* 38: 5–13); Liber I 55: 9 (*pp.* 38: 25–39: 5); Liber I 55: 17 (*p.* 40: 13–15); Liber I 56: 11 (*p.* 42: 20–25).

45: 6 *æwinnelikin … slækkis*: Cf. Marc. 9: 42; cf. Liber I 41: 44.

45: 13–15 *lifuandis … fyllas*: Cf. *Prologus magistri Mathiae* 36; Liber I 5: 19; Liber I 17: 3; Liber I 56: 28; Liber IV 95: 9; Liber IV 113: 9; Liber VI 21: 14; Liber VI 98: 7; Gen. 40: 19; Ier. 15: 3; Ier. 16: 4; Apoc. 6: 8.

45: 19 *Arbeidhis mannanna*: Cf. Liber I 55: 3 (*p.* 37: 21–23); Liber I 55: 7 (*p.* 38: 14–19); Liber I 55: 10 (*p.* 39: 5–13); Liber I 56: 19 (*pp.* 40: 24–41: 4).

46: 4 *adam … paradiis*: Cf. Liber V int. 14: 20; *SA* 21: 13; *Ex.* 50: 9; Gen. 3: 23.

46: 4–5 *i … wærllinna*: Cf. Liber III 30: 12; Gen. 7–8. The Latin and Old Swedish versions, however, refer to God's having sent the ten plagues over Egypt (Lat. "Pharaoni decem plagas immisit"; OSw. [B 42^{vb}] "oc sænde tio plagh*o*r ow*ir* pharaonem"; Exod. 7: 14–12: 36) rather than to the Flood.

46: 6–11 *Ek … ifuir*: Cf. Liber I 2: 2; On Birgitta's knowledge of various creeds, see Klockars 1966, 116–117.

46: 10 *sandir gudh*: Cf. *p.* 49: 19; *p.* 64: 10; *p.* 69: 12; *p.* 73: 7; *p.* 74: 4; *p.* 97: 5; *p.* 120: 19; *p.* 127: 10.

46: 10 *ok sandir man*: Cf. *p.* 64: 10; *p.* 69: 12.

46: 11–14 *Ek … personis*: Cf. Liber I 2: 1; Liber II 5: 1.

46: 14–16 *huilkin … tala*: Cf. Liber VI 36: 1–5; Liber VI 60: 4; Liber VI 86; Act. 2: 1–13.

46: 23 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber I 57 (Undhagen 1978, 429–430) and the Old Swedish Book I 57 (*BU* I, 199–200) begins. See also Westman 1911, 69; Kraft 1929, 43–49; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 176–177; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98; Gilkær 2000, 78; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 157–158; Andersson 2014, 228–230, 274–275.

46: 23–25 *Swa … mẏnstreno*: Cf. Luc. 4: 28–30.

46: 24 *iudhane*: On Birgitta and the Jews, see Adams 2013b, 29–36.

47: 4–6 *þe … bẏggia*: Cf. Liber I 26: 6–7, 17; Liber I 57: 2; Liber II 9: 5; Liber III 29: 4; 1 Cor. 3: 16–17; 2 Cor. 6: 16; Klockars 1966, 66.

47: 7 *rutit køt*: On the significance of meat and the senses to medieval women, see Bynum 1987, especially pp. 245–259.

47: 8–9 *þe … bak*: Cf. Ier. 2: 27; Ier. 32: 33.

47: 17–21 *Mædh … mik*: Cf. Liber VI 65: 22; Matth. 10: 23.

47: 21–48: 1 *firir … til*: Birgitta is referring to King Magnus Eriksson's crusades against the Karelians here (cf. *p.* 53: 2–6). On Birgitta and the Karelian Crusades, see Westman 1911, 69–70; Kraft 1929, 48–49; Klockars 1960, 172; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 112–119; Christiansen 1997, 189–198.

47: 22 *søthir* (Lat. "dulcis *super mel*" [my *emphasis*]): Cf. Ps. 118: 103; Ecclus. 24: 27; Liber I 32: 16.

48: 2–5 *Cristnom … mik*: The Latin and Old Swedish versions make no mention of the waterfall in this simile. See further Wessén 1968–1976, II, 146–147 (and Liber I 25: 6). However, the giant (Lat. "gigas"; OSw. [B 43^{rb}] "kæmpe") is not mentioned in the Birgittine-Norwegian text until *p*. 53: 18–20.

48: 16–17 *Ok … sannind*: Cf. *p*. 75: 30; 84: 1–2; Ioh. 17: 17.

48: 18 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber IV 99 (Aili 1992, 287–288) and the Old Swedish Book IV 99 (*BU* I, 186–187) begins. See also Westman 1911, 69–70; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, II, 173–174; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98; Gilkær 2000, 78; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, II, 177–178.

48: 24 *Sannelika … mik*: Cf. Matth. 26: 47.

49: 16 *Ok … fadhir*: Cf. Marc. 16: 19; Luc. 24: 50–53; Act. 9: 11.

49: 19 *sandir gudh*: Cf. *p*. 46: 10; *p*. 64: 10; *p*. 69: 12; *p*. 73: 7; *p*. 74: 4; *p*. 97: 5; *p*. 120: 19; *p*. 127: 10.

50: 9–16 *Sÿndhin … nÿtia*: Cf. the words of Birgitta's mother on *p*. 11: 7–9 (and note for *p*. 11: 2–18).

51: 27–56: 3 This section is not known from any other manuscript. See Westman 1911, 69–70; Kraft 1929, 48; Lundén 1957–1959, II, 173–174; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 112–114; Gilkær 2000, 78.

52: 1 *hofdhingia*: That is, King Magnus Eriksson. See Westman 1911, 69.

52: 11 *omÿkit*: See Sandvei 1938, 45 for the assimilation /fm/ > /m/. Cf. *p*. 38: 8; *p*. 38: 9–10; *p*. 67: 24; *p*. 72: 6; *p*. 87: 5; 99: 8; *p*. 110: 16.

52: 16 *þÿ … þing*: Wessén (1968–1976, II, 113 n. 50) suggests that this may be the beginning of a new revelation, but presents no argument for this.

52: 24–53: 1 *þrÿ … almoghin*: Cf. *p*. 37: 14–16.

53: 3 *karela*: On the crusade against the Karelians, see Westman 1911, 69 n. 2; Kraft 1929, 48–49; Klockars 1960, 172; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 112–119; Christiansen 1997, 189–198; Morris 1999b, 83–86; cf. *pp*. 47: 21–48: 1.

53: 5 *j … søtir*: Cf. Ps. 118: 103; *p*. 1: 15–16; *p*. 11: 24–25.

53: 6–7 *birgitta*: See the note for *p*. 1: 3.

53: 15 *rutit køt*: See the note for *p*. 47: 7.

53: 18–20 *Cristnom … rædhelikheit*: Cf. Iob 16: 15. This section on the giant is found in Liber I 57: 7 (Undhagen 1978, 430, ll. 25–27).

54: 1–3 *Ek … ekke*: Cf. Matth. 24: 37; Luc. 14: 34.

54: 16–18 *Ek … spiute*: Cf. Ioh. 19: 34.

56: 3 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber I 50 (Undhagen 1978, 398–402) and the Old Swedish Book I 50 (*BU* I, 171–175) begins. See also Westman 1911, 63, 67; Kraft 1929, 47; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 160–162; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 147–149; Gilkær 2000, 78; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 140–142; Andersson 2014, 201–204, 266–268. On the dialogue form in this revelation, see Koch 1991, 478–479.

56: 3–26 *SAncta … herra*: Cf. Liber IV 119; *Ex*. 50: 1–4; Gen. 1.

56: 15–16 *Ok … creatwr*: Cf. Gen. 1: 28; Gen. 2: 19.

57: 1–2 *þin … viin*: Cf. Liber I 5: 8; Liber I 16: 4; Liber I 46: 2; Liber I 50: 7, 14, 23; Liber I 58: 18; Liber VI 21: 12; Liber VI 23: 24. "Sweet" and "sweetness" are qualities associated with the Virgin Mary in both Birgitta's own writings and Marian literature generally. See, for example, the entries under "II. sæta *f.*", "sætleikr" and "sætr" in the index of Wrightson 2001.

57: 2 *sæm en dagrand*: Cf. Liber IV 11: 1; *Ex*. 50: 19; Cant. 6: 9. On the image of light and warmth, see Sahlin 2001, 96–98.

57: 3–4 *þin … skeen*: Cf. Liber I 31: 10; Liber I 46: 4; Liber I 50: 24 (*p*. 60: 13); *Ex*. 50: 16, 19.

57: 5 *solinna*: Cf. Liber I 51: 22; Liber II 2: 23; Liber IV 7: 48; Liber IV 11: 1; *SA* 9: 14.

57: 7–8 *af … alla*: Cf. Liber I 1: 2; Liber I 38: 1, 8.

57: 10–11 *þin reenleikir*: Cf. Liber I 1: 1; Liber I 31: 6; Liber I 42: 8; Liber I 50: 10; Liber IV 18: 2; Liber V rev. 4: 5; Liber V rev. 13: 14–18; *Ex*. 50: 15; Undhagen 1978, 54–56.

57: 13–14 *æ ... weitas*: Cf. Liber I 50: 14 (*p*. 58: 17–18); Liber I 50: 23 (*p*. 60: 9–10); Liber I 24: 5; Liber VI 23: 26, 32; Liber VI 39: 92, 103; Liber VI 45: 25; *Ex*. 50: 17, 20. The concept of God's being unable to refuse the Virgin anything is also found in Henry Suso's works (see Seuse 1924, 222; Klockars 1966, 231).

58: 1 *Ok ... nadhe*: Cf. Liber I 3: 3; *p*. 58: 22–24.

58: 3–8 *hundradha ... fultkomnilsse*: Cf. Matth. 13: 8, 23 (see also Undhagen 1978, 400 n. 39–42).

58: 13–14 *firir ... kom* (Lat. "ex qua omnibus profluxit misericordia"): Cf. Ambrose, *Liber de Viduis* 13, 75 (*Patrologia Latina*, XVI, 271).

58: 16 *mædh ... oordhum*: Cf. Liber I 5: 8; Liber I 16: 4; Liber I 46: 2; Liber I 50: 7, 14, 23; Liber I 58: 18; Liber VI 21: 12; Liber VI 23: 24; *p*. 57: 1–2.

58: 17–18 *Bedz ... bøøn*: Cf. Liber I 24: 5; Liber I 46: 2; Liber I 50: 14 (*p*. 58: 17–18); Liber I 50: 23 (*p*. 60: 9–10); Liber VI 23: 26, 32; Liber VI 39: 92, 103; Liber VI 45: 25; *Ex*. 50: 17, 20; Seuse 1924, 222; Klockars 1966, 231; *p*. 57: 13–14.

58: 18–60: 3 *Ta ... þeira*: Cf. Liber IV 7–9. See Klockars 1966, 124; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 149–150.

58: 22–24 *firir ... þœim*: Cf. Liber I 3: 3; *p*. 58: 1.

59: 2–3 *skærzllo ... herra*: Cf. OSw. (B 38ra) "Thridhi stadhin ær thera som skulu rensas j skærslo elde", Lat. "purgandorum". See the note to *p*. 15: 6.

59: 12 *þrœfalla miskund*: Cf. Liber I 25: 5; Liber I 26: 11; Liber I 36: 3; Liber I 50: 20.

59: 20–22 *þe skulu ... manna*: The Virgin is referring to the power of intercessionary prayers, a belief based on the intercession of Christ (Rom. 8: 26–27; Rom. 8: 34; 1 Tim. 2: 5–7; Hebr. 7: 25; 1 Ioh. 2: 1) and the apostles (Col. 1: 3; 2 Thess. 1: 11; Philipp. 1: 3–4).

60: 1 *anghir ... bœtirlsse*: Cf. Liber I 54: 24–26.

60: 3–10 *þa ... neka*: Cf. Liber I 50: 7, 11; Liber I 9: 10; Liber VI 117.

60: 10–15 *Ok ... ælska*: On this imagery, see Westman 1911, 67; Kraft 1929, 44, 47; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 148.

60: 15–61: 27 This section is not known from any other manuscript. See Westman 1911, 70; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, II, 173–174; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 100; Gilkær 2000, 78.

60: 21–22 *Tu ... fadhir*: This is the only place in E 8902 Birgitta refers to Christ as both the son and the father of the Virgin Mary. See the note for *p.* 61: 13.

60: 23–24 *drøtning ... anda*: Cf. *p.* 60: 23–24; *p.* 4: 8; *p.* 63: 15; *pp.* 76: 1–77: 1.

60: 27–61: 1 *Ok ... talum*: See Wessén 1968–1976, II, 101 on Birgitta's use of metaphors.

61: 1 *mædh liknilsæm*: See Wessén 1968–1976, II, 100 on Birgitta's use of metaphors.

61: 2–4 *þý ... samuiti*: Cf. *p.* 61: 2–4 and *p.* 91: 19–24.

61: 13 *mins ... modhir*: This interpretation of Mary's relationship to the Trinity does not correspond to that usually described by medieval mystics. For example, in book 1 chapter 22 of *Ein vliessendes lieht der gotheit* by the beguine and nun Mechthild of Magdeburg (*c.* 1207–1282) the relationship, schematically illustrated, is described thus:

The Trinity		**The Virgin Mary**	
Father	~	Bride	Can be compared with the roles of
Son	~	Mother	Eve in Genesis
The Holy Spirit	~	Friend	

See Petroff 1986, 216; Menzies 1953 for an edition of Mechthild's revelations.

However, Birgitta concentrates on the relationship between Mary and Christ, and is here (as on ll. 17–18 below) referring to the Virgin as both the bride and the mother of Christ. The Virgin is also referred to as the bride of

the Christ on l. 16. The symbol of the Virgin as the bride of Christ evolved during the twelfth century through the writings of St Bernard of Clairvaux and his sermons on *Canticum Canticorum*. See Bugge 1975, 58–110 (especially pp. 90–96 on *Canticum Canticorum*); Warner 1976, 121–133; Murk-Jansen 1998, 89–96.

61: 16 *mins ... brudh*: See the note to *p*. 61: 13.

61: 17–18 *mins ... modhir*: See the note to *p*. 61: 13.

61: 27 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber I 45 (Undhagen 1978, 374–378) and the Old Swedish Book I 45 (*BU* I, 135–139) begins. See also Westman 1911, 69; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 147–149; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 101; Gilkær 2000, 78; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 127–129; Andersson 2014, 165–168, 251–253.

62: 1–2 *Mins ... præss*: Cf. Lat. "2 Caro eius fuit pressa quasi in torculari. *Sicut enim in omnibus membris homo deliquit, sic ipse filius meus in omnibus satisfecit*" (my *emphasis*). The supplementary Latin phrase is referenced in Undhagen 1978, 374 n. 7–8.

62: 10–13 *hans samuit ... limom*: Cf. *Prologus magistri Mathiae* 11; Liber I 10: 30; Liber I 39: 1; Liber I 3; Liber III 1: 10; Liber IV 70: 1; Liber VI 11; Matth. 26: 36–46; Marc. 14: 32–42; Luc. 22: 39–46. Birgitta expects her readers to know what these sins are. On Birgitta's expectations of her readers' religious knowledge, see Klockars 1966, 122.

62: 15–18 *þoathuarist ... siœll*: Cf. int. al. Liber I 5: 6; Liber I 5: 11; Liber I 36: 2; Liber I 41: 4, 36, 57; Liber I 45: 4; Liber I 47: 15; Liber I 48: 1.

62: 17 *mædh liiknilssom*: See Wessén 1968–1976, II, 101 on Birgitta's use of metaphors.

62: 20 *alt ... skapadh*: Cf. int. al. Liber I 2: 1; Liber II 3: 30; Liber II 25: 1.

63: 2–3 *Ok. vtan ... ænkte*: Cf. Ioh. 1: 3; Liber I 4: 3; Liber I 15: 23; Liber I 45: 5, 7; Liber I 46: 8; Liber V int. 10: 19.

63: 3–5 *Þridhia ... forsÿyn* (Lat. "8 Tercio testificamur, quod omnem iusticiam et omnia, *que facta sunt et futura sunt, videmus in te*, et omnia sunt in tua pre-

sciencia *sine principio et sine fine*") (my *emphasis*): See references in Undhagen 1978, 375 n. 20.

63: 5–10 *þær … hællene*: Cf. Exod. 13; Liber I 10: 2; Liber I 26: 14; Liber I 45: 9; Liber I 47: 1; Liber I 48: 4; Liber I 53: 4.

63: 9–10 *hwa … hællene* (Lat. "Quis diuisit coram vobis aquam?"): See Undhagen 1978, 375 n. 25; Högman 1951, 31.

63: 14–24 *þær … dødh*: Cf. Luc. 1: 26–2: 7; Liber I 10: 3–12; Liber I 45: 11–13; Liber II 13: 1–4; Liber VI 58: 6; Liber VII 25; *SA* 7: 7; *SA* 14–16; *SA* 21: 14–20; *Quat. Or.* Ξ: 46–50; *Quat. Or.* Δ: 7–11; *Quat. Or.* Λ: 50–51; *Ex.* 80.

63: 16 *ængelin*: That is Gabriel. See Luc. 1: 26; cf. Liber II 13: 2.

63: 26–64: 5 *Ta … heila*: Cf. Matth. 4: 23–28; Marc. 1: 22; Luc. 11: 19; Luc. 4: 32; Ioh. 5: 21; Ps. 145: 8; Liber I 15: 21.

64: 1 *or*: On this spelling as evidence for a spoken form, see Sandvei 1938, 45.

64: 5–15 *Vi … anda*: Cf. Matth. 28; Marc. 16; Luc. 24; Ioh. 20.

64: 10 *sandir gudh*: Cf. *p.* 46: 10; *p.* 49: 19; *p.* 69: 12; *p.* 73: 7; *p.* 74: 4; *p.* 97: 5; *p.* 120: 19; *p.* 127: 10.

64: 10 *ok sandir man*: Cf. *p.* 46: 10; *p.* 69: 12.

64: 10–11 *Vi … mædh þik*: Cf. Luc. 24: 30, 41–43; Ioh. 21: 12.

64: 12 *sandir gudz son*: Cf. *p.* 103: 6.

64: 22–25 *Tu … rætuiso*: Cf. Liber I 54: 36; Liber I 15: 16; Liber VI 94: 1; Liber VII 19: 4; Ps. 29: 4; Ps. 85: 13; Dan. 3: 88; Col. 1: 13; *SA* 18: 21; Apoc. 20: 4; Pseudo-Augustine, *Sermones* 160: 1 "De Pascha" (*Patrologia Latina*, XXXIX, 2059–2060); Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* III, q. 52 "De descensu Christi ad infernos" (1965, 152–179, 208–215, Appendix V).

64: 24–25 *þu … kærleek* ("Latin Tu ius tuum de inferno suscepisti"): See Undhagen 1978, 376 n. 53.

65: 6–23 *þa ... ekke*: On Birgitta's thoughts on heretics, see Klockars 1966, 150–164, where this section is mentioned on p. 157.

65: 7–12 *han ... skaparen*: Cf. *p*. 63: 3–5.

65: 11–12 *þý ... skaparen*: Cf. Liber I 26: 5; Liber I 30: 1; Liber I 41: 26; Liber I 45: 24; Liber I 46: 14; Liber I 53: 11; Liber V int. 8: 6–12; Liber VI 16: 3; Liber VI 78: 6; Rom. 1: 25.

65: 14 *friælstir ... lande*: Cf. Exod. 12: 37–42.

65: 17–23 *Sidhan ... ekke*: Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* III, q. 28 "De virginitate matris Dei" (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* LIV*: The Passion of Christ*, 34–55).

65: 26–66: 3 *Min ... liiknilsom*: Cf. Lat. "Nunc igitur quero vos: Quis erit iudex istorum?".

66: 3 *mædh liiknilssom*: See Wessén 1968–1976, II, 101 on Birgitta's use of metaphors.

66: 3–7 *þa ... domare*: Cf. Liber I 5: 5.

66: 4–6 *þu ... gifuin*: Cf. Liber I 48: 7; Liber IV 102: 1; Ioh. 5: 22.

66: 10–11 *Swasom ... eld*: Cf. Gen. 6–8; Isai. 66: 15–16; Matth. 24: 27; Luc. 17: 24; 2 Thess. 1: 8–9; 2 Petr. 2: 5; 2 Petr. 3: 6–7; Apoc. 19: 20; Apoc. 20: 9–10.

66: 14–16 *ek ær ... rætuiso*: Cf. Liber I 5: 14; Liber I 5: 21; Liber I 7: 3; LiberI 12: 3; Liber I 37: 27; Liber 45: 31; Liber II 12: 12–14; Liber VI 21: 1; Petrus Lombardus, *Quattuor Libri Sententiarum* 4, 46, 3 (*Patrologia Latina*, CXCII, 952–953). On Birgitta's use of Petrus Lombardus as a source, see Klockars 1966, 157, 221.

66: 19 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber I 44 (Undhagen 1978, 372–373) and the Old Swedish Book I 44 (*BU* I, 134–135) begins. See also Westman 1911, 63–64, 69; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 146–147; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 73, 95–98, 143, 147; Gilkær 2000, 78; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 126–127; Andersson 2014, 164–165, 250.

66: 19 *Ek ... boo*: Cf. Ecclus. 24: 12; cf. Liber I 5: 1; Liber I 15: 23; Liber I 41: 1; Liber I 44: 1; Liber I 54: 2; Ambrose, *Hymni* 1, 2, 1 (*Patrologia Latina*, XVI, 1473, "Hymnus II. 'Deus creator omnium' ").

66: 26–27 *Ek prædicadhe ... siælfuum* (Lat. "predicando per me ipsum"): On the various uses and meanings of the term "preach" in Christian writings, see Mohrmann 1961, 63–69. Cf. also the analogous usage in Holm. K 47, fol. 96^{v}, l. 2 (*Ivan Løveridder* in Brandt 1869–1877, I, 173, l. 5434).

67: 1–2 *i ... sodomitas*: Cf. Liber I 56: 32; Liber II 28; Liber V int. 13: 42–58; Liber VII 12: 7; Gen. 13: 13; Gen. 18: 20–19: 29; Exod. 7: 13–12: 51; Deut. 29: 22–29.

67: 18 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber I 27 (Undhagen 1978, 317–320) and the Old Swedish Book I 27 (*BU* I, 83–85) begins. See also Westman 1911, 63–64; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 118–119; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 73, 95–98, 143; Gilkær 2000, 78–79; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 97–99; Andersson 2014, 116–118, 247–248.

67: 19 *skør røst*: B (21ra), C (19^{vb}) "gabol røst"; Lat. "vox perfusa". See Undhagen 1978, 318 n. 5; Söderwall 1884–1918, *s.v.* "skör"; Odelman 2000, 47–48.

67: 20–21 *kombir ... gangande*: Cf. Lat. "in domo choree *intrauerit*" (my *emphasis*). See Bergh 1967, 84–85 on "intrare". On the dance image, see Bergh 2002, 124; Sjöberg 2003, 172–173.

67: 24 *Omẏkin*: See Sandvei 1938, 45 for the assimilation /fm/ > /m/. Cf. *p.* 38: 8; *p.* 38: 9–10; *p.* 52: 11; *p.* 72: 6; *p.* 87: 5; 99: 8; *p.* 110: 16.

67: 25 *skør ordh*: Cf. Eph. 5: 4; cf. reference to *p.* 67: 19.

67: 29 *þe ... hiærta*: That is the Virgin Mary. The five spears refer to the Five Wounds of Christ (hands, feet and right side), and the piercing of the heart refers to Simeon's prophecy in Luc. 2: 35. See Sahlin 1993, 217.

68: 1–26 A facsimile of this page can be found as fig. 20.

68: 2–3 *stod ... flængdir*: Cf. Liber I 10: 15; Liber I 10: 26.

68: 4–5 *annor ... forradaræ*: Cf. Liber I 10: 24; Liber I 30: 2; Liber IV 70: 12; *SA* 18: 4.

68: 6–7 *þee huassa krona*: Cf. Liber I 10: 23; Liber IV 70: 13; Liber VII 15: 10.

68: 9 *ørun … skæg*: Cf. Liber VII 15: 11; *Ex*. 51: 2.

68: 10 *þe ømklika røst*: Cf. Liber I 10: 25, 30–31; Liber IV 70: 14; Liber VII 15: 22–24.

68: 10–11 *þr … væghna*: Cf. Liber rev. V 13: 19–20.

68: 12 *hui … forlatid*: Cf. Ps. 21: 2; Matth. 27: 46; Marc. 15: 34; Liber I 10: 25.

68: 14 *þæn hardhe dødhin*: Cf. Liber I 10: 31–33; Liber IV 70: 14–23; Liber VII 15: 24–31.

68: 15–69: 5 *Sannelika … naglomen*: Cf. Liber I 10: 26–32; Liber IV 70: 14–25; Liber VII 15: 17–21, 26; *SA* 17–18; *Ex*. 51: 11–17.

68: 20–24 *Ok … værken*: Cf. Liber I 25: 6.

68: 26 *hofwdhit … vp*: Cf. Liber I 33: 3; Liber IV 70: 9; *Ex*. 51: 13; Matth. 8: 20; Luc. 9: 58; *A&P*, 480 ("Ego non stabam …").

69: 2–4 *þa … brýst*: Cf. Ioh. 19: 30.

69: 5–13 *þa … vili*: Cf. Liber I 10: 24.

69: 8 *føtrene dofnadhe alle*: The meaning is "went completely numb" ("dofna", intransitive form of "dofa"; see Söderwall 1884–1918, *s.v*. "dova"); cf. Lat. "Pedes eciam mei nutauerunt" and OSw. (B 21va) "mine føtir skuluo", both meaning "faltered".

69: 12 *sandir gudh*: Cf. *p*. 46: 10; *p*. 49: 19; *p*. 64: 10; *p*. 73: 7; *p*. 74: 4; *p*. 97: 5; *p*. 120: 19; *p*. 127: 10.

69: 12 *ok man*: Cf. *p*. 46: 10; *p*. 64: 10.

69: 14–15 *Ok … sorghenne*: Cf. Liber I 10: 14; *SA* 17: 15.

69: 20 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber I 28 (Undhagen 1978, 320–323) and the Old Swedish Book I 28 (*BU* I, 85–88) begins. See also Westman 1911, 64; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 119–121; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98,

101; Gilkær 2000, 78–79; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 99–101; Andersson 2014, 118–121, 248–250.

69: 20 *wreidhir*: Cf. Liber I 21: 14. On Birgitta's understanding of God's anger, see Klockars 1966, 174 (and Wessén 1968–1976, II, 101).

69: 21 *han … vmskiptelikin*: Cf. Liber I 2: 1; Liber I 12: 2; Liber II 9: 1; Liber IV 43: 3; Liber IV 98: 9; Liber 134: 2; Iac. 1: 17; Ps. 89: 4; 2 Petr. 3: 8; Thorell 1959, 247, ll. 13–15. On Birgitta's use of the *Old Swedish Pentateuch Paraphrase*, see Klockars 1966, 57–69, where she mentions this particular section in the Birgittine-Norwegian text on p. 61. Klockars points out that if we compare the *Old Swedish Pentateuch*, the Old Swedish revelation text and the Birgittine-Norwegian text, it would seem that a quote from the *Pentateuch* has been added by an editor, probably Mathias Övidsson, in the Old Swedish text, but it did not form part of Birgitta's original vision—nor does it appear in the Birgittine-Norwegian text.

69: 23 *mædh liiknilsæm*: See Wessén 1968–1976, II, 101 on Birgitta's use of metaphors.

69: 26 *a minom doom* (Lat. "in iudicio, *quia omne iudicium datum est michi*" [my *emphasis*]): Cf. Ioh. 5: 22.

70: 11–12 *þæssa þres røsthir*: Cf. Liber II 11: 7–17.

70: 12 *þre gudha*: Cf. Liber I 1: 2; Liber I 38: 5; Liber I 41: 1; Liber I 54: 13. On the Holy Trinity and Birgitta, see Klockars 1966, 117–118.

70: 14 *mædh liiknilsæm*: See Wessén 1968–1976, II, 101 on Birgitta's use of metaphors.

71: 1–30 A facsimile of this page can be found as fig. 21.

71: 21–22 *glæz mædh þæim* […] *Ok glæz ek*: Cf. the verbs in OSw. (B 22ra) "glædz m*edh* thom […] iak glædz m*edh* thøm", but Lat. "gratulatur cum eis […] gaudeo cum illis".

71: 25–26 *flÿ … giri*: Cf. 1 Ioh. 2: 17.

71: 26–29 *huxar … raskare*: Cf. Liber I 39: 4; Liber IV 129: 90; *SA* 19: 6; for Latin manuscripts, see Undhagen 1978, 197.

71: 30–72: 2 *þæt ... limum*: Cf. Liber I 2: 10; Liber I 1: 6; Liber I 20: 9; Liber 28: 14.

72: 2–24 *Mædh ... bætrilsse*: This part of the revelation is very different to the Latin and Old Swedish versions. Cf. also Liber I 45: 1–3 (*pp*. 61: 27–62: 13).

72: 6 *omÿkle*: See Sandvei 1938, 45 for the assimilation /fm/ > /m/. Cf. *p*. 38: 8; *p*. 38: 9–10; *p*. 52: 11; *p*. 67: 24; *p*. 87: 5; 99: 8; *p*. 110: 16.

72: 24 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber I 46 (Undhagen 1978, 378–381) and the Old Swedish Book I 46 (*BU* I, 139–143) begins. See also Westman 1911, 64; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 149–151; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98; Gilkær 2000, 78–79; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 130–132; Andersson 2014, 169–172, 253–256.

72: 28–73: 7 *þa ... mandom*: Cf. Liber I 5: 8; Liber I 16: 4; Liber I 50: 7, 14, 23; Liber I 58: 15; Liber VI 21: 12; Liber VI 23: 24–31.

73: 2–3 *Suasæm ... speghle*: Cf. Liber I 41: 30; Liber I 41: 30; Liber I 42: 5, 8, 9; Casel 1961; Hugedé 1957.

73: 7 *sandir gudh*: Cf. *p*. 46: 10; *p*. 49: 19; *p*. 64: 10; *p*. 69: 12; *p*. 74: 4; *p*. 97: 5; *p*. 120: 19; *p*. 127: 10.

73: 7–8 *þu ... mirra*: Cf. Ecclus. 24: 20. Several of the images Birgitta uses for the Virgin Mary derive from Ecclesiasticus (Book of Sirach). See Klockars 1966, 76.

73: 7–12 *þu ... siœl*: Cf. Liber I 8: 3; Liber I 9: 4; Liber I 16: 4; Liber I 50: 10; Liber I 51: 2–23; Liber I 52: 4.

73: 12–15 *Signad ... diœflane*: Cf. Liber I 16: 4; Liber I 31: 10; Liber I 50: 8–10, 24; *Ex*. 50: 16, 19.

73: 19 *varo*: Sandvei (1938, 45) criticises Klemming for having "corrected" this form to "vara".

73: 23–26 *Mannin ... vildhe*: Cf. Liber I 37: 8.

73: 26 *Ok ... han*: Cf. Liber I 15: 19, 23; Liber I 45: 5, 7; Ioh. 1: 3.

74: 4 *sandir gudh*: Cf. *p*. 46: 10; *p*. 49: 19; *p*. 64: 10; *p*. 69: 12; *p*. 73: 7; *p*. 97: 5; *p*. 120: 19; *p*. 127: 10.

74: 5–6 *ødmiwt*: This spelling of "ødmiwkt" is discussed in Sandvei 1938, 45. Cf. *p*. 105: 20; *p*. 119: 13.

74: 12–13 *Hwar … ær*: Cf. Liber I 41: 28; Liber I 5: 3, 21.

74: 21 *pinan … æwinnelikin*: Cf. Liber I 37: 8. On Birgitta's opinion about this sort of heretical thinking, see Klockars 1966, 150–164, where she mentions this phrase ("straffen är inte eviga", p. 157).

74: 24–25 *hwad … hundrin*: Cf. 1 Reg. 17: 43; 1 Reg. 24: 14; 4 Reg. 8: 13; Matth. 7: 6; Apoc. 22: 15; Horace, *Epistulae*, 1, 17 (Horace 1923, 33–35 [p. 34, l. 30 "cane peius"]); Myrdal 2004, 24.

74: 27–75: 5 *Vtan … mik*: Cf. Liber I 26: 5; Liber I 30: 1; Liber I 41: 26; Liber I 45: 24; Liber I 53: 11; Liber V int. 8: 6–12; Liber VI 16: 3; Liber VI 78: 6; Rom. 1: 25.

75: 18–24 *Mædh … pino*: Cf. Liber I 20: 8.

75: 19 *swa … munne*: Cf. Liber VI 6: 4; Liber VII 19: 21; Ioh. 15: 26.

75: 20 *Swa … mik*: Cf. *p*. 48: 16–17; *p*. 84: 1; Ioh. 17: 17.

75: 30–76: 15 *Ek … himerike*: The ending of this revelation is quite different to that in the Latin and Old Swedish versions. See Westman 1911, 70 and Undhagen 1978, 381 for notes on the Latin version.

76: 16 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber I 58 (Undhagen 1978, 431–433) and the Old Swedish Book I 58 (*BU* I, 201–203) begins. See also Westman 1911, 69; Kraft 1929, 43–47, 49–50; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 177–179; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98; Gilkær 2000, 78–79; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 158–159; Andersson 2014, 230–233, 275–277.

76: 18–19 *Sanctus … sabaoth*: In other words, the *Sanctus Benedictus* (cf. Isai. 6: 3; Apoc. 4: 8). Birgitta expects her reader to be familiar with the liturgy of mass and able to identify the reference (see Klockars 1966, 100). It is an example of an analogue link that points to the reader's knowledge or "mental library"; see Carlquist 2004, 108–111.

In the popular *Elucidarium* (for example in AM 76 8°, fol. 42ᵛ, ll. 2–9; in Kroon *et al.* 1993, 169), Disciplulus and Magister discuss the *Sanctus Benedictus*. Also in AM 76 8°, there is a hexameter that explains the meaning of "sabaoth": "hebrayce sabaoth celestis milicie rex" (fol. 110ʳ, l. 11).

76: 19 *þu æst søtir*: Cf. Liber I 49: 4; Liber I 54: 3, 5; Ps. 24: 8; Ps. 33: 9; 1 Petr. 2: 3.

77: 2–4 *Swa … beizskir*: Cf. Liber I 49: 4; Liber I 52: 15; Liber 54: 9, 11.

77: 5 *vtan skæl*: Cf. Liber I 19: 2; Liber V int. 5: 6; Liber V int. 15: 8.

77: 8 *hafuir skapad ænglana*: Cf. Liber V int. 9: 13–20; Liber VIII 48: 22; Liber VIII 56: 2; *SA* 6.

77: 10 *alt væl*: Cf. Liber I 1: 7; Liber I 54: 13; Liber V int. 5: 10; Liber V int. 7: 11; Liber V int. 15: 14–18; Gen. 1: 31.

77: 11 *af kærleek*: Cf. int. al. *SA* 1: 12; *SA* 4: 1.

77: 20–21 *þær … giuit*: Cf. *p.* 78: 3–8 (Liber I 58: 11); *p.* 78: 17 (Liber I 58: 13); Liber I 1: 6; Liber II 1: 17; Liber IV 67: 3, 12; Liber V int. 3: 8; Liber VII 11: 11; *SA* 6: 2.

77: 20–27 *Þæim … dogho*: Cf. Liber I 49: 4; Liber I 52: 15; Liber 54: 9, 11.

77: 23 *androm … heluiti*: Cf. 3 Reg. 8: 32; Augustine, *Sermones*, 292, 3, 6 (*Patrologia Latina*, XXXVIII, 1319–1320); Augustine, *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio. Liber I*, 6, 13 (*Patrologia Latina*, XLIV, 889–890); Corippus Flavius Cresconius, *In Laudem Iustini*, 2, 420–423 (Corippe 1981, 51, ll. 420–423).

77: 26–27 *Ok … dogho*: Cf. Liber I 5: 17; Liber I 58: 9; Liber V rev. 8; Liber VI 19; Liber VIII 47: 8; Klockars 1966, 158.

78: 1–3 *at … rætuiso*: Cf. *p.* 77: 7–9 (Liber I 58: 6); Liber V int. 9: 13–20; Liber VIII 48: 22; Liber VIII 56: 2; *SA* 6.

78: 8–9 *diæflenom … fiold*: Cf. Liber I 1: 7; Liber I 4: 7; Liber I 54: 12; Liber I 58: 7 (*p.* 77: 11–19); Liber IV 115: 6; Ecclus. 39: 33–37.

78: 13–16 *Mate … komo*: Cf. Liber I 1: 9; Liber I 30: 5; Liber I 34: 24; Liber I 59: 35; Liber II 5: 9–10; Liber II 12: 27; Liber IV 31: 46; Liber VII 19: 5.

78: 17 *sicælfswald*: Cf. Liber I 58: 8 (*p.* 77: 20–21); Liber I 58: 11 (*p.* 78: 4); Fogelqvist 1993, 127–128.

78: 21–22 *þa ... redhas*: Cf. Liber I 34: 9.

78: 23–24 *þy ... andrum* (Lat. "Ego enim, quia caritatiuus sum, nolo, ut homo seruiat michi ex timore vel coactus quasi animal irracionabile sed ex diuina caritate, quia nullus potest videre faciem meam, qui inuitus seruit michi vel ex timore pene"; OSw. [B 43^{vb}] "Æn for thy at jak ær kærlex fullir vil jak ey at nakar thiæna mik af ræddæ skuld ælla nødhogh*i*r sua som oskælik diur vtan af gudhelikom kærlek thy at ængin thæn som nødhogh*i*r thiæna mik ælla af pino ræddogha ma see mit ænlite"): Cf. Liber I 14: 4–5; Liber I 30: 4; Liber I 53: 27; Liber II 13: 38; Liber III 6: 15; Liber IV 13: 3; Liber V int. 8: 21–22; 1 Ioh. 4: 18.

78: 24 *andrum ¶ Þa*: Paragraph 16 of Latin and Old Swedish versions, which we would expect to appear at the paraph, is not in E 8902. For notes on this "missing" paragraph, see Undhagen 1978, 433 n. 51–54.

78: 28 *þu ... beizskastir*: Cf. note to *p.* 77: 2–4 (Liber I 58: 4–5); Liber I 49: 4; Liber I 52: 15; Liber 54: 9, 11.

79: 1–2 *þin ... hiærta*: Cf. *pp.* 72: 28–73: 7; Liber I 5: 8; Liber I 16: 4; Liber I 50: 7, 14, 23; Liber I 58: 15; Liber VI 21: 12; Liber VI 23: 24–31.

79: 2–9 *þu ... ælskar*: This part of the revelation has no equivalent in the Latin and Old Swedish versions. It deals with the Virgin Mary's role as intercessor and describes her as a valkyrian figure searching among the dead for those worthy of a place with God. See Rudwin 1931, 178–180.

79: 17 Birgittine-Norwegian version of the end of Liber I 52 (Undhagen 1978, 408–409) and the Old Swedish Book I 52 (*BU* I, 180–181) begins. See also Westman 1911, 67; Kraft 1929, 43–50; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 165; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 125–134; Gilkær 2000, 78–79; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 146.

79: 17–18 *min ... talgrin*: Cf. Liber V rev. 12: 7–8; Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo. Liber VI*, 1 (*Patrologia Latina*, CXI, 162); Bergh 1971, 84–87.

79: 21–22 *Swa ... halda*: Cf. Rufinus, *De Benedictionibus Patriarchum. Liber Primus*, 5 (*Patrologia Latina*, XXI, 307). The themes of God as food and the words

of God as being sweet food (cf. Ioh. 1: 14) are investigated in Bynum 1987; cf. note to *p*. 57: 1–2.

79: 21–25 *þe … ænkte*: Cf. *p*. 52: 20–21; Klockars 1960, 154–156; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 113.

79: 25 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber VI 32 (Bergh 1991, 128–131) and the Old Swedish Book VI 32 (*BU* III, 73–77) begins. See also Steffen 1909, 92; Westman 1911, 64; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Engström, 1930–1931, 1–6; Lundén 1957–1959, III, 75–77; Klockars 1966, 55; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 125–133 (pp. 125–128 comprise a translation of this revelation into modern Swedish); Sundén 1973, 18–26, 158–165; Gilkær 1993, 227–233; Gilkær 2000, 78–79; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, III, 68–70.

This revelation marks a change in style. It is divided into two parts—the revelation proper and its interpretation. It is largely devoid of spiritual content or religious purpose, and consists of a harsh attack on the serpent ("ormen"), the mother-serpent ("ẏdhlan") and the serpent-child ("ormunghin"). Serpents were associated with evil and the devil (Gen. 3: 1–6 provides the most obvious and clearest parallel for this association) and nothing good could be expected of them. The three serpents in this revelation were earlier identified by Steffen (1909, 92) as:

ormen	Duke Albrekt II of Mecklenburg
ẏdhlan	Eufemia of Sweden
ormunghin	King Albrekt III of Mecklenburg

See also Brilioth 1925, 29 n. 1; Andersson 1928, 145; Kraft 1929, 174; Lundén 1957–1959, III, 12, 75; Klockars 1966, 51.

However Engström (1930–1931; see also Klockars 1966, 55) has convincingly shown this interpretation to be incorrect. The persons involved are:

ormen	Knut Porse, a Danish duke (d. 1330)
ẏdhlan	Ingeborg of Halland and Samsø, daughter of Hákon V and Eufemia (d. 1350)
ormunghin	Hákon Knutsson, son of the above (d. 1349/50 during the Black Death)

This family, under the direction of Ingeborg, posed a threat to the Scandinavian aristocracy in the first half of the fourteenth century. Through her previous marriage to Erik Magnusson (d. 1318), Ingeborg was the mother of Magnus

Eriksson, who in 1319 became the three-year-old king of Sweden and Norway. Acting as regent, Ingeborg fought to maintain the interests of the monarchy in relation to the position of the aristocracy until 1322, when she was stripped of her powers by thirty-five members of the king's council, who had become concerned by her plans (see Gilkær 1993, 177–192 for an account of this struggle between the aristocracy and the monarchy). She later married the Danish duke Knut Porse in 1327 and with him had two children, Hákon and Knut. On Porse's campaigns, see Olesen 2003, 713–716. Knut Porse died in 1330 and both sons died during the Black Death in 1349/50. Birgitta's personal dislike of the serpent-child Hákon is exemplified in Prior Petrus Olafsson of Alvastra's account in *A&P*, 514 ("14. De Haquino duce").

Sundén (1973, 18–26, 158–165) offers a third view of the revelation, which he sees as a Jungian projection onto the serpent family of Birgitta's feelings towards herself and her own family (cf. Jung 1948, 208). In Sundén's psychoanalytical interpretation of the revelation, the serpent is Birgitta's husband Ulf, she is the serpent-mother, and their son Karl is the serpent-child. Birgitta is chastising herself and her family for the failure of her plans to found a monastery and would thus clearly seem to be in the throes of a deep crisis (Sundén 1973, 23). In his investigation Sundén treats the revelations as if they are direct records of Birgitta's thoughts and expressions. However, we know this not to be the case (see "The Revelations of St Birgitta (Latin Tradition)" and "Extant Swedish Manuscripts")—indeed, this revelation shows substantial differences in attitude in the various versions because of editing by others (cf. *p*. 81: 9–10).

A similar revelation—in as far as it, too, is devoid of spiritual content and is largely a political manisfesto—is the so-called "insurrection revelation" (*Ex*. 18) in which she supports the revolt against Magnus Eriksson; see Högman 1951; Ferm 1993, 125–143; Sundén 1973, 114–133; Hergemöller 2003; Ferm 2009.

80: 17 *soolbadh*: See Moberg 1998, 26 for the meaning of this word; cf. *p*. 82: 15.

81: 3 *orfamse* [and] *orfamsanom*: Both hapax legomena. On these words, see discussion in section 6.1.8.

81: 8–9 *þæn bansatte ormunghin*: The Latin and Old Swedish versions have been toned down and there is no mention of damnation. See the note to *p*. 81: 9–10.

81: 9–11 *af … fara*: The Latin and Old Swedish versions have again been toned down. The harsh phrase that the father is in hell and the mother is soon to follow him has been cut by the editors of the revelations. It is telling that although

Birgitta's writings about the damnation of her own mother and the tortures of her daughter in purgatory remained (apparently) uncensored, images of a much less grotesque and cruel nature were considered too sensitive here because of their political nature. On the influences in her writings traceable to translators and editors, see Schück 1901; Westman 1911; Kraft 1929; Högman 1951; Liedgren 1961, 101–116; Eklund 1984, 5–24; Aili 1986, 75–91; Öberg 1986, 59–74; Albert Ryle Kezel's "Translator's foreword" in Tjader Harris 1990, 59–66; Morris 1993, 23–33; Ellis 1993, I, 209–233; Morris 1999b, 3–11; Aili 2000, 25–42

81: 13–14 *Ormen ... heidhir*: The scribe appears to have missed out a few words whilst copying. Cf. Lat. "cum nimium haberet ambiendi affectum et cupiditatem inextinguibilem" and OSw. (B 166ra) "Visselica thænne ormb*ir* hafdhe ow*ir*matto astu*n*da*n* til hedh*i*r oc oskællica giri ok bran til q*ui*nnona lusta".

81: 17 *bansasta*: The Latin and Old Swedish versions have been toned down by the editors and there is no mention of damnation. Cf. note to *p*. 81: 9–10.

81: 22 *bansatta*: The Latin and Old Swedish versions have been toned down and there is no mention of damnation. See the note to *p*. 81: 9–10.

82: 15 *soolbat*: See Moberg 1998, 26 for the meaning of this word; cf. *p*. 80: 17.

82: 15–16 *þa ... lustelika* (Lat. "quando seuiendo superbe et dissolute"): See Bergh 1991, 37, who uses this sentence as an example of the importance of paying consideration to vernacular texts when reconstructing the original Latin text.

82: 27–28 *þe forbannadha ýdhlan*: The Latin and Old Swedish versions have been toned down and there is no mention of damnation. See the note to *p*. 81: 9–10.

83: 7–8 *bøndir ok bokarlla*: The social groups Birgitta is here referring to have been replaced with types of people (for example, "poor" and "wretched") in Lat. "miseros" and OSw. (B 166va) "vsla mæ*n* oc fatika".

83: 11 *orfamse*: On this word, see Wessén 1968–1976, II, 125 n. 57; Moberg 1998, 25–26; Odelman 2000, 46. Cf. note to *p*. 81: 3.

83: 18–20 *Til ... af*: The Latin and Old Swedish versions have been toned down and there is no mention of damnation. See the note to *p*. 81: 9–10.

83: 21 *wt þýdha*: The Latin and Old Swedish versions have an extra section here (Latin also has an *additio*). Wessén (1968–1976, II, 128–129) argues that the form in E 8902 is original, with the additional material in the other versions being a later addition either by Birgitta herself or by one of her confessors. This extra material in Latin and Old Swedish is characterised by a sudden change in style: Birgitta's ranting softens and she offers various religious insights and justifications.

83: 22 This section is not known from any other manuscript. See Westman 1911, 70; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, II, 173–174; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 134; Gilkær 2000, 79. The revelation appears to be incomplete with both the beginning and the ending missing. In it, Birgitta uses similes to attack a woman whom she likens to three men ("ho*n* ær liik þrem ma*n*nu*m*", *p*. 83: 22):

1) The man who offers to pay another man to kill this other man's son in front of him.
2) The man who offers to pay another man to burn down this other man's property.
3) The adulteress [*sic*] who lies between her husband and her lover, and thus serves two men.

It is not clear whom Birgitta has in mind, but it does not seem improbable that, as this revelation follows the story of the "mother-serpent", the woman is again the aforementioned scheming Ingeborg, daughter of Hákon V and Eufemia, who had been married twice (and thus served two men).

84: 1–2 *Ok … sannind*: Cf. *p*. 48: 16–17; *p*. 75: 20; Ioh. 17: 17.

84: 24 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber I 25 (Undhagen 1978, 308–310) with an embedded section from Liber I 22 (Undhagen 1978, 302) and the Old Swedish Book I 25 and Book I 22 (*BU* I, 73–75 and 66–67) begins. See also Westman 1911, 67, 69; Kraft 1929, 43–47, 50; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 109, 112–113; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98; Gilkær 2000, 79; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 99–101, 107–109; Andersson 2014, 99–101, 107–109, 245–246.

84: 24–25 *þik … mæn*: Cf. Liber I 22: 4; Liber II 1; Liber V int. 6: 12–18.

85: 5 *ræfsaþings time*: See Westman 1911, 67; Kraft 1929, 44; Klockars 1966, 146; Pernler 1993, 61; Morris 1999b, 22.

85: 9–11 *Swa … gerninga*: Cf. 1 Reg. 13: 2–14; 1 Reg. 16: 14–23; 1 Reg. 24: 18; 1 Reg. 26: 21.

85: 11–18 *Annat … eptir*: Cf. Liber I 14: 3; Liber I 36: 4–8; Liber VI; Liber VIII 48: 123–128; Iac. 2: 13.

85: 20–21 *Min … lundom*: Cf. Liber I 26: 11; Liber I 36: 3; Liber I 20: 20.

85: 23–24 *Ok … puncten*: Cf. Liber I 56: 6.

85: 26–86: 5 *Annat … dødhin*: On the use of iron in this image, see Undhagen 1978, 309 n. 24–26.

86: 5–8 *Þridhia … vmucændilsse*: Cf. Liber I 22: 7–9; Liber I 36: 8; Liber II 19: 56; Liber III 19: 25–31; Liber IV 12: 5; Liber IV 15: 1; Liber IV 15: 32–33; Liber IV 75: 34–35; Liber V int. 6: 12–21; Liber V int. 13: 19–29; Liber V int. 15: 25–31; Liber VII 4: 18 (*additio*); *Ex*. 63: 5; Gregory the Great, *Moralia* 1, 1 (*Patrologia Latina*, LXXV, 509–512).

86: 15 Embedded section (Liber I 22) begins.

86: 15–16 *þætta … rosinne*: Cf. Liber I 15: 10; Liber III 27: 18, 24; Liber IV 21: 16–1; Liber IV 81: 14; Liber IV 107: 40 (*additio*); Liber VI 103: 6; Liber VIII 48: 50; *SA* 15: 16; *SA* 16: 3; *Quat. Or*. Δ 94; *Quat. Or*. Λ 87; *Ex*. 100: 4. On the use of *exempla* in Birgitta's works, see Schmid 1943, 61–74; Strömberg 1944, 48, 163–178; Klockars 1966, 136. On this image of the rose here, see Fogelqvist 1993, 201. The rose is also an image often associated with the Virgin Mary; cf. "O rosa in iherico" (AM 76 8°, fol. 30^{v}, l, 8; Kroon *et al*. 1993, 121).

86: 16–87: 12 *hon … iordhrike*: See Westman 1911, 69; Kraft 1929, 50; Liber I 5; Undhagen 1978, 308–310 (and notes); cf. Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Euangelia* 38, 7 (*Patrologia Latina*, LXXVI, 1286A).

87: 5 *ofmẏkla*: See Sandvei 1938, 45 on /fm/. Cf. *p*. 38: 8; *p*. 38: 9–10; *p*. 52: 11; *p*. 67: 24; *p*. 72: 6; *p*. 99: 8; *p*. 110: 16.

87: 7 *ænkte … dræggena*: See Myrdal 2003, 33, 35 for an interpretation of what this tells us about Birgitta's understanding and experience of wine.

87: 12 *iordhrike. Min*: The embedded and main sections are intricately interwoven around these words, making it difficult to find the precise point where one ends and the other begins. It may be possible that the form of the revelation in E 8902 is original and later editing resulted in the clear division into two revelations.

87: 22–24 *Sighir … bøtir*: It was believed that the oil extracted from a scorpion's skin was the antidote to its poison. See, for example, Aurelius Cornelius Celsus, *De Medicina* (Celsus 1938, 118); Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 29, 91 (Plinius Secundus 1967, 400, ll. 15–18), and Konrad von Megenberg, *Buoch von den natürleichen Dingen*, IIIE 32: 30 (Konrad von Megenburg 1971, 282). Cf. also Liber I 23: 10; Apoc. 9: 5, 10. See Undhagen 1978, 310 n. 36 sq. for many references on scorpions and their oil, as well as the different Latin and Old Swedish versions.

88: 4 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber VI 31 (Bergh 1991, 121–127) and the Old Swedish Book VI 31 (*BU* III, 65–73) begins. See also Westman 1911, 70; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, III, 70–74; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 101; Gilkær 2000, 79; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, III, 63–68.

88: 8 *griipskloor*: Cf. the beast with "finger som gripskløør varo the vrang" in *Herr Ivan* (Noreen 1931, 21, l. 3). See also *p*. 89: 19.

88: 10 *Døøm … hionalagh*: The devil's desire to be united with the soul because of their similar appearance may have been inspired by Ecclus. 13: 20 ("Omnis caro ad similem sibi conjungetur"). Birgitta's use of Ecclesiasticus (or the Book of Sirach) is discussed in Klockars 1966, 76.

88: 14 *vargha … kyn*: Cf. Ier. 5: 6.

88: 19 *þinom smørilsso brunne*: The image is different in the Latin and Old Swedish versions—Lat. "ardore vnccionis" and OSw. (B 164^{rb}) "thins kærlex hita".

88: 19 *þæt … fwntenom*: The meanings is the baptismal font (the first sacrament of baptism). See also section 6.3.1 "Adjectives and Common Nouns", *s.v.* "fons" with note.

88: 19 *w*: This is one of a few words that demonstrate *Östgötsk* influence (here through the loss of original palatal R in final position). See Wessén 1968–1976, II, 95; cf. *p*. 7: 8 and *p*. 125: 10. See section 6.4.

88: 24 *en tiænilsse*: The meaning is uncertain and it appears to be a scribal error. The word occurs nowhere else in Birgitta's works and is not recorded in Söderwall. The third common feature between the soul and the devil is later referred to as taste ("smakilse" on *p*. 91: 2, and occasionally thereafter as "smak"). Latin has "similem gustum" and Old Swedish has (B 164^{rb}) "lican smak", although the ordering of the soul and the devil's shared characteristics is different in E 8902 to Latin and Old Swedish versions.

	E 8902		**Latin**	**Old Swedish (B 164^{rb})**
1.	liik i skipilsæm [physical appearance]	⟷	similis in disposicione	liik j skipilso*m* oc skapnadh
2.	en vilia [emotion]	⤫	similem gustum	lican smak
3.	en tiænilsse (*p*. 88: 24) [unknown meaning] en smakilse (*p*. 91: 2 etc.) [perception]		vnam voluntatem	een vilia

It is unlikely that the word "smakilse" in the original would have been misread by the scribe to produce "tiænilsse", but it is possible that "tiænilsse" is a misreading of "kænnilse". The "k" (or "ki") could be misread as "ti", and the scribe (Hand 1) has similarly misread these letters elsewhere in the manuscript (cf. "jatilsse", *p*. 101: 25, and "jakilsse", *p*. 110: 25; *p*. 111: 1). The word "kænnilse" ("feeling", "sense") fits the revelation here (Söderwall 1884–1918, *s.v*. "kännilse").

Although the meanings of "kænnilse" and "smakilse" are far from synonymous, they do both refer to the senses and perception. Birgitta uses "kænnilse" in the compound "widherkænnilsa"/"widherkænnilse" three times elsewhere in her revelations: *BU* IV, 91, ll. 22–23 (*Ex*. 30, meaning "knowledge"); *BU* I*V*, 100, l. 29 (*Ex*. 35, meaning "recognition"), and *BU* V, 30, l. 21 ("Constitutiones xix capitulum. Reuelacio de focariis" = *Ex*. 35, meaning "recognition").

88: 25 The physical descriptions of the soul that follow are similar to the *contrapassi* used by Birgitta on *pp*. 9: 15–14: 11. She describes the physical

shortcomings of the soul and explains their cause one by one. Each physical characteristic and its cause are then shown to be shared by the devil:

Shared physical characteristic	Soul	Devil	Location
a. Eyes	Sees no good in God.	Sees no good in God.	88: 26–89: 2
b. Ears	Hears nothing good or of benefit.	Does not want to hear anything that praises God.	89: 2–89: 9
c. Mouth	Open to bodily pleasures, closed to God.	Open to evil, closed to good.	89: 9–89: 16
d. Hands	Grabbed and held onto possessions until death.	Holds onto everything that comes into his clutches.	89: 16–89: 21
e. Stomach	His stomach was great, greedy, and insatiable.	Greedy for the souls in heaven.	89: 21–90: 4
f. Ice-cold breast	No love of God.	Hatred and jealousy of God.	90: 4–90: 11
g. Jointless thighs and knees	Never wanted to bow to God's will.	Fell from grace because he would not do God's bidding (see Luc. 10: 18).	90: 11–90: 18
h. Crippled legs	Did not walk towards or follow God.	Flees God who is as attractive to the devil as poison.	90: 18–90: 26

88: 26–89: 2 *Vi … liwst*: Cf. *pp*. 12: 20–13: 2.

89: 2–9 *Vi … gagn*: Cf. *p*. 14: 4–11.

89: 9–16 *Vi … varit*: Cf. *pp*. 11: 21–12: 4.

89: 16–21 *Vi … rætuiso*: Cf. *p*. 11: 18–21.

89: 19 *kløør*: Cf. Dan. 4: 33; *p*. 88: 8 ("griipskloor").

89: 21–90: 4 *Vi … hafua*: Cf. *p*. 10: 11–18.

90: 4–11 *Vi … drøuas*: Cf. *pp*. 10: 18–11: 22.

90: 8–9 *at … døÿia* (Lat. "libenter me amarissima morte" and OSw. [B 164va] "læte iak g*er*na dræpa mik m*edh* hardhast*om* oc beskast*om* dødh"): Cf. *RS* Σ, Π, Φ: 129.

90: 11–18 *Vaar … rætuiso*: Cf. *pp*. 9: 22–10: 10 for a similar image, but with the spine instead of the thighs and knees.

90: 18–26 *Var … eiter*: Cf. *pp*. 9: 22–10: 10 for the image of one body part leading another towards God. See also *p*. 2: 7–9.

91: 11 *sæm … saman*: Denzinger and Schönmetzer 1967, 902 (p. 284) contains Clement V's explanation of the relationship between the body and the soul ("De anima ut forma corporis") as he defined it at the Council of Vienne (1312).

91: 15–16 *hon … lÿgn*: Cf. *p*. 47: 16–1; *p*. 74: 16–17, 22–23.

91: 16–17 *hon … flætiu*: Cf. *p*. 11: 2–18.

91: 19–24 *hon … andre*: Birgitta is here criticising the soul's marriage. Even though he was faithful to his wife and outwardly partaking of the sacrament of matrimony, he was doing so more by chance than intention. Birgitta underlines the importance of acting with a pure heart and clear conscience elsewhere (see *p*. 14: 19–21 and *p*. 61: 2–4). Her best-known attack on a marriage concerns that of King Magnus Eriksson whom she accuses of homosexuality (*Ex*. 80: 6). See also Anonymous Norwegian scholar ["ein hochgeschätzter norwegischer Gelehrter"] 1902, 260–263; Goodich 1979, 11; Ferm 1993; Nordberg 1995, 284–285; Hergemöller 2003.

91: 25 *las*: Here with the meaning "prayed"; see Söderwall 1884–1918, *s.v*. "läsa".

92: 11–12 *mæn … godho*: The introductory conjunction "mæn" reads awkwardly after the preceding words of God and is probably a mistake. We cannot compare to other versions as the devil's words are absent in Latin and Old Swedish versions.

92: 14–15 *þe ... hionalagh*: Cf. Gen. 2 18–25; Marc. 10: 6–10. On the need for mutual consent in marriage, see Gen. 24: 57–58; 1 Reg. 18: 20; 1 Reg. 25: 41; Gregory IX, *Decretales*, IV, 1, 23; IV, 4, 5; and cf. the second *membrum* in Sermon 1 in Cod. Vind. 13013, fol. 54ra, ll. 17–24 (in Adams 2002, 73, and Adams, 2004, 19).

92: 20 The Birgittine-Norwegian text lacks material here compared with the Latin and Old Swedish versions. See Westman 1911, 70.

92: 24 *henna ... køt*: Cf. Gen. 2: 24; Marc. 10: 8; Eph. 5: 31.

93: 1, 2–3 *mædh liiknilsœm*: See Wessén 1968–1976, II, 101 on Birgitta's use of metaphors.

93: 8 *ek brœnnir hona*: Cf. Isai. 30: 33; Isai. 33: 14; Matth. 3: 12; Matth. 13: 42, 50; Matth. 25: 41; Apoc. 14: 10; Apoc. 20: 15.

93: 10–12 *vtan ... firir. hona*. (Lat. "Sed quia redemisti eam sanguine tuo et tantum eam dilexisti, vt te ipsum Deum pro ipsa te dares"): See Bergh 1991, 36 for a comparison of the Birgittine-Norwegian and Latin versions.

93: 11 *þu ... hona*: Cf. Matth. 27: 45–56; Marc. 15: 33–41; Luc. 23: 44–49; Ioh. 19: 28–30.

93: 12 *ek ... darat*: The trickery and deceipt of the devil are mentioned in Gen. 3: 1–13; Matth. 24: 24, and 2 Thess. 2: 9–12.

93: 18 *ein ... stiœrna*: Cf. Dan. 12: 3.

94: 4–8 *Ein ... til*: The devil proposes a challenge for himself that mirrors the image in Matth. 19: 24; Marc. 10: 25, and Luc. 18: 24. However, instead of entering the Kingdom of God after squeezing through a space the size of the eye of a needle, the devil enters his own kingdom, hell.

94: 9 *þe ... stiœrna*: Cf. Dan. 12: 3.

95: 6 Birgittine-Norwegian version of part of Liber VI 28 (Bergh 1991, 111) and the Old Swedish Book VI 28 (*BU* III, 56–57) begins. See also Westman 1911, 70; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, III, 63; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98; Gilkær 2000, 79; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, III, 57–58.

96: 6–7 *i … vara*: In other words, Limbo, the place for unbaptised infants who are excluded from heaven on account of original sin alone. Augustine stated that unbaptised infants were sent to "limbus infantorum", where they suffered the same torments as the damned (Denzinger and Schönmetzer 1967, 286 "De natura diaboli" (p. 102)), a harsh teaching which has been challenged ever since. Thomas Aquinas, for example, taught that the souls of unbaptised infants were not tormented since they were unaware of the grace that they missing (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, III, q. 52, 7; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, *LIV: The Passion of Christ*, 172, 173).

96: 9 Birgittine-Norwegian version of the latter part of Liber II 16 (Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 79) and the Old Swedish Book II 8 (*BU* I, 247–248) begins. See also Westman 1911, 69; Kraft 1929, 43–47, 51; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 234–235; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 105–106; Gilkær 2000, 79; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 216–217.

96: 17–20 The third permitted thing has been left out—the scribe's eye has jumped over some words in the text he is copying (homœoteleuton). Reconstructing the text from Latin ("Tria permitto tibi facere. Primo moderatum sompnum ad habitudinem bonam, secundo temperatas vigilias *ad corporis exercitacionem, tercio moderatum cibum* ad corporis fortitudinem et sustentacionem" [my *emphasis*]) and OSw. (B 51^{vb}–52ra: "Thry thing an jak thik ok latir iak thik haua Først matelikin sø*m*pn til godha skipa*n* Annan || tidh matelica vaku til kropsins idhn Thridhia tidh matelikin koost til kropsi*n*s oppehælle" [my emphasis]) versions, we have: "þrỏ þing lofuor ek þik hafua. først matelika vaku til likams vpuækkilsse. Annat matelikin sỏmpn til likamans *goþa skipan. þriþia matelikin kost til likamans* vpheldi. Ok stỏrkilsse". See Westman 1911, 68.

97: 4–14 This section is not known from any other manuscript. See Westman 1911, 64, 69; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, II, 173–174; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 106–107; Gilkær 2000, 79.

97: 5 *sandir gudh*: Cf. *p.* 46: 10; *p.* 49: 19; *p.* 64: 10; *p.* 69: 12; *p.* 73: 7; *p.* 74: 4; *p.* 120: 19; *p.* 127: 10.

97: 7–8 *eig … ande*: Cf. 1 Cor. 12: 3–6.

97: 9–10 *Ek … folke*: Cf. Exod. 20: 1–17; Deut. 5: 1–21.

97: 10–11 *Ek … mandomenom*: Cf. Matth. 1: 18–24; Luc. 1: 34–35.

97: 13–14 *þæssom … rike*: That is Magnus Eriksson.

97: 14 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber II 7 (Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 46–50) and the Old Swedish text in Book VIII 32 (*BU* III, 366–369) begins. See also Westman 1911, 70; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 209–211; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 107–108; Gilkær 1993, 223–227; Gilkær 2000, 79–80; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 190–193.

98: 4–5 *sæm i … israel*: Cf. Gen. 32: 28; Deut. 6: 4.

98: 7 *i hionalagh*: Cf. 1 Cor. 9: 5.

98: 9 *þy … lustan*: There is no scriptural support for this. Indeed, 1 Cor. 9: 5 suggests that both Peter and his wife accompanied Christ.

98: 12–13 *Petare … iordrike*: Cf. Matth. 16: 19.

99: 8 *omÿkin*: See Sandvei 1938, 45 for the assimilation /fm/ > /m/. Cf. *p*. 38: 8; *p*. 38: 9–10; *p*. 52: 11; *p*. 67: 24; *p*. 72: 6; *p*. 87: 5; 99: 8; *p*. 110: 16.

99: 18–19 *vndir annars hand*: This refers to the rules of monastic life—chastity, poverty, and obedience.

99: 19–22 *þæn … gudhlika*: Probably refers to St Benedict of Nursia (*c*. 480–*c*. 547) and his *Regula Monachorum* (515). See Gilkær 1993, 226.

100: 4–11 *Ek … þing*: Cf. *pp*. 99: 23–100: 3.

100: 19–20 *ek … vœrnara*: Sandvei (1938, 48) quotes this section in a discussion on how Norwegian the language of the Birgittine-Norwegian texts is.

101: 5–102: 24 *Sidhan … fœstilsse*: There are many similarities between this account of St George's knighthood and the solemn church ceremony described on *pp*. 125: 4–128: 5.

102: 6–9 *Mœdh … flyÿr* (Lat. "Hoc clipeo defende te contra inimicorum iacula et pacienter tolera illata, ut prius crepat clipeus quam fugias!"): See Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 17–18 for a comparison of the Birgittine-Norwegian and Latin versions.

103: 2 *þæn godhe georgius*: That is St George (d. *c.* 250 or *c.* 303, depending on tradition—see Jones 1992, 124). St George ("amicus meus Georgius") is also mentioned in Liber VIII 32: 17.

103: 6 *sandir gudhz son*: Cf. *p.* 64: 12.

103: 14 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber II 8 (Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 50–53) begins—there is no equivalent passage in the Old Swedish version. See also Westman 1911, 67; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 212–215; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 108; Gilkær 2000, 79–80; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 193–196.

103: 14–16 *Ek ... mik*: Cf. Isai. 43: 10.

103: 14 *sandir herra*: Cf. other phrases with "sandir" on *p.* 25: 17; *p.* 46: 10; *p.* 49: 19; *p.* 64: 10; *p.* 64: 12; *p.* 69: 12; *p.* 73: 7; *p.* 74: 4; *p.* 97: 5; *p.* 103: 6; *p.* 120: 19; *p.* 122: 3; *p.* 127: 10.

103: 17 *Ek ... sweina*: Cf. Liber II 7: 4 (*p.* 98: 2).

103: 23–24 *Bland ... sagde*: That is St George (mentioned above on *p.* 103: 2 with note).

104: 8–9 *swa ... riddarskap*: The story of the first knight to turn away from God typifies Birgitta's view of the falling standards of morality and the disagreeable secularisation of knighthood that was underway in the fourteenth century. This opposition between the earthly and the divine, as well as the difficulties it poses the knight, is portrayed more sympathetically in Liber II 10.

104: 22–105: 2 *Sidhan ... eptir*: The devil is tempting the man with promises of worldy wealth and power. Cf. Matth. 4: 9–10; Luc. 4: 6–7.

105: 3–6 *hin ... aa* (Lat. "Ille dominus primus iubet me credere, que non video, promittit, que nescio, iubet abstinere a delectacionibus, quas desidero et video, iubet sperare incerta"): See Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 18 for a comparison of the Birgittine-Norwegian and Latin versions.

105: 18–19 *Vil ... høgfærd* (Lat. "Si, sicut dixi, volueris esse meus, tunc debes procedere cum omni superbia in campum et in plateas, ut, sicut ille Dominus precepit suis habere humilitatem in omnibus, sic nullum sit genus ostenta-

cionis et superbie, quod te fugiat"): See Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 18–19 for a comparison of the Birgittine-Norwegian and Latin versions.

105: 20 *ødmiwt*: This spelling of "ødmiwkt" is discussed in Sandvei 1938, 45. Cf. 74: 5–6; *p*. 119: 13.

107: 25–27 *allan ... framgang* (Lat. "Primus optinuit honorem mundi, dilexit templum corporis sui in omni voluptate, dominabatur, ut voluit, ad omnia, quo misit manum, proficiebat"): See Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 19 for a comparison of the Birgittine-Norwegian and Latin versions.

108: 16–17 *han ... skapare*: Cf. 1 Tim. 6: 15; Apoc. 19: 16.

109: 6 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber II 9 (Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 53–55) and the Old Swedish text in Book VIII 33 (*BU* III, 369–371) begins. See also Westman 1911, 68, 70; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 215–217; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 101, 108; Gilkær 2000, 79–80; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 196–198.

109: 6–9 ⟨*A*⟩*Ldir ... idhir*: Cf. Ps. 89: 4; 2 Petr. 3: 8. See Wessén 1968–1976, II, 101.

109: 9 *i gaar* (Lat. "prius"): Although there is no way of knowing whether the adverb "yesterday" was that uttered by Birgitta herself, it is interesting that this more precise time reference is found in E 8902. See Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 16 for a comparison of the Birgittine-Norwegian and Latin versions.

110: 14–17 *hwad ... vadha*: Cf. Matth. 23: 37.

110: 16 *ofmẏkit*: See Sandvei 1938, 45 on /fm/. Cf. *p*. 38: 8; *p*. 38: 9–10; *p*. 52: 11; *p*. 67: 24; *p*. 72: 6; *p*. 87: 5; 99: 8.

110: 17 *omẏklum*: See note above for *p*. 110: 16.

112: 1–24 A facsimile of this page can be found as fig. 22.

113: 16 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber II 10 (Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 56–58) begins—there is no equivalent passage in the Old Swedish version. See also Westman 1911, 70–71; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 217–219; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 108; Gilkær 2000, 79–80; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 198–200.

113: 16–17 ⟨*T*⟩*hæt … lagh*: Cf. Exod. 3.

113: 18–19 *buskin logadhæ*: The burning bush is an image for the Virgin Mary. See Klockars 1966, 81.

113: 20–21 *þa … sagde*: Cf. this image to that in Thorell 1951, 281.

114: 3 *pharao. konungæ*: The pharao represents the devil. Cf. *p*. 114: 21, and see Klockars 1966, 81.

114: 10–11 *Samuled … egypto*: Cf. Exod. 1.

114: 13–15 *sialfue … mædh*: Cf. Exod. 5: 6–19.

114: 20 *twa borge*: The cities are Pithom and Rameses; cf. Exod. 1: 11.

115: 4 *min vin*: That is Abraham; cf. Isai. 41: 8; 2 Paral. 20: 7; Iac. 2: 23.

116: 1 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber II 11 (Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 59–61) and the Old Swedish text in Book VIII 37 (*BU* III, 392–395) begins. See also Westman 1911, 68–69; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 219–221; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 101–102, 109; Gilkær 2000, 79–80; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 200–202.

116: 1 *Ek … fyrra*: Cf. Liber II 8–9.

116: 7 *Legiones angelorum*: Cf. Matth. 26: 53. The use of Latin words in E 8902 indicates that Birgitta's own language included a number Latin phrases. Indeed, in her autograph texts (Holm. A 65) we find other Latin words, such as "gracia plena" (from the opening of the prayer "Ave Maria"), "simonia", "palacio" and "sensus". On Birgitta's abilities in Latin, see Westman 1911, 31–35; Högman 1951; Klockars 1966, 19–25; Öberg 1994, 219; Morris 1999b, 102.; Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 16. See also section 6.3 Latin words and phrase in E 8902.

116: 11–12 *Ek … eidh*: This should clearly be a question addressed to the soul (who answers in ll. 13–14). It should read: "Ær þæt þæn sami sæm …?". See Westman 1911, 68.

117: 17, 18 *mædh liiknilssom*: See Wessén 1968–1976, II, 101 on Birgitta's use of metaphors.

118: 13 *legiones angelorum*: See the note to *p*. 116: 7.

118: 14 *fyrsta legio* (Lat. "Prima" and OSw. [B 231^{vb}] "Första røstin"): See Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 16 for a comparison of the Birgittine-Norwegian and Latin versions.

118: 18 *Annar legio* (Lat. "Secunda vox" and OSw. [B 231^{vb}] "Annor røstin"): See Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 16 for a comparison of the Birgittine-Norwegian and Latin versions.

118: 23 *Tridhia legio* (Lat. "Tercia vox" and OSw. [B 231^{vb}] "Thridhia røstin"): See Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 16 for a comparison of the Birgittine-Norwegian and Latin versions.

119: 5 *fiærdha legio* (Lat. "Quarta vox" and OSw. [B 231^{vb}] "Fiærdha røstin"): See Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 16 for a comparison of the Birgittine-Norwegian and Latin versions.

119: 13 *ødmiwt*: This spelling of "ødmiwkt" as evidence of the assimilation /kt/ > /t/ is discussed in Sandvei 1938, 45. Cf. *p*. 74: 5–6; *p*. 105: 20.

119: 15 *fæmta legio* (Lat. "Quinta vox" and OSw. [B 231^{vb}] "Fæmpta røstin"): See Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 16 for a comparison of the Birgittine-Norwegian and Latin versions.

120: 1–3 *han … arbeide* (Lat. "dignus est iste pro modico labore eternam quietem et cum Domino suo letari, quem tantum et tociens desiderabat!"): See Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 20 for a comparison of the Birgittine-Norwegian and Latin versions.

120: 11 *mædh liiknilsæm*: See Wessén 1968–1976, II, 101 on Birgitta's use of metaphors.

120: 19 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber II 12 (Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 61–65) and the Old Swedish text in Book VIII 36 (*BU* III, 389–392) begins. See also Westman 1911, 71; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 221–224; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98; Gilkær 2000, 79–80; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 202–205.

120: 19–21 *Ek … mik*: Cf. Rom. 13: 1.

120: 19 *sandir gudh*: Cf. *p*. 46: 10; *p*. 49: 19; *p*. 64: 10; *p*. 69: 12; *p*. 73: 7; *p*. 74: 4; *p*. 97: 5; *p*. 127: 10.

120: 19 *ok konungir*: Cf. other phrases with "sandir" on *p*. 25: 17; *p*. 46: 10; *p*. 49: 19; *p*. 64: 10; *p*. 64: 12; *p*. 69: 12; *p*. 73: 7; *p*. 74: 4; *p*. 97: 5; *p*. 103: 6; *p*. 103: 14; *p*. 122: 3; *p*. 127: 10.

121: 21–22 *Laat ... doomstool*: See Wessén 1968–1976, II, 101–102 on this metaphor.

122: 2–3 *æfte ... dømas*: Westman (*Birgitta-studier*, 68) believes that "þik" is incorrect here, and using the Latin suggests it should be replaced with conscience and soul.

122: 3 *sandir domare*: Cf. other phrases with "sandir" on *p*. 25: 17; *p*. 46: 10; *p*. 49: 19; *p*. 64: 10; *p*. 64: 12; *p*. 69: 12; *p*. 73: 7; *p*. 74: 4; *p*. 97: 5; *p*. 103: 6; *p*. 103: 14; *p*. 120: 19; *p*. 127: 10.

122: 7–8 *Ek swara salinne* (Lat. "Tunc respondit michi anima"): See Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 20 for a comparison of the Birgittine-Norwegian and Latin versions.

122: 10 *Salin swaradhe* (Lat. "Tunc respondit michi anima"): See Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 20 for a comparison of the Birgittine-Norwegian and Latin versions.

122: 13–14 *Ta swaradhe ek* (Lat. "Tunc respondit michi anima"): See Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 20 for a comparison of the Birgittine-Norwegian and Latin versions.

122: 14 *mædh liiknilsæm*: See Wessén 1968–1976, II, 101 on Birgitta's use of metaphors.

124: 20 Birgittine-Norwegian version of Liber II 13 (Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 65–68) and the Old Swedish text in Book VIII 35 (*BU* III, 386–389) begins. See also Westman 1911, 71; Kraft 1929, 43–47; Lundén 1957–1959, I, 224–226; Wessén 1968–1976, II, 97–98, 109–111 (includes a translation); Gilkær 2000, 79–80; Searby and Morris 2006–2015, I, 206–208.

125: 10 *wkh*: An *Östgötsk* form (of "ok", n.). See Wessén 1968–1976, II, 95; cf. *p*. 7: 8 and *p*. 88: 19. Söderwall lists the word under "uk". See section 6.4.

126: 2 *agnus dei*: See *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, I (1956), cols 58–60, *s.v.* "Agnus Dei". In AM 76 8°, fol. 44^{v}, ll. 10–16 (in Kroon *et al.* 1993, 177) Discipulus and Magister discuss the *agnus Dei*. See also section 6.3.1.

127: 1–25 A facsimile of this page can be found as fig. 23.

127: 6–16 *Sidhan … wakande*: Cf. Ioh. 6: 57.

127: 10 *sandir gudh*: Cf. *p.* 46: 10; *p.* 49: 19; *p.* 64: 10; *p.* 69: 12; *p.* 73: 7; *p.* 74: 4; *p.* 97: 5; *p.* 120: 19.

128: 5 *amen* (Lat. "⟨Declaratio⟩ … Birgitte"): See Undhagen and Bergh 2001, 14 for information about the Latin *declaratio*.

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Index

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